

KARNATAKA

THROUGH THE AGES

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ದಾದಿ ಬೃಹದಿಗಾಢಿಷ್ಣುಗವಿಬೃಹಿಃ
ಪದವಸಿತ ಪ್ರೀತನಿಧಿ

Sādhuge Sādhū mādhyuryange
mādhuryam
bādhippa Kaliḡe Kaliyuga
viparītan
Mādhavan itan perānalla

Good to the good, Sweet to the Sweet,
this Exceptional man of Kaliyuga,
is a veritable Madhava to the
distressed in the Kali age.

Such a book giving a broad survey of the State of Bihar from various points of view can be of considerable help. Indeed, I think, it would be a good thing if other States also had such surveys made.

(From Pandit Jawaharlal
Nehru's Foreward to
'Bihar Through the Ages')

Besides displaying its special characteristics and achievements, each region of our country reflects the glory of the entire nation. It is a part of the composite picture to which it contributes a special hue and lustre. The long story of Karnataka amply illustrates this truth.....

Books such as the present volume will serve to promote the emotional integration of our people. I am glad that it lays special stress on tolerance and on tracing the interaction of Karnataka and its neighbouring regions.

(From Smt. Indira Gandhi's
Foreward to the present
volume)

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ಅದ್ವೈತ ಶಿಷ್ಯರು

Sādhuge Sādhū mādhyuryange
mādhyuram

bādhippa Kalige Kaliyugā
viparitan

Mādhavan itan peranalla

Good to the good, Sweet to the Sweet,
this Exceptional man of Kaliyugā,
is a veritable Madhava to the
distressed in the Kali age.

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

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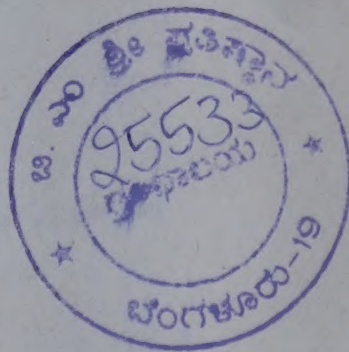
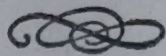
Sri K. S. Dharanendrayya up to 17-5-1965 and

Sri Sivasharanappa, 18-5-1965 — 31-3-1966

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

(FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE DAY OF THE
INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA)

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PRINTED BY THE HOSALI PRESS
AT BANGALORE

DEDICATED

to the Memory of the

Millions upon Millions who

made Karnataka what it is today

and

WRITTEN

for the perusal

of

Generations to Come

FOREWORD

Besides displaying its special characteristics and achievements, each region of our country reflects the glory of the entire nation. It is a part of the composite picture to which it contributes a special hue and lustre. The long story of Karnataka aptly illustrates this truth. Its early recorded history is closely connected with Jainism and Buddhism. In later years, Sankara founded a monastery. Karnataka produced Basava and Madhwa, and Ramanuja sojourned there. Several Muslim and Christian priests, as also saints of the Bhakti school, further enriched this tradition of tolerance. Temples of all faiths dot the Karnataka countryside. Among them are celebrated architectural masterpieces such as those of Pattadakal, Badami, Belur and Halebid, Vijayanagar and Bijapur.

Many kingdoms have flourished in Karnataka. In the era of independence many major projects have been built. It has been my privilege to travel all over the country many times, and among the memories and pictures I treasure, many are of Karnataka and its people.

From time immemorial there have been feuds between neighbouring kingdoms and provinces. Today some of these quarrels are due to economic competition, but others are the result of ignorance. Greater knowledge will lead to greater understanding and appreciation of the inter-dependence of our regions and the contribution they must make to one another's development.

Books such as the present volume will serve to promote the emotional integration of our people. I am glad that it lays special stress on tolerance and on tracing the interaction of Karnataka and its neighbouring regions. It is particularly interesting to note that many Kannada authors of our time have other mother-tongues.

It has become the fashion to decry linguistic States and to blame them for all our ills. In a democracy, the politics and government of people have to be conducted in their language. The use of the people's languages enabled our nationalist movement, under Gandhiji, to become mass based. What helped us to achieve freedom and democracy cannot be intrinsically bad. In a large country such as India, diversity must have adequate scope, provided it is built on the bedrock of unity. Languages cannot be wished away, as they command loyalties which are next only to religious loyalties in fervour. It is the responsibility of earnest men in every region to ensure that these smaller loyalties do not clash with the basic loyalty to India. The country can prosper only through religious and linguistic tolerance.

Shri Diwakar and his team of scholars have done a service to Karnataka and the country by bringing out this book which gives information on the region in a larger perspective. It will be a highly valued work of reference.

INDIRA GANDHI

NEW DELHI

April 17, 1968

A MESSAGE

Shri R. R. Diwakar, while Governor of Bihar, was mostly responsible to bring out a most useful and informative volume 'Bihar Through the Ages' which has served the people of Bihar exceedingly well. Now, as a Kannadiga, he has brought out a volume 'Karnataka Through the Ages.' I am proud and happy to say that this is one of the most impressive and informative books I have come across about Karnataka. We are taken through the glorious history of Karnataka which has to its credit achievements which are unrivalled. Karnataka's history, its achievements, its literature, arts, science, politics and, in fact, its activities are a glorious chapter in India's history. The articles deal with various aspects of these phases by men who are well qualified to do so. The history of the Freedom Struggle in Karnataka is such as every Kannadiga, nay every Indian, can well be proud of. That also has been included in 'Karnataka Through the Ages' as also the effort of the Kannadigas to have their own linguistic State.

I congratulate Shri Diwakar and those who have worked in collaboration with him so hard all these many months in bringing out this very useful volume. I am sure the public of Karnataka, in particular, and others, in general, will be benefitted by going through this volume.

S. NIJALINGAPPA
Chief Minister, Mysore

IN GRATITUDE

In his Foreword to 'Bihar Through The Ages' Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, on 25th December 1957, that "Such a book, giving a broad survey of the State of Bihar from various points of view, can be of considerable help. Indeed, I think that it would be a good thing if other States also had such a survey made."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his message for the book, wrote, "While the political and administrative aspects are dealt with, the emphasis in this book is laid on how the life of the people flowed in the economic, social, literary, artistic and aesthetic channels during about three thousand years."

When in Bihar, I conceived and planned 'Bihar Through The Ages' as early as December 1954 and, with the active cooperation of many scholars and friends, the publication could be placed in the hands of the readers in January 1959. The effort was commended and welcomed warmly as reflected in the above observations of two of the most eminent men of our times.

Since then I had been dreaming if a similar volume on Karnataka could be made available to the people. My dear friend Sri Andanappa Doddameti took great interest in the idea and Sri S. Nijalingappa, the Chief Minister, gave the green signal. Sri Ganamukhi, the then Minister for Education, appointed an Editorial Board for the publication of 'Karnataka Through The Ages' on 14-3-1960 with powers to coopt. Ultimately the following constituted the full Editorial Board :

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Secretary : Special Officer, Literary and Cultural Development.

Sri K. S. Dharanendrayya up to 17-5-1965 and Sri Sivasharanappa,

18-5-1965 — 31-3-1966

Work commenced with the first meeting held on 26-3-1960.

Almost the same procedure as in the case of 'Bihar Through The Ages,' was adopted for getting the manuscript prepared. A detailed synopsis was prepared and it was found that it totalled up to nearly 130 articles. These were assigned to different scholars. Some responded promptly and others pleaded inability for various reasons. The articles had to be re-assigned, and this process went on in the case of a few articles for quite a considerable time, even after going to press.

After the preparation of most part of the press copy, the Editorial Board ceased to exist on 31-3-1966; and the Chairman, with the help of the Assistant Secretary Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao and the cooperation of Sri Shivasaranappa, the then Special Officer of Literary and Cultural Development, completed the work.

I do not wish to burden the readers with the difficulties, the trials and tribulations, which such a work involves. All that, however, was on the whole enjoyable. The Board so long as it existed, and later we who were left in charge, had the willing cooperation of the Ministry concerned, the office staff, the Government Press, and the printers, who were in this case, the Hosali Press, Bangalore.

With all the preoccupations and several heavy assignments, I must say that the members of the Editorial Board as well as the many scholars who were approached gave willing cooperation and help. The main burden was naturally shared by the Sub-Committee consisting of :

Dr. R. R. Diwakar,
Dr. S. C. Nandimath,
Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao,
Dr. M. Seshadri.

The Secretary Sri K. S. Dharanendrayya till 17-5-1965 and Sri Shivasaranappa thereafter till 31-3-1966 and the Assistant Sri K. Sampathgiri Rao.

It was only the ungrudging help and hard work of these people coupled with the cooperation of the Hosali Press, which made it possible to bring out the publication in its present form.

None more than myself is in a better position to know the handicaps under which the work had to be carried out and, equally so, none is more aware of the defects and blemishes from which this publication suffers. It serves no purpose to go over that ground here. But it may be helpful to future authors of such publications if I mention a few handicaps.

This is a pioneer attempt to tell the whole story of the Karnataka people brought together after the merger (1956) of nineteen administrations under which they were functioning for decades and, in some cases, even for centuries. Therefore, however scholarly a person might be and however much he might wish to write comprehensively about the whole of Karnataka, the

material on several important aspects of life, lies yet scattered and unorganized. An early attempt has to be made to collect, arrange, and collate all the material in something like central research archives. The body of Karnataka, the geographical entity, is there but the soul of Karnataka has yet to discover itself fully through its own history. The second handicap which, to a certain extent, was consequential was the delay in getting the required articles. The third, of course, was the difficulty experienced in editing the manuscripts received from several writers, on a number of subjects written in different styles and sometimes with defective language. But it can be said that, considering the circumstances which the Board had to face, care has been taken to be as circumspect as possible.

The Publication has been delayed too long and it would serve no useful purpose to go into the reasons therefor or apportion blame. When most of the typescript was ready for the Press early in 1966, the Hosali Press, who were entrusted with the printing, desired to set it up in Linotype. The first 88 pages were so set up and printed. No diacritical marks were used in them. Then considerable time was spent in getting diacritical marks about which the Editorial Board was rather keen. It was ultimately decided to take to hand-composing and the necessary types with diacritical marks were obtained, after fruitless attempts made by the Press to secure the matrices for diacritical marks in Linotype. At last printing was resumed by the end of August 1967 and the work has been completed, nearly 1100 pages being printed in seven months.

It may be mentioned, even so, that no attempt has been made to use diacritical marks exhaustively, and we request the indulgence of scholars to overlook this lapse, as the publication has been intended mainly for the general reader.

We have also to express regret for the typographical errors that remain.

Our highest gratitude has to go to the authors of articles who laboured hard to make this volume as informative as possible. Obviously, this is a first attempt and we hope that future attempts would benefit by what has been done. Here below are the names of the several authors in alphabetical order who wrote for the volume and the articles they wrote. The scholars whose contributions appear in the Appendix also merit our gratitude. It is the authors who have really made this publication possible and substantial. This was considered to be the best way to acknowledge their contributions, which had to be edited from the point of view of length, general uniformity of language, and proportionate distribution of space and importance, and processed for the press with linking paragraphs added on wherever necessary. None can claim perfection in such matters and all that one can do is to be humble enough to acknowledge imperfection.

| CONTRIBUTORS | CONTRIBUTIONS |
|----------------------------|--|
| Achyuta Rao, D.S. | ... Haidar Ali (Ch. XIII) |
| Bhatta, H.C.K. | ... Architecture and Sculpture (Ch. XIV) |
| Burde, Jyotsna | ... Social Life (Ch. VII) |
| Deodhar, C.S. | ... Christianity (Ch. XIII) |
| Desai, P.B. | ... The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed (Ch. VIII) |
| " " | ... Rise and Growth of Vijayanagar (Ch. XII) 527 |
| " " | ... Krishnadevaraya (Ch. XII) |
| Deshpande, C.D. | ... Physical Features (Ch. II) |
| Dharanendrayya, K.S. | ... Jainism (Ch. X) |
| Diwakar, R.R. | ... Congress and Karnataka (Ch. XV) |
| " " | ... Epilogue |
| Dixit, G.S. | ... Education and Science (Ch. IX) |
| " " | ... Education and Science (Ch. XII) |
| " " | ... Social and Economic Conditions (Ch. XII) |
| Gopal, B.R. | ... Social Life (Ch. VI) |
| Govindacharya Bannanji | ... Sanskrit in South Kanara (Ch. XIV) |
| Gurav, R.N. | ... Kadambas of Goa and Minor Dynasties (Ch. IX) |
| Halappa, G.S. | ... Impact of the West (Ch. XIV) |
| Jatti, B.D. | ... Mysore before and after Integration (Ch. XVIII) |
| Javali, V. K. | ... Education in Bombay Karnataka (Ch. XIV) |
| Jayalakshammanni, M. | ... Commissioners' Rule in Mysore (Ch. XIV) |
| Josyer, G. R. | ... Wodeyars of Mysore (Ch. XIII) |
| Kalghatgi, T.G. | ... Jainism (Ch. VI) |
| Karmarkar, D.P. | ... Major Freedom Movements (Ch. XVI) |
| Keshava Bhat, M. | ... Kannada (Ch. VI) |
| Khizr Ali Khan | ... The Role of Islam (Ch. XIII) |
| Koppar, D.H. | ... Education and Science (Ch. X) |
| " | ... Social & Economic Conditions (Ch. X) |
| Krishnamurthy, Dr. K. | ... Sanskrit (Ch. VI) |
| " " | ... " (Ch. VII) |
| " " | ... " (Ch. VIII) |
| Krishnamurthy Nadig | ... History of Kannada Journalism (Ch. XIV) |
| Krishna Rao, Dr. K.M. | ... The Haridasas (Ch. XIII) |
| Krishna Rao, Dr. M.V. | ... The Gangas of Talakad (Ch. VI) |
| " " | ... The Banas (Ch. VI) |
| " " | ... Minor Dynasties (Ch. X) |
| " " | ... Administrative Institutions (Ch. XI) |
| Krishna Rao, U.S. | ... Dance in the Old Mysore State (Ch. XIV) |
| Krishnaswami Iyengar, B.S. | ... The Hoysalas (Ch. X) |
| " " | ... The Yadavas (Ch. X) |

CONTRIBUTORS

CONTRIBUTIONS

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|---|
| Krishnaswami Iyengar, B.S. | ... | Fine Arts (Ch. X) |
| Malwad, S. S. | ... | Kannada (Ch. X) |
| Marulasiddiah, Dr. G. | ... | Veerasaivism (Ch. XIII) |
| Mohbil-ul-Husain | ... | Tipu Sultan (Ch. XIII) |
| Nagaraja Rao, Dr. P. | ... | Advaita (Ch. X) |
| " " | ... | Advaita (Ch. XII) |
| Nandimath, Dr. S.C. | ... | Saivism (Ch. VI) |
| " " | ... | The Chalukyas of Badami (Ch. VII) |
| " " | ... | The Chalukyas of Kalyana (Ch. IX) |
| " " | ... | The Kalachuris (Ch. IX) |
| " " | ... | Social & Economic Conditions (Ch. IX) |
| Narasimhachar, D.L. | ... | Religion & Society — Satavahanas (Ch. V) |
| " " | ... | Kannada (Ch. XII) |
| Narayana Rao, G. | ... | Karnataka and the Marathas (Ch. XIII) |
| " " | ... | Aspects of Social Life (Ch. XIV) |
| Narayana Rao, Dr. L. | ... | Flora — The Vegetable Wealth of Karnataka (Ch. II) |
| Narayana Rao Joshi | ... | Education in the Hyderabad State (Ch. XIV) |
| Nemiraja Malla | ... | Jainism (Ch. XIII) |
| Nijalingappa, S. | ... | Karnataka Unification (Ch. XVII) |
| Panchamukhi, Dr. R.S. | ... | Traditions and Legends (Ch. IV) |
| " " | ... | Dvaita (Ch. XII) |
| Pandurangi, K.T. | ... | Sanskrit (Ch. X) |
| " " | ... | Sanskrit (Ch. XIII) |
| " " | ... | Sanskrit in North Karnataka (Ch. XIV) |
| Raghavachar, S.S. | ... | Religion and Philosophy (Ch. VII) |
| " " | ... | Religion and Philosophy (Ch. VIII) |
| " " | ... | Religion and Philosophy (Ch. IX) |
| Rahavendrachar, H.N. | ... | Dvaita (Ch. X) |
| Rajagopala Rao, N. | ... | Rulers of Keladi (Ch. XIII) |
| Raja Rao, L. | ... | Music (Ch. XII) |
| Ramachandraiah, O. | ... | Decline of Vijayanagar (Ch. XII) |
| Ramachandra Rao, Dr. S. | ... | Sanskrit (Ch. XII) |
| " " | ... | Sanskrit in the Old Mysore State (Ch. XIV) |
| Ramachandra Rao, S.K. | ... | Buddhism and Minor sects (Ch. VI) |
| " " | ... | Painting (Ch. IX) |
| Ramana, B.V. | ... | Education, South Kanara and Bellary (Ch. XIV) |
| Rama Rao, L. | ... | Geological Evolution (Ch. I) |
| Rangaswami, C.V. | ... | The Age of Krishnadevaraya (Ch. XII) |
| Rangaswami Iyengar, H.G. | ... | Kempegowda (Ch. XIII) |
| " " | ... | The Palayagars (Ch. XIII) |

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CONTRIBUTIONS

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Rangaswami Iyengar, H. G. ... | Sidelights on Tipu (Ch. XIII) |
| Ranganath, Dr. H.K. ... | The Kannada Stage (Ch. XIV) |
| Rudrappa, Dr. J. ... | Sakti Visishtadvaita (Ch. X) |
| " " ... | Sakti Visishtadvaita (Ch. XII) |
| Sachidanandmurthy, Dr. M. ... | Kannada (Ch. IX) |
| Sadasiviah, Dr. M. ... | Economic Geology (Ch. I) |
| Sama Rao, P. ... | Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Fine Arts (Ch. XII) |
| Sampathgiri Rao, K. ... | Climate, Rainfall and Irrigation (Ch. II) |
| " " ... | Vaishnavism (Ch. VI) |
| " " ... | Political History—Modern Period (Ch. XIV) |
| " " ... | Mysore after Rendition (Ch. XIV) |
| " " ... | Education in Old Mysore State (Ch. XIV) |
| " " ... | Congress in the States and Mysore (Ch. XV) |
| Sharma, S.R. ... | Jainism (Ch. XII) |
| Seshadri, Dr. M. ... | Races and People of Karnataka (Ch. III) |
| " " ... | Pre-historic Cultures (Ch. IV) |
| " " ... | Mauryan and Satavahana Settlements (Ch. V) |
| " " ... | Architecture (Ch. VI) |
| " " ... | Architecture (Ch. VIII) |
| " " ... | Chalukyan Architecture (Ch. IX) |
| " " ... | Architecture (Ch. X) |
| " " ... | The Bahamani Kingdom (Ch. XII) |
| Silva, S. ... | Christian Missions (Ch. XIV) |
| Sitaramiah, M.V. ... | Kannada (Ch. XIII) |
| Sitaramiah, V. ... | Kannada (Ch. VIII) |
| Sivarudrappa, Dr. A.L. ... | Saivism and Veerasaivism (Ch. X) |
| Srikanta Sastri, Dr. S. ... | Pallavas (Ch. VI) |
| " " ... | Kadambas (Ch. VI) |
| " " ... | Cholas in Karnataka (Ch. IX) |
| Srinivasamurthy, A.P. ... | Economic Conditions (Ch. XIV) |
| Srikantiah, T.N. ... | Languages in Karnataka (Ch. III) |
| Subbaramaiya, D. ... | Karnataka Music (Ch. XIV) |
| Subbaraya, K.V. ... | History of Coorg (Ch. XIV) |
| Subramanyam, N. ... | The Age of Devaraya (Ch. XII) |
| Sunkapur, Dr. M.S. ... | Kannada (Ch. XIV) |
| Suryanarayana, R. ... | Music (Ch. X) |
| Tatti, S.R. ... | Hindustani Music in Karnataka (Ch. XIV) |
| Tirumalachar, Dr. B. ... | Fauna — The Animal Wealth of Karnataka (Ch. II) |
| Upadhye, Dr. A.N. ... | Prakrit (Ch. X) |
| Yamunacharya, M. ... | Visishtadvaita (Ch. X) |

IN GRATITUDE

CONTRIBUTORS

CONTRIBUTIONS

| | | |
|------------------|-----|--|
| Yamunacharya, M. | ... | Visishtadvaita (Ch. XII) |
| " | " | ... |
| | | Religious and Philosophical Movements (Ch. XIV) |

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The Mysore Archaeological Department (for lending blocks and photographs, preparing the alphabet chart and the cover design)

The Karnataka Research Institute, Dharwar, and the Department of Information and Publicity for photographs and maps, and Sri L. Gundappa for preparing the Index.

It was very gracious of Srimathi Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, to have agreed to write a Foreword for this volume and Sri Nijalingappa for his message. I hope this publication would be of help to scholars as well as general readers. The Editorial Board would feel itself amply repaid if full use is made of this volume in knowing ourselves and in the education of the younger generation.

Bangalore

R. R. DIWAKAR

10th March 1968



C O N T E N T S

| INTRODUCTION | PAGE |
|---------------------------------|--|
| (Numbers indicate page numbers) | |
| CHAPTER | |
| I | Geological Evolution of Karnataka, 1 ; Economic Geology, 21 ; Mineral Production (1964), 29. |
| II | Physical Features, 31 ; Climate, Rainfall and Irrigation, 42 ; Flora—The Vegetable Wealth of Karnataka, 48 ; Fauna — The Animal Wealth of Karnataka, 59. |
| III | The Races and Peoples of Karnataka, 70 ; The Languages of Karnataka, 74. |
| IV | The Prehistoric Cultures of Karnataka, 89 ; Traditions and Legends, 93. |
| V | THE EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD : Mauryan and Satavahana Settlements, 99 ; Religion and Society of Karnataka under the Satavahanas, 104. |
| VI | POLITICAL HISTORY : The Kadambas, 111 ; The Gangas of Talakad, 116 ; Minor Dynasties : The Banas, 129 ; The Pallavas and Karnataka, 137 ; The Nolamba Pallavas, 140 ; Punnata, 144. RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE : Saivism, 145 ; Vaishnavism, 156 ; Jainism, 164 ; Buddhism, 171 ; The Kalamukhas, 175 ; Social Life and Economic Conditions, 177 ; Kannada, 183 ; Sanskrit, 189 ; Architecture and Sculpture, 194. |
| VII | POLITICAL HISTORY : The Chalukyas of Badami, 197. RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE : Religion and Philosophy, 213 ; Social Life and Economic Conditions, 217, Sanskrit, 228. |
| VIII | POLITICAL HISTORY : The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, 232. RELIGION AND CULTURE : Religion and Philosophy, 242 ; Kannada, 247 ; Sanskrit, 256 ; Architecture and Sculpture, 261. |
| IX | POLITICAL HISTORY : The Chalukyas of Kalyana, 266 ; The Kalachuris of Kalyana, 289. SOME MINOR DYNASTIES : The Kadambas of Goa, 296 ; The Rattas of Saundatti, 304 ; The Sindas of Yelburga, 308 ; The Guttas of Guttal, 310 ; The Silaharas, 311 ; The Silaharas of South Konkana, 311 ; The Silaharas of Akkalkot, 312 ; The Cholas in Karnataka, 314 ; The Alupas, 321 ; The Senavaras, 322 ; The Institution of Mahamandalesvaras, 324. |

CONTENTS .

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE: Religion and Philosophy, 325; Social Life and Economic Conditions, 328; Education and Science, 324; Kannada, 363; Sanskrit, 374; Chalukyan Architecture, 381; Painting, 389.

X POLITICAL HISTORY: The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, 391; The Yadavas of Devagiri, 401.

SOME MINOR DYNASTIES: The Changalvas, 407; The Kongalvas, 408; The Saluvas, 409; The Pandyas of Uchchangi, 410; Padinalkunad, 411; The Cholas of Nidugal, 412.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE: The Advaita Vedanta of Sankara, 414; Sri Vaishnavism, 419; Vaishnavism, 430; Saivism and Veera-saivism, 442; Veerasaivism, 444; Jainism, 450; Social Life and Economic Conditions, 455; Education and Science, 461; Kannada, 465; Sanskrit, 471; Prakrit, 475; Architecture and Sculpture, 480; Fine Arts, 485; Music, 488.

XI ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS — Early Period, 493.

XII POLITICAL HISTORY: The Rise and Growth of Vijayanagar, 527; The Sangama Dynasty, 534; The Age of Devaraya, 540; The Saluva Dynasty, 544; The Tulu Dynasty, 545; The Age of Krishnadevaraya, 550; The Decline of Vijayanagar, 556; The Aravidu Dynasty, 560; The Bahamani Kingdom, 567.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY: Advaita, 578; Visishtadvaita, 583; Dvaita, 587; Saktivisistadvaita, 591; Jainism, 599; Social and Economic Life, 601; Education and Science, 609; Kannada, 621; Sanskrit, 695; Architecture and other Fine Arts, 648; Karnataka Music, 658.

XIII POLITICAL HISTORY, MINOR KINGDOMS: Yelahanka Prabhus, 665; The Rulers of Keladi, 669; The Palayagars, 679; The Wodeyars of Mysore, 689; Haidar Ali, 697; Tipu Sultan, 703; Karnataka and the Marathas, 709.

RELIGION AND CULTURE: The Haridasas of Karnataka, 713; Veera-saivism, 718; Jaina Culture, 720; The Role of Islam, 721; Christianity, 724; Kannada, 730; Sanskrit, 742.

XIV POLITICAL HISTORY, 749; The History of Coorg, 756; Commissioners' Rule in Mysore, 762; The Mysore State after Rendition, 771.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE: The Impact of the West on Karnataka, 786; Religious and Philosophic Movements, 789; Aspects of Social Life, 795; A Survey of Economic Conditions, 799; Education, 811; History of Kannada Journalism, 831; Christian Missions in Karnataka, 839; Kannada, 844; Sanskrit, 852; The Kannada Stage, 866; Karnataka Music, 871; Hindustan Music in Karnataka,

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

875; Dance in the old Mysore State, 877; Architecture and Sculpture, 881.

XV The Congress and Karnataka, 886.

XVI Major Freedom Movements, 912.

XVII Karnataka Unification, 940.

XVIII Mysore before and after Integration, 960.

EPILOGUE, 968.

APPENDICES

I The Sakta Cult in Karnataka by Sri K. Guru Dutt, 972.

II The Folk Songs of Karnataka by Sri Mathighatta Krishnamurthy, 984.

III Dakhni and Urdu in Karnataka by Sri Mahmood Husine, 991.

IV Telugu Literature in Karnataka by Sri K. Subbaramappa, 1001.

V Marathi Language and Literature in Karnataka by Pandit Avalikar, 1003.

VI Konkani in Karnataka by Sri S. Silva, 1005.

VII Kodagu Language and Literature by Sri D. N. Krishnaiya, 1009.

VIII Tulu Language and Literature by Prof. Mariappa Bhat, 1013.

IX A Satavahana Settlement recently discovered by Dr. M. Seshadri, 1017.

Glossary 1021

Bibliography 1037

Index 1050

DIAGRAMS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Stratigraphical Scale, showing the main divisions and their approximate duration of time | 4 |
| 2. Geological Clock | 5 |

MAPS

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Peninsular India | 8 |
| 2. Geological Map of Peninsular India | 9 |
| 3. Geological Map of Karnataka | 15 |
| 4. Prehistoric Karnataka | 91 |
| 5. Mauryan and Satavahana Settlements in Karnataka | 101 |
| 6. Gangas | 117 |
| 7. Badami Chalukyas | 199 |
| 8. The Rashtrakuta Empire | 236 |
| 9. Hoysalas | 396 |
| 10. Deccan in 1525 | 553 |
| 11. In 1782 and 1799 | 748 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Neolithic axes from T.-Narsipur, Mysore Dt.
2. General view of the river pebble bed, Ghataprabha
3. Buddhist Mound, Sannati, Gulbarga Dt.
4. Ghataprabha pebble bed
5. T. N. 22, General view of excavation
6. Asokan Inscription, Brahmagiri
7. Mound — Banavasi
8. Jog Falls
9. Sannati Ayaka Pillar with relief depicting a domestic scene
10. Nativity of the Buddha — Covering Slab of a Stupa at Sannati
11. The Talagunda Pillar Inscription — 5th century
12. Halmidi Inscription — 5th Century
13. Chalukyan Ardhanariswara — Mahakuteswara — 6th century
14. Papanatha Temple, Pattadakal
15. Lokamahadevi or Virupaksha Temple, Pattadakal
16. Durga Temple, Aihole
17. Naga, Badami
18. Ladkhan Temple, Aihole
19. Vishnu Seated, Badami Cave 3
20. Trivikrama. Badami Cave 3
21. From a painting in the Badami Cave
22. Temple of Mallikarjuna, Pattadakal
23. Harihareswara Temple, Harihar
24. 18-handed Nataraja, Badami
25. Siva-Tandava on a ceiling, Aralaguppa, Tumkur Dt.
26. Chavundaraya Basti, Sravanabelagola
27. Lakulisa
28. The Colossal Statue of Gommateswara, Sravanabelagola
29. A Poet's Autograph, Sravanabelagola (Sri Kavi Ratna)
30. Western Ganga Gold Coins
31. Panchakuta Basti, Kambadahalli (Hassan Dt.)
32. Gullakayajji, Sravanabelagola
33. A Veeragal from Hiregundagal, depicting a fight between the Gangas and Rashtrakutas.
34. A Veeragal from Hire-Madhure
35. A close-up of the face of Gommateswara, Sravanabelagola
36. Inscribed metallic image of the Ganga Period from Jaina Matha, Sravanabelagola
37. Depicting the death of Neetimarga, Doddahundi
38. Inscription of Kappe Arabhatta, Badami
39. Dancing Indra — Bhandari Basadi, Sravanabelagola
40. General view of the Hoysalesvara Temple, Halebid
41. Wall details and Friezes, Hoysalesvara Temple, Halebid

42. Wall details, Hoysalesvara Temple, Halebid
43. Episode from Yakshagana, Halebid
44. Bracket figure : Lady with parrot, Chennakesava Temple (1117 A.D.), Belur.
45. Lady with Mirror, Chennakesava Temple, Belur
46. Lady in a dancing pose, Chennakesava Temple, Belur
47. Lady at her toilet, Chennakesava Temple, Belur
48. Bracket figure from the Navaranga of the Chennakesava Temple, Belur
49. Navaranga Pillars, Chennakesava Temple, Belur
50. Central Ceilling, with Narasimha in miniature form, Chennakesava Temple, Belur
51. Kesava Temple, Somanathapur
52. A Hoysala Inscription Stone, Kesava Temple, Somanathapur
53. Wall details from the Santinatha Basadi, Jinanathapura (Hassan Dt.)
54. Vidyasankara Temple, Sringeri
55. Temples on the Hemakuta Hill, with Virupaksha Temple, Hampi
56. A Panoramic view of the Virupaksha Temple, Hampi
57. Vittalasvami Temple, Hampi
58. Hazara Ramaswami Temple with bas reliefs on the outer walls
59. Gold Coins of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutadevaraya, a Sorab Hoard
60. Lotus Mahal, Hampi
61. The Royal Crest of the Vijayanagar Kingdom
62. Mutilated figure of Narasimha, Hampi
63. Vijayanagar Coins
64. Mohamed Gawan's College, Bidar
65. Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur
66. Gol Gumbaz, Bijapur
67. Venkataramanasvami Temple, built by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, Fort. Bangalore
68. Daria Daulat (Summer Palace) of Tipu Sultan, Srirangapattana
69. Webb's Monument, Nandi Hills
70. Gumbaz (Tombs of Haidar and Tipu), Srirangapattana
71. Monuments on the Chitradurga Hill
72. Manjunatha Temple, Dharmasthala, South Kanara
73. Equestrian statue of Chamaraja Wodeyar X, Lalbagh. Bangalore City
74. Maharaja's Palace, Mysore
75. Sri Krishna Temple, Udupi, with the Temple cars
76. The Oriental Research Institute, Mysore
77. Khedda Operations
78. Brindavan Gardens and the Krishnarajasagar Dam, Mysore
79. St. Philomena's Church, Mysore
80. Karnataka University, Dharwar
81. Tungabhadra Dam, Hospet
82. Vidhanasoudha (The Secretariat), Bangalore

INTRODUCTION

Man's horizon is daily expanding. If early man began to live first as member of a family and then of a tribe in the remote past, he is today thinking of and striving for the One World and a single human community. Gandhi once said, 'I make no distinction between man and man, To me humanity is one.' And yet, conditioned as man is and limited as his powers are, he has to function in smaller groups; but he must function without losing the vaster perspective of the whole of humanity.

India since ancient times has been looked upon as one and indivisible, both by Indians and by outsiders. Yet India has always consisted of varied groups of people, with many religions and many languages; and this has led to the 'Unity in diversity' pattern of the Indian People. With the new awakening of nationalism in the nineteenth century, which spread throughout the country, it was inevitable that it should give rise to local patriotism. This has crystallized now in the form of linguistic States. This new release of energy is something which has to be utilized for the progress of the nation as a whole, without allowing it to be parochial and selfish.

Karnataka, which emerged as a recognized State in 1956 by an Act of Parliament, has a history and an individuality of its own. It played its part in the struggle for independence and is now active along with other States in trying to build a new India worthy of its great past. At this juncture it is necessary that the people of Karnataka should be aware of the common heritage they have with India and the humble contribution they have made through the ages to that heritage. Karnataka, like India herself, has passed through several vicissitudes of political fortunes and misfortunes, during the last two millennia. But in spite of these vicissitudes there has been a continuity of cultural hertiage, development of language and literature, and the formation of an individuality which is in tune with India as a whole.

The attempt in these pages is to trace in bare outline the course of events and especially the way in which the people of this part of the country have lived and acted. Political history is no doubt important. But more important is the life of the people, their religious faith, their philosophy, their ethical code, their economic and social conditions, and their arts, and culture. Special efforts have, therefore, been made here to collect and present material on the aspects noted above. One wishes that more source material was available. But, unfortunately, Indians as a whole seem to be far less history-minded than other peoples. One has often to go to foreign sources even for our own history. It is time that special attention is devoted to this matter of national importance.

The modest aim of this book is to make the people of Karnataka know their past and how their life has flowed during the last two millennia. Incidentally, all Indians and the outside world can know from this volume how a certain group of people have lived and toiled and tried to make human life here what it is today. Readers will not also fail to notice that much is common with the whole of India and it is only some stress here and some emphasis there which distinguishes life in Karnataka from that of others.

There is no doubt that this knowledge of the great past of Karnataka is valuable; but the best use of this knowledge lies in deriving inspiration from the past to work hard in the present, so that a greater future may be forged.

Let us hope that this happens and a new vista opens before youthful Karnataka and young India.

R. R. DIWAKAR



KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

Diacritical marks where necessary have been inserted to aid pronunciation as follows :

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|----|---|---|---------|---|---|---|
| आ | अ | ā | ई | ऊ | i or ee | ए | व | ē |
| क | ख | ū | ग | घ | g | ओ | ः | ō |
| ट | ठ | t | ड | ढ | ṭh | ढ | ड | ḍ |
| ढ | ड | ḍh | ण | न | ṇ | श | ष | ś |

A CORRECTION

In the list of illustrations, and the titles for them, the following correction may kindly be noted :

15. Harihareswara Temple, Harihar.
23. Lokamahadevi or Virupaksha Temple, Pattadakal.

CHAPTER I

1. GEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF KARNATAKA

IT is frequently said that the 'history' of a country is to a great extent determined by its 'geography'; but it is not often realised that this 'geography' itself in its turn is largely the expression of the geological history of the region. It is, therefore, most appropriate that the first chapter of this volume dealing with 'Karnataka Through the Ages' should begin with an account of the geological evolution of this region so as to provide the necessary background.

Karnataka may be broadly described as that region in South India which is inhabited predominantly by the Kannada-speaking people. It occupies a prominent position in the middle of the western half of Southern India, and has a total area of about 74,000 square miles. It is bounded on the northern, eastern and southern sides by the adjacent States of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Kerala; on the western side, its boundary is the coast-line of the Arabian Sea stretching from Karwar in the north to Mangalore in the south, a distance of about 350 miles. Geographically speaking, Karnataka is a part of the Deccan plateau, with an average elevation of about 1800-2000 feet above sea-level; but the region is characterised by its own pattern of physical and topographical features which have been outlined and determined by the geological history of the area.

MAIN IDEAS IN EARTH HISTORY:

With this brief introduction, the geological history of Karnataka or its 'geological evolution' may be considered. The use of the word 'evolution' in this connection is specially significant since it connotes two important ideas: (i) a series of changes have taken place in this region one after another; and (ii) this succession of changes covers a long period of time. The study of all geological evolution, which may be described as 'Earth History', starts with the basic and well-established fact that a series of changes have taken place on the earth's surface from time to time and that the causes bringing about these changes have been operating continuously. Thus it becomes evident that for any study of Historical Geology, we should first know something about the origin, nature and magnitude of the 'dynamical agents' bringing about these changes and, at the same time, also have a concrete idea of the span of time during which these agents have been operating.

The important question that has to be tackled at the very outset is the one relating to the age of the earth ; for this will give us an idea of geological time, or the time covered by the earth's geological history. This problem has been considered from many points of view, and various and differing conclusions have been arrived at. Without going into the details of these lines of investigation and their relative merits and demerits, we might say that the age of the earth, as estimated on the basis of the recently developed methods in the study of radioactive minerals, is now recognised as the most acceptable and reliable. According to these studies, the age of the earth is at least 3000 million years, a very very long period of time indeed, one which it is difficult for us even to conceive clearly. This, then, is the period covered by the earth's history. The problem for the geologist is to decipher the nature and succession of all the changes that have taken place during this enormously long period and reconstruct the earth's past history and geological evolution.

PRINCIPLES OF HISTORICAL GEOLOGY :

The fundamental question that arises at the very outset is this : how and on what basis has the geologist proceeded to tackle this problem ? The earlier geologists soon realised the important fact that for deciphering the past history of the earth, we must go to the very rocks composing the earth's crust. It was evident that the earth has written down, as it were, its own 'autobiography' in these rocks : all that the geologist had to do was to learn the 'language' in which it was written and understand its contents. It was thus obvious that for reconstructing the past history of the earth, it was first of all necessary to study all the rocks found on the surface of the earth, with special reference to their nature, arrangement and mutual relationship.

These rocks may be broadly divided into two main groups, (i) Igneous and (ii) Sedimentary. Igneous rocks are those that have been formed by the cooling and consolidation of molten material either in the deeper parts of the earth's crust or on the surface after eruption as lavas. Sedimentary rocks, on the other hand, originate, as the very name indicates, by the accumulation of sand, silt and mud as sediments under water. The common granite is the best example of an igneous rock ; while the ordinary sandstone is a typical member of the sedimentary group. In addition to these two divisions, a third group is also usually recognised. It includes all those rocks, originally igneous or sedimentary, which have later undergone pronounced structural and mineralogical changes due to the effects of intense heat and pressure. These are what are known as 'Metamorphic rocks'. Schists and Gneisses are the best examples of such metamorphic rocks.

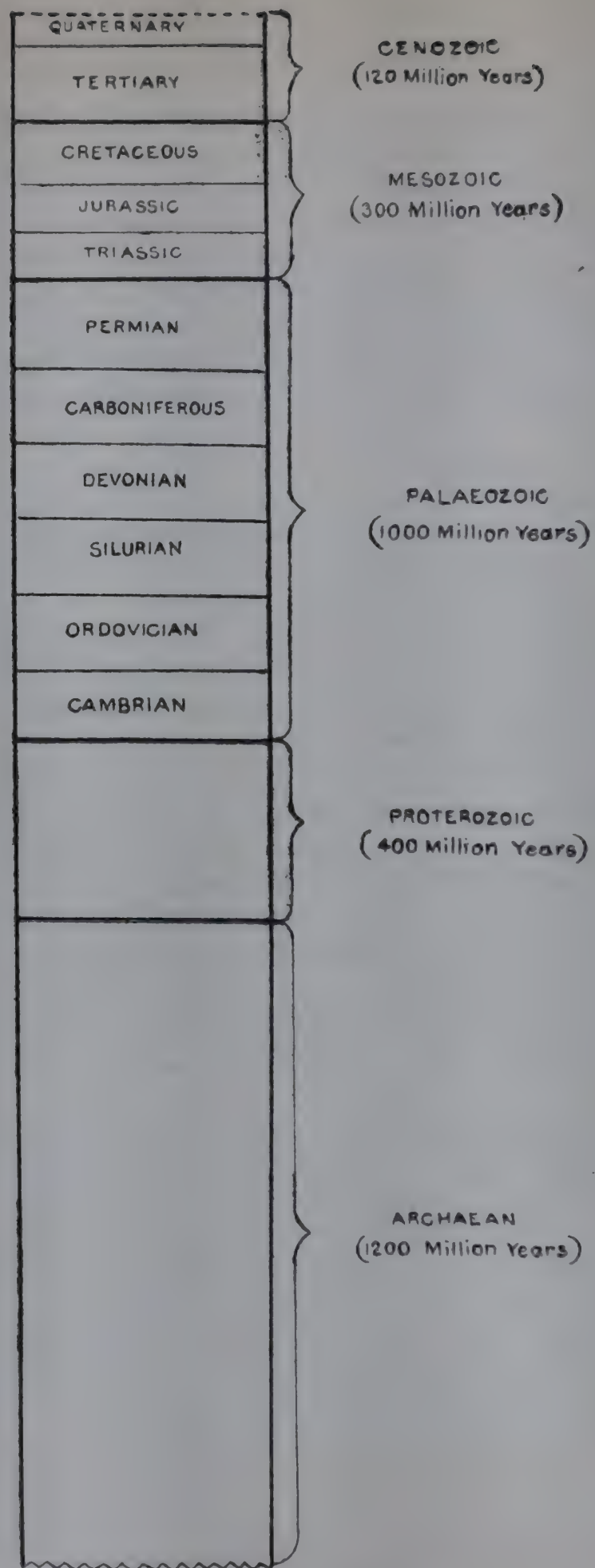
Of all these rocks the most valuable for the purpose of reconstructing the past history of the earth is the group known as 'Sedimentary Rocks'. The most widespread of such rocks are of course those formed under the sea,

for the seas and oceans have at all times provided the most extensive basins for the accumulation of sediments. The two important and exclusive characteristics of sedimentary rocks which give them their value in Historical Geology are: (i) they occur in regular and distinct beds or strata, one overlying the other, and (ii) they frequently contain what are known as 'fossils', *i.e.*, the remains of ancient animals and plants that lived and died in these basins of sedimentation at the time the deposits were formed. These two features ultimately provide the very foundation for the study of all Historical Geology and as such have received the largest amount of attention.

GEOLOGICAL TIME :

Before proceeding further it is necessary to have a clear picture of the duration of geological time so as to be able to view the successive changes in the earth's history in their proper perspective. As already mentioned this is an enormously long period of time, 3000 million years; and during this period thousands of feet of strata have been formed, layer upon layer in different parts of the earth's surface. The entire succession of these strata and the overall period of time which they represent are broadly divided by the historical geologist into five major groups or eras. These may be considered as corresponding to the five 'volumes', as it were, in the earth's history. Each of these major groups is further divided into a certain number of sub-divisions called geological systems; these would correspond to the different 'chapters' in each volume. These different eras and their constituent systems arranged in their proper chronological order gives us a 'Stratigraphical Scale' by means of which we may indicate the relative age of any series of strata. The standard scale showing the main subdivisions and also the approximate duration of time in years covered by each of the major divisions are shown in Figure 1.

To help us in getting a concrete and vivid picture of the long periods of time involved in this study and their relative duration, we may think of the entire duration of 'geological time' on a reduced scale represented, say, by 24 hours; each hour in this 'geological clock' would then actually represent about 125 million years of geological time. (See figure 2). In this clock, the Archaean era by itself would (See Figure 2) cover nine hours and the Proterozoic, three hours; thus these two divisions alone will make up about one half of the entire geological time! Of the remaining twelve hours, the Cenozoic is just one hour. The different geological systems in each of these eras would indicate their relative ages within these major divisions. A picture like this would help in giving us some idea of the length and relative duration of geological time and its subdivisions. It is most necessary to have this clearly in mind during the study of all Historical Geology as it would enable us to get a clear perspective of Earth History. (See Figure 2.)



STANDARD STRATIGRAPHICAL SCALE

Showing the main divisions and their approximate duration in time

Figure 1

GEOLOGICAL CLOCK



Each hour in this Clock represents about 125 Million Years

Figure 2

It is also interesting to note that the rocks of the whole Archaean group are entirely devoid of fossils; in other words, they are totally 'unfossiliferous,' the only few organic remains found here and there being those of soft primitive, and lowly organised animals and plants whose exact nature is often very hazy and doubtful. Well-preserved and definitely recognizable fossils are noticed only from the beginning of the Palaeozoic era, *i.e.*, practically after the first half of the earth's history was over. If we study and review this record of fossils or the 'Palaeontological Record', as it is called, from the Palaeozoic onwards right up to the present day, we find that there is not only a continuous succession but also a continual progression of these life forms. They afford the most reliable and convincing evidence in support of the idea of 'organic evolution'. Thus man, as an animal representing the highest product of evolution, is naturally the latest to appear on this scene; in fact according to the above 'Geological Clock', the period of time that has elapsed since man as such made his appearance on the earth's surface is hardly three or four minutes; and the period within this time during which 'Human History' has come to be written is just a few seconds! Compare this with the 24 hours during which the earth has been in existence, and you will get an idea of where exactly the advent of man on the earth's surface stands in relation to geological time!

OUTLINES OF THE GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF INDIA :

With the above brief review of the general principles of Historical Geology serving as a background, the geological history of Karnataka may now be considered. It must, however, be pointed out at once that in such a study we cannot confine our attention to the particular region concerned, but must widen our outlook as far as possible to cover adjacent areas; for geographical and geological features are in no way controlled by the narrow regional boundaries which we may draw on a map from time to time to suit our political or administrative convenience. It is obvious that the geological history of 'Karnataka' is only a part of the geological history of India; and it is, therefore, necessary for us to get an idea of the main outlines of the geological evolution of India as a whole to be able to better understand and appreciate the geology of the Karnataka region in its proper setting.

On the basis of geological history, India may be divided into three distinct parts: (i) the Peninsula in the South covering the triangular portion of the country, roughly south of a line connecting Kutch and Calcutta, (ii) the Extra Peninsula in the north covering the highly mountainous region of the Himalayas with its extensions into the adjacent countries, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Sind on the western side, and Burma on the eastern; and (iii) the Indo-Gangetic Alluvium in the middle which constitutes the exten-

sive and uniformly flat country between the Peninsula on one side and extra-Peninsula on the other. (See figure 3).

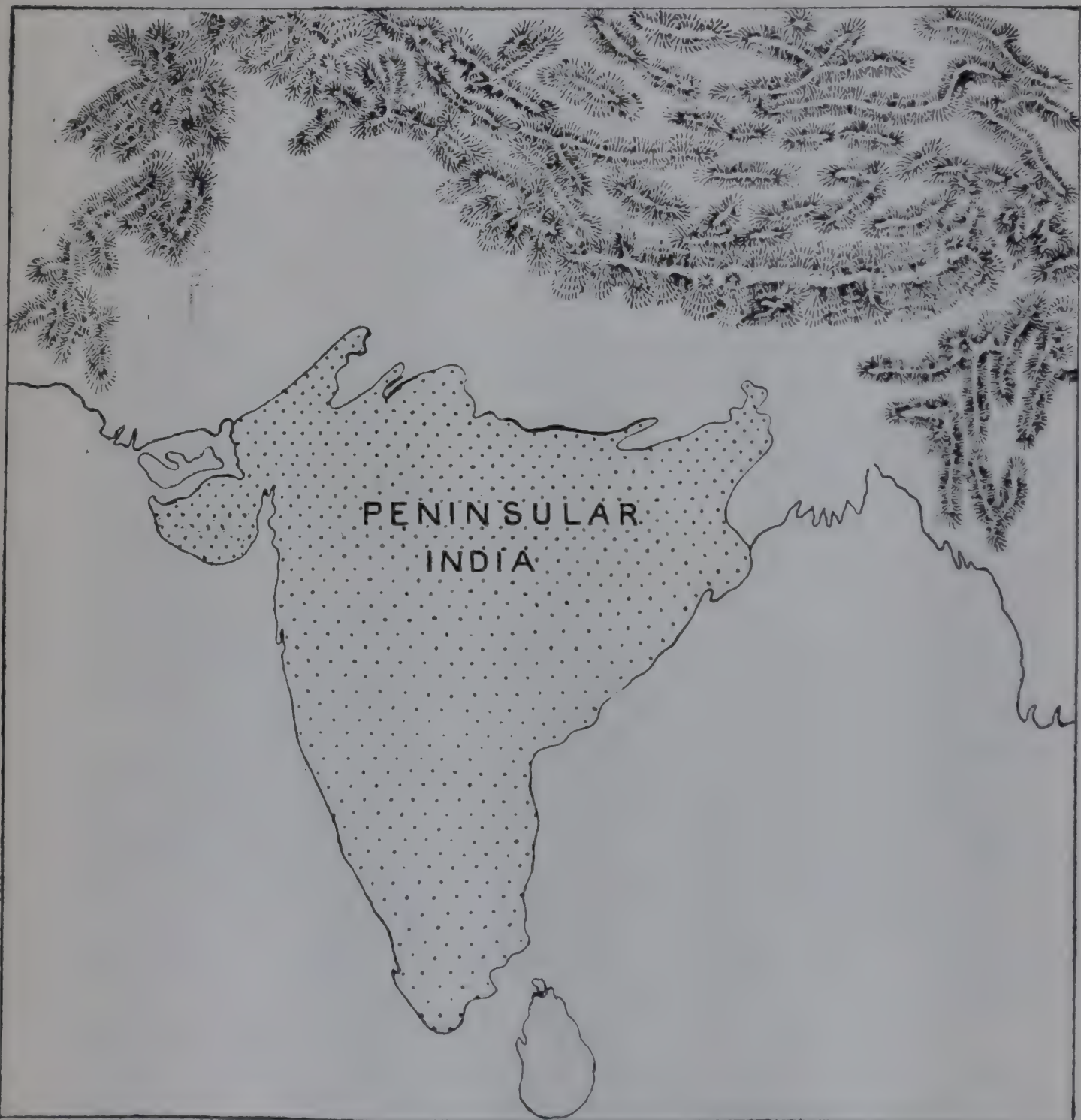
Each of these three divisions is characterised by certain fundamental features which are the expression of its distinctive geological character. Peninsular India represents a very firm and stable block of the earth's crust which has stood out as a solid land-mass above the sea level ever since the close of the Proterozoic era. The extra-Peninsular India, on the other hand, represents a relatively weak, pliable, and geologically unstable region which has been covered by a more or less extensive sea from the Proterozoic times till comparatively very recently. The middle division, *viz.*, the Indo-Gangetic Alluvium as the very name indicates, is the broad flat plain country formed by the accumulation, during geologically recent times, of the alluvial deposits of the main Himalayan rivers like the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and their tributaries.

As already mentioned, Peninsular India is an excellent example of what are known as 'Shield Areas', areas which constitute, as it were, the very foundations of the Earth's crust and have resisted the effects of all the later violent earth movements which elsewhere resulted in large-scale upheavals and subsidences of land areas. 60% of the total area of Peninsular India is thus composed only of the most ancient rocks, *viz.*, the Archaeans; in parts of the remaining portion we get, overlying the Archaeans, some exposures of sedimentary formations belonging to the next great era, *viz.*, the Proterozoic. These sedimentary formations of the Proterozoic era have been broadly classified into two divisions; the older group known as the Cuddapah system found largely in Cuddapah and Karnool Districts, and the younger division known as the Vindhyan system, so called because rocks of this age are typically developed in the region of the Vindhyan mountains. (See Figure 4.)

At the close of the Proterozoic era, all these basins of sedimentation were eliminated due to earth movements and the whole of Peninsular India became one extensive land-mass. It has remained so practically throughout the rest of geological time from the commencement of the Palaeozoic right up to the present day; on the other hand, even after the Proterozoic period, large parts of extra-Peninsular India were still covered by the sea in which marine fossiliferous beds were being continuously deposited representing various periods of the Palaeozoic era.

About the close of the Palaeozoic era, there intervened a series of stupendous earth-movements constituting one of the major 'revolutions' in the history of the earth, as a result of which there were widespread and striking changes in the distribution of continents and oceans all over the world.

In spite of these powerful earth-movements which brought about such drastic changes elsewhere, Peninsular India still persisted as a land-mass well above the sea level. The only effect of these earth movements in this part of India was the coming into existence of certain rectilinear troughs or basins



Scale
0 100 200 MILES

Figure 3



GEOLOGICAL MAP OF PENINSULAR INDIA
Showing the position of karnataka (Brokenline)

Figure 4

due to what is called 'block-faulting'. These depressions thus became also areas of sedimentation; but these sediments, unlike those of extra-Peninsular India, were only inland deposits of fresh water origin due to the accumulation of sand, silt and mud brought and laid down by the then existing rivers of Peninsular India. These freshwater deposits continued to be formed, although only in relatively small and narrow areas, from the Permian times till the early part of the Cretaceous period. This series of fresh water sediments thus constitute a distinct unit in the stratigraphy of Peninsular India to which the name 'Gondwana System' is given. The rocks of this system found in Peninsular India are specially valuable from the economic point of view; for it is in the beds belonging to the lower half of this group that we get most of the coal deposits of India.

Another most interesting point to which special attention should be drawn is that during the period (Permian to Cretaceous) during which the Gondwana beds were being deposited, Peninsular India formed part of a big land-mass running right across the present Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, connecting Peninsular India with South Africa on one side and Australia on the other; and it is believed that this land extended even further westwards across the South Atlantic right up to South America. To this huge continent extending from South America at one end right up to Australia at the other, across South Africa and Peninsular India, the name 'Gondwanaland' has been given. A study of Gondwanaland and its geological history constitutes one of the most illuminating and fascinating chapters not only in the study of Indian geology, but of Earth History as a whole.

At the close of the Cretaceous period there intervened another important series of major earth movements marking another 'revolution' in the earth's history. So far as Peninsular India is concerned, there were two important events which were initiated as a result of these crustal movements: (i) the disruption of 'Gondwanaland' and its breaking up into separate land-masses, South America, Africa, Peninsular India and Australia as we see them today, and (ii) the outburst of enormous volcanic activity in the north-western part of Peninsular India.

With the breaking-up of Gondwanaland in the south at the dawn of the Tertiary period, Peninsular India attained more or less its present triangular configuration, with the Bay of Bengal on one side and the Arabian Sea on the other.

The outburst of extensive volcanic activity in parts of Peninsular India at the close of the Cretaceous period constitutes one of the most remarkable episodes in Earth History. Due to the intense earth movements that took place at this period, huge rents and fissures opened up in the earth's crust in the north-western part of this region through which enormous quantities of the underlying molten rock-material was thrown out as lava. These lava flows spread to varying distances in all directions and ultimately covered an

area of more than 200,000 square miles with an average thickness of about 3000 feet. This volcanic rock formation now constitutes a prominent part of the 'Deccan Plateau' and is appropriately named as the 'Deccan Trap'. It covers an extensive area in the north-western portion of Peninsular India including large parts of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra. The Deccan Trap is entirely a volcanic rock formation; and being of igneous origin it is naturally unfossiliferous. After the formation of the Deccan Trap there was nothing of special importance in the geological history of Peninsular India during the Tertiary and post-Tertiary periods, and the entire country assumed an appearance such as we see it today.

GEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF KARNATAKA :

Karnataka is a part of Peninsular India and the main features of its geological history are essentially similar to those of Peninsular India. From the stratigraphical point of view, the record of rock formations in this region is very imperfect as in the rest of Peninsular India; in fact, it is even more so. The only three important formations found in Karnataka are, (1) the Archaeans, (2) the Kaladgis (representing a small part of the older Proterozoic era) and (3) the Deccan Trap of the early Tertiary age (See Figure 4). Of these the Archaeans are by far the most extensive in distribution occupying about 75 per cent of the total area of the State; the Kaladgis are confined to a small part in the northern half of the region, while the Deccan Trap just occurs as a fringe at the northern end of the State along the border between Karnataka and Maharashtra.

ARCHAEANS :

As already mentioned, nearly three-fourths of the Karnataka region is composed of the most ancient group of rocks known as the Archaeans. These Archaeans include a great variety of rocks of diverse chemical composition and mode of origin, all of which have been subjected to various vicissitudes from time to time. As a result, they have often been highly disturbed and greatly metamorphosed. They thus constitute a most complicated assemblage of rocks, and the entire formation is appropriately referred to as the 'Archaean Complex'. Generally speaking, among the constituent rocks of this 'Complex' the most common are granites, gneisses, and schists; associated with these are also found other rock-types like quartzites and limestones. It was at one time suggested that all the rocks of the Archaean complex were mainly igneous in character; recent studies, however, have shown that this is not true. Some of these rocks have now been proved to have originated as true sediments laid down under water; very little is known, however, regarding the exact nature of these ancient sedimentary basins or the environ-

mental conditions under which these primeval sediments were deposited. Like all other Archaean rocks in or outside India, these rocks of the Karnataka region are entirely devoid of fossils.

On the basis of detailed field studies in recent years, four important subdivisions have now been recognised in this 'Archaean Complex' of the Karnataka region. Arranged according to their relative ages, number 1 being the oldest, these are as follows :

| | | |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------|
| ARCHAEAN COMPLEX : | { | (4) Granites |
| | | (3) Charnockites |
| | | (2) Peninsular Gneiss |
| | | (1) Dharwar System |

THE DHARWAR SYSTEM :

The oldest subdivision known as the Dharwar System (or the 'Dharwars', as they are commonly called) is perhaps the most important from many points of view. The credit of having established this system as a distinct unit in the Archaean Complex of this part of India goes to Bruce Foote who was the first to survey the geology of this region as far back as 1876, and since he noticed that these rocks were found round about Dharwar, he called his new subdivision the 'Dharwar System'. Similar rocks have since been noticed in many other parts of Peninsular India both in and outside Karnataka. The Dharwar System is now recognised as one of the most important subdivisions of the Archaean Complex throughout India. Detailed studies of these rocks in the Karnataka region have been made and as a result of these investigations many valuable contributions have been made to our knowledge of the Dharwar System not only of Mysore but also of Peninsular India as a whole. On the basis of these studies the rocks of the Dharwar system in this region have been further divided into three subdivisions, the Lower, the Middle, and the Upper. The lower division, which is the oldest, is largely composed of igneous rocks mostly of the nature of acid and basic lava flows which form the very basement of the entire formation; the next division, the Middle Dharwars, is made up of schists, quartzites, limestones, dolomites and banded ferruginous quartzites. Some of them at least seem to have been undoubtedly sedimentary in origin. The Upper Dharwars are composed of rock-types like conglomerates, quartzites, cherty and ferruginous silts, and limestones many of which reveal clear indications of their original sedimentary nature. The rocks of all these three subdivisions, however, have been frequently subjected to intense heat and pressure due to later igneous activities and earth movements, with the result that they have undergone such

a complete change in their structure and mineral constituents that it is often very difficult to ascertain at the present day their exact original nature at the time of their formation. The rocks of the Dharwar System are evidently the oldest known rocks on the earth's surface; and it is even surmised by some that some of these rocks might actually represent portions of the first formed crust of the earth.

So far as Karnataka is concerned, the rocks of the Dharwar System usually occur as narrow bands or belts running roughly from north-west to south-east; and since the rocks composing these bands are mostly of the nature of schists they are frequently referred to as the 'schist belts'. Of these schist belts the three well known are, (i) the Dharwar-Shimoga schist belt, (ii) the Gadag-Chitradurga schist belt, and (iii) the Kolar schist belt. Of these, the first one is the most extensive, running for about 350 miles with a maximum width of about 100 miles in its southern part; the second is a longer but narrower belt running from near Nargund in the north to Mysore in the south, a distance of about 550 miles, with a maximum width of only about 50 miles. The third one, *viz.*, the Kolar schist belt is very much smaller than the other two, being only about 40 miles long with a width of just about 6 miles. But this is the most valuable, since it is the rocks of this schist belt that contain all the gold taken out from the world-famous Kolar Gold Fields.

Apart from these three belts, the rocks of the Dharwar System are also very much in evidence in four other areas of the Karnataka region, each of which is very important from the economic point of view. These four areas are: (a) the Supa-Londa area (N. Kanara District) notable for its good deposits of Manganese ore, (b) the Hungund area (Bijapur District) known for its iron ores, (c) the Hatti area (Raichur District) famous for its gold-bearing rocks, and (d) the Sandur Area (Bellary District) containing rich and extensive deposits of both iron and manganese ores.

The rocks of the Dharwar System are most valuable since it is these that contain all the rich metalliferous ore deposits for which Karnataka is famous. The most outstanding of these is, of course, the well-known Kolar Gold Fields. Gold also occurs in several other parts of Karnataka; the best known of these being near Hatti in Raichur District and Gadag in Dharwar District. Detailed explorations on modern lines, which are now being conducted in both these places, may reveal that some of these deposits are potential gold mines like those of Kolar. Apart from gold, the extensive iron and manganese ore deposits of Karnataka also constitute a most valuable part of the State's mineral resources. The copper deposits found near Ingaladhal (Chitradurga District) and Kalyadi (Hassan District) are also noteworthy. In addition to these, many other economic mineral deposits are found in various parts of Karnataka which provide the necessary raw material for several industries.

PENINSULAR GNEISS :

Next to the Dharwars, and much younger in age, we have the Peninsular gneiss which form the main portion of the Archaean complex of Karnataka. The predominant rock in this formation is the crystalline banded rock known as gneiss; and since this gneiss covers quite a large part of Peninsular India as a whole, the entire formation has come to be called the Peninsular Gneiss. A detailed study of the Peninsular Gneiss has shown that this formation is also of the nature of a 'Complex', including several different kinds of gneisses, with which are also intimately associated large masses of granites of various kinds. Generally speaking, all these rocks are igneous in origin and have come up from the deeper portions of the earth's crust cutting their way or 'intruding' through the previously existing rocks of the Dharwar System. In this process the older Dharwars were pushed aside, as it were, and restricted in extent to a few small areas here and there; the later gneisses and granites came to occupy most of the surface. These Peninsular gneisses frequently include veins of what are known as Pegmatites; and these are of some special value since they frequently contain many rare minerals of great economic value or scientific interest.

CHARNOCKITES :

Long after the formation of the Peninsular Gneiss, there came into existence another rock formation which forms a very interesting and important constituent of the Archaean Complex of Peninsular India: this formation is what is known as the 'Charnockites'. The Charnockites were first recognised as a distinct unit in the Archaean Complex of Peninsular India by Sir Thomas Holland in 1900, who described them as constituting a 'family' of igneous plutonic rocks. A small part of this Charnockite formation is also found in Karnataka, being confined to the southernmost part of the State (See Figure 5). The best occurrences are near Biligiri-ranganabetta. The Charnockites are also coarse-grained crystalline rocks but of varied mineral composition. As a group they are all younger than the Peninsular Gneiss.

YOUNGER GRANITES :

Subsequent to the formation of these Charnockites, there was another intrusion of a series of granites and allied rocks roughly along a north-south belt extending from Bellary in the north to Sivasamudram in the south. The most common rock-type in this series is a coarse-grained crystalline granite; the rock is of various colours and frequently shows big-sized lustrous pink or grey-coloured feldspar crystals embedded in the mass of the rock, thus presenting a most handsome appearance, especially when polished. This type

GEOLOGICAL MAP OF KARNATAKA

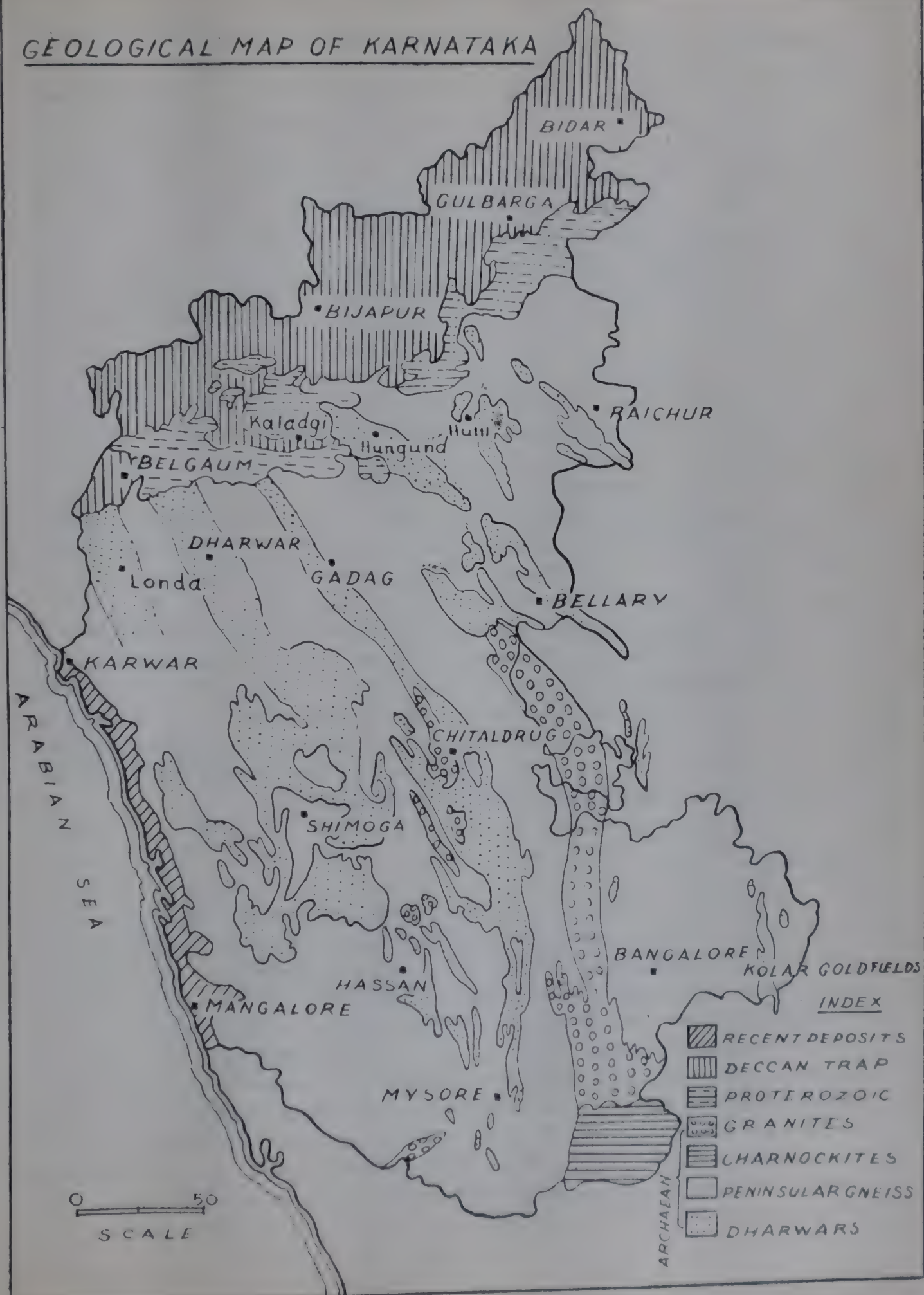


Figure 5

of granite is very well evident round about Closepet (now known as Ramanagaram), and the entire formation has thus come to be called the 'Closepet Granites'. As already mentioned, these rocks occur almost as a continuous formation from Bellary in the north to Sivasamudram in the south, a distance of about 400 miles. Being composed of comparatively younger and more resistant rocks, they stand out as a chain of hill-ranges all along this region. Those near Bellary, Chitradurga, Hosadurga, Arsikere, Nandi, Sivaganga, Magadi, Closepet (Ramanagaram) and Mysore are the most prominent. Towards the southern end of this Closepet Granite belt, and not far from it, occur another series of rocks well-known as the 'Porphyries'. They are also usually considered as part of the Closepet Granites series and they occur very commonly in parts of the Mandya and Mysore Districts. The best-known exposures are near Srirangapattana. These rocks have a very characteristic appearance due to big lustrous crystals of feldspar being embedded in a fine-grained ground mass which forms the body of the rock. The feldspar crystals are of various colours, and the colour of the ground mass also varies from place to place. Thus we get several kinds of these porphyries with all sorts of variation in the colour scheme. When cut and polished they present a most beautiful and pleasing appearance. They are, therefore, considered as some of our most valuable ornamental and decorative building stones, and are famous as such all over India and abroad.

This concludes a brief account of the four main rock-formations: (i) the Dharwars, (ii) the Peninsular Gneisses, (iii) the Charnockites and (iv) the Closepet Granites. Together they constitute the Archaean Complex of Mysore and cover more than 75 per cent of the entire area of Karnataka. Though these formations are of different ages relatively amongst themselves, the important point to remember is that they all belong to the Archaean era, the oldest period known in the history of the earth.

PROTEROZOIC ERA :

So far as Karnataka is concerned, rocks of this age are confined to a very small and narrow area in the northern part of the State extending north-east from near Belgaum to Chincholi (Gulbarga District). Since the old rocks of this group are well-developed round about Kaladgi in the Bijapur District, they are named as the 'Kaladgi Series'. These rocks here represent a relatively minor part of the Cuddapah System; they are chiefly composed of undoubted sedimentary rocks like conglomerates, sandstones, shales and limestones. To the north-east of the area occupied by the Kaladgis, we see in parts of the Bijapur and Gulbarga Districts another series of sedimentary rocks known as the 'Bhima series'. These rocks are generally similar to those of the Kaladgis, but are younger in age, belonging to the lower part of the Vindhyan System.

At the close of the Proterozoic era, another extensive series of crustal movements took place in Peninsular India as a result of which all these basins of sedimentation wherein the Cuddapahs and the Vindhya's were being deposited were completely eliminated by the upheaval of their floor; and Peninsular India thus became one extensive land-mass well above the sea level. The small sedimentary basin in north Karnataka where the Kaladgis and the Bhima series of rocks were formed also disappeared and the whole of the Karnataka region became dry land at the close of the Proterozoic period and continued as such throughout the rest of geological time right up to the present day. Karnataka thus represents one of the most ancient land-areas of the globe.

THE DECCAN TRAP :

The only rock formation younger in age than the Kaladgis which occurs in Karnataka is the Deccan Trap; and even of this only a very small part is found here, being confined to a comparatively very small area in the extreme northern portions of the State covering part of the Belgaum, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Bidar Districts (See Figure 5). The prevailing rock in the Deccan Trap of this area is a dark hard basalt, a kind of rock which is most common throughout the Deccan Trap formation.

After the formation of this Deccan Trap no important rocks of any kind were deposited in later times anywhere in the Karnataka region; and it continued to remain a stable land-mass well above the sea level.

GEOLOGY OF KARNATAKA AS WE SEE IT TODAY :

From the above brief review of the main events in the geological history of Karnataka it is easy for us to understand the geological features of this region as we see them today. One important point, however, which we must clearly realise at the very outset is that the geological formations seen today are not exactly in the same form as they were immediately after they came into existence. As is evident from its geological history, Karnataka has been dry land ever since the close of the Proterozoic period; and during the enormously long period of time that has elapsed since then this ancient land surface, composed of different rock formations, has been subjected to a continuous process of erosion and denudation due to the action of the various dynamical agents which have been relentlessly operating throughout this long period of time. As a result, thousands of feet of rock materials have been removed and washed away, so that what we see today are only the denuded remnants of these old rock formations which must have been very much thicker and more extensive when they were formed. This denudation has, however, not taken place uniformly throughout the area; it has varied

from time to time, and from place to place, depending upon, (1) the nature and intensity of these agents of change, and (2) the composition and structure of the rock-masses exposed to their attack. Thus as a result of this differential erosion, there gradually came about inequalities of various kinds on the land-surface which developed as time went on, and have ultimately resulted in all the variety of topographical features of this region, ups and downs, plains and plateaus, hills and valleys as we see them now. There was also the evolution side by side of a consequential drainage pattern giving rise to the main rivers and their tributaries which now flow across this region. The study of the exact manner in which the present 'facial features', as it were, of the earth's surface have evolved in course of time, is an interesting science by itself; it is what is known as 'Geomorphology', which seeks to work out the evolution of the present pattern of the geological and geographical features of a region in relation to the nature and structure of the underlying rocks in the area. Karnataka offers several nice areas for such geomorphological studies.

The geology of the Karnataka region, as we see it now, is thus fairly simple. The entire State is composed only of three main rock formations, (1) the Archaeans, (2) Proterozoics, and (3) the Deccan Trap (See Figure 5). The Archaean Complex is by far the most extensive and is further divisible into four subdivisions, (1) the Dharwar Schists, (2) the Peninsular gneiss, (3) the Charnockites and (4) the Closepet Granites. Of these the Peninsular form the major part and most of the plain country, constituting the 'Maidan' area of the State, is composed of these gneisses. The Peninsular gneisses have cut their way and intruded through the older Dharwar Schists as a result of which the Schists were pushed aside, squeezed into complicated folds and forced to occupy comparatively small areas in the form of narrow bands which are now recognised as the Schist belts. On account of the hard resistant nature of some of the rock-types like the quartzites and ferruginous quartzites among these Schist belts and the tight folding to which they have been subjected, they have resisted the action of denuding agents and often stand up as prominent chains of steep hills and ridges. The steep hill ranges on the western side of the State covering parts of the Shimoga, Chikmagalur and Hassan Districts, constituting what are well-known as the 'Malnad' tracts, are mostly of this nature and constitute part of the Western Ghats. The Closepet Granites, though relatively small in extent, form a dominant feature in the geology of Karnataka since they have given rise to the chain of granite hills (steep conical hills compounded of large rounded boulders) which we see running right across the middle of the eastern parts of the State passing through parts of the Bellary, Chitradurga, Tumkur and Bangalore Districts. The Charnockites which also stand up as hill masses form a very minor part of the rock formations in Karnataka, being confined to a small area in the south-eastern corner of the State.

The Kaladgi and the Bhima series, which are much younger than all the Archaeans mentioned above, are also very limited in extent in the northern parts of the State. The Deccan Trap, which came into existence long long after the Kaladgis, is also confined to a very small area in the extreme northern portions of the State. The Proterozoics and the Deccan Traps together cover only less than about 25 per cent of the total area of Karnataka; the remaining 75 per cent is all composed of the Archaean rocks.

SUPERFICIAL DEPOSITS :

In thus describing the above rock formations covering different parts of the State, it is not meant that these rocks are visibly exposed in all these areas. While it is true that now and then these rock-masses are actually seen outcropping on the surface, what we actually see in most other places is only what we call 'soil'. This soil is nothing but the product derived from the decay, disintegration, and decomposition of the underlying rocks; it forms only a sort of a 'cap' for the rocks below. The actual thickness of this 'soil cap', however, varies from place to place depending upon a number of conditions. The transition from the soil to the parent rock below is as a rule not abrupt; in between we see an intermediate zone known as the 'subsoil' which forms a sort of a passage, as it were, between the soft soil above and the hard rock below. This subsoil zone is very important since most of our underground water resources on which we depend for our wells and tanks are determined by the nature and disposition of the subsoil in the region.

In view of the fact that the superficial soils are merely the result of the continued weathering of the underlying rocks, it is obvious that in any given area, there is usually an intimate connection between the nature of the soil and the composition of underlying rocks; thus each of the important rock formations of the Karnataka region has a distinctive type of soil associated with it. Although these soils and subsoils have no special interest from the purely geological point of view, they are of the greatest value from the point of agriculture, which forms the very backbone of our economy. Detailed studies of the nature, the physical properties, and the chemical composition of these soils and their proper conservation, are matters of utmost importance in all agricultural development.

A particularly interesting type of superficial deposit of geological recent origin found mostly along the western border of the State is what is known as 'laterite'. This is mostly composed of red ferruginous clay with a large amount of silica. It is porous and usually soft when freshly taken out, but soon consolidates into a very hard mass on exposure. On account of this property it is largely used for making bricks. It is also very good as a road metal. Some of these laterites formed under special conditions become particularly rich in certain metallic ores like those of iron, manganese and

aluminium; they then become actual ore deposits and are accordingly used as such for the extraction of these metals.

Special reference should also be made here to the narrow flat belt of country bordering the coast line all along from Karwar to Mangalore (See Figure 5). This 'Coastal Plain', which is practically at the sea level throughout, is believed to be due to a local submergence of this strip of land, followed by marine erosion and deposition of superficial deposits within geologically recent times.

Apart from these, we have another series of superficial deposits found in many parts of Karnataka; these are the 'alluvial deposits' laid down by rivers. These alluvial deposits composed mostly of sand, silt and mud cover extensive areas forming flat plains on either side of the bigger river valleys. They have been accumulating undisturbed sometimes for thousands of years and thus attain a great thickness. It is most interesting to note that some of the oldest positions of these alluvia were formed so far back as to belong to the time when the earliest human beings were inhabiting the area. This is proved by the fact that in such old alluvial deposits we get stone implements of primitive man belonging to the Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages. Several such sites showing the presence of these primitive stone implements have been discovered in Karnataka in recent years; and the proper study of these ancient stone implements unearthed in these areas must naturally receive our greatest attention. Such studies constitute practically the starting point in the history of the origin and progress of human culture and civilisation in the Karnataka region. It is estimated that some of these stone implements are nearly 30,000 years old; although from the point of view of human historical records, this period of time is one of enormous antiquity, let us not forget that this duration is hardly a few minutes in terms of the Geological Clock!

The study of the many-sided, but nevertheless closely interrelated, progress of the people of Karnataka through the ages is indeed most fascinating and inspiring. Throughout this study the important point to note is that the main trend lines in this progress in different parts of the State are to a great extent determined by the physical and geographical environment in which the people lived. These 'environmental conditions' themselves are largely the result of the geological history of the region. Geological knowledge forms a very important part which furnishes the necessary background of all the later studies in the evolution of Karnataka and its people through the ages. This evolution, literary, social, cultural or economic has been a slow, steady and continuous process determined from time to time by the action, reaction, and interaction of a number of factors. Every stage in this evolutionary process, however, is linked intimately with the past and the future in the sense that 'the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future'.

2. ECONOMIC GEOLOGY

We have already seen that Karnataka is rich in minerals and mineral deposits. From times immemorial the people of Karnataka have known not only the use of many of them but also exploited them to advantage. The occurrence, for instance, of ancient slag heaps and numerous old workings for gold in Karnataka afford proof of this fact. Further, recent findings according to carbon dating have shown that the gold mines near Hatti in the Raichur District were under operation even before 3000 B.C.

Karnataka ranks as the fourth in respect of mineral production in India, but she is richer in potential mineral resources than this ranking would indicate. Though a large part of the State (the old Mysore State in particular) has been surveyed for its mineral resources, a good portion still awaits detailed study and exploitation. In many parts of the State except for a cursory examination, no detailed investigation has been made. An intensive survey of the State undertaken on modern lines, employing geological and geophysical methods, is likely to lead to the discovery of many mineral deposits not yet brought to light.

GEOLOGICAL FORMATION AND THE MINERAL WEALTH OF KARNATAKA :

The land in Karnataka is largely composed of the schists and gneisses of the Archaean age. Schist covers an area of about 9,000 square miles, and gneisses, including granites, cover an area of about 50,000 square miles. Both the schists and gneisses constitute, in the main, the rock formation of the 'Dharwar' system. Among the subsequent rock formations are those of the Cuddapah system which covers about 2,000 square miles, in parts of the Belgaum, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Dharwar Districts; the volcanic lava formations of the Deccan Trap period covers about 10,000 square miles occupying a large portion of the Belgaum, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Bidar Districts. The alluvial and shore deposits of recent formation fringe the west coast for a length of about 200 miles and cover about 2,000 square miles in North and South Kanara Districts.

All the valuable minerals such as gold and iron ores, manganese ores, chromite, copper ores, corundum, garnets, graphite, pyrites, asbestos and several others found in Karnataka are found in the Dharwar schists. These mineral deposits are not evenly distributed in all the schist belts. While some schist belts are rich in iron and manganese ores, there are other schist belts containing sulphide ore bodies, gold lodes and chromite deposits. The granite and gneisses are less rich in mineral deposits and in them are found occasional deposits of mica, quartz, feldspar, kaolin, and rarely monazite, beryl, samarskite and columbite. Among the other subsequent rock formations occur limestones, clays, laterite and building stones of less importance.

Karnataka has nearly forty different types of minerals of economic value in numerous deposits of varying sizes distributed widely in the State. The State is rightly proud of having valuable and highly productive gold mines at Kolar; highgrade ores, akin to the world's best iron ores, at Sandur, Kemmangundi, and Yellapur; ores of chromium of the metallurgical grade at Byrapur in the Hassan District, and rich manganese ores in North Kanara and Bellary. In addition to the above, ores of aluminium, copper, lead and antimony are also found in various parts of the State. Among the non-metallic minerals found are asbestos, beryl, corundum, garnet, graphite, kaolin, kyanite, magnesite and about thirty others in different parts of Karnataka. The occurrence of the more important metallic ores will be described here, although a large number of other minerals of economic value are found in small quantities in the Archaean rocks.

METALLIC MINERALS :

Chromium : Chromite is the most important ore of chromium, and Karnataka contains about a million tons of chromite of various grades ranging from 38% to 52% Cr_2O_3 distributed in the Hassan and Mysore Districts. Recent explorations have shown that the present estimates need revision. Low grade chromite ores containing Cr_2O_3 from 30% to 38% are found, at a few places in Shimoga, Chitradurga, and Chikmagalur Districts. Karnataka has produced so far about 40% of the total Indian production of chromite. High grade chromite deposits occur at Byrapur. Chromite is largely used in the manufacture of stainless steel.

Copper : Copper deposits (chiefly malachite) are found at several places in Karnataka, particularly near Chitradurga and Mysore. Recent investigations have shown that there are rich deposits in some places. But the ore bodies are not extensive enough to permit of their being worked on a large scale. These localities need detailed geophysical investigation and drilling before a definite opinion can be expressed on the feasibility of working these deposits profitably.

Gold : Gold is widely distributed in the Dharwar schists in Karnataka. From the evidence so far obtained, it is clear that there was a flourishing gold-mining industry several centuries ago in this part of the country. At present there are two productive gold fields, one near Kolar and the other near Hatti in the Raichur district. There are three productive mines in the Kolar Gold Fields, namely, 'Nandydurg', 'Champion' and 'Mysore'. There are 30 gold lodes having a thickness of 3' to 4' in the Kolar Gold Fields. These mines in the Kolar Gold Fields are quite deep and the Champion mines are the deepest, having gone to a depth of more than 10,000 feet. The entire gold field is 4 miles in width and 50 miles in length. The central part having a length of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, is the most productive zone. In this field the

length of the entire underground mine workings amounts to more than 550 miles. In the deepest levels the temperature is more than 140°F. In the Hatti field there are about 300 ancient workings, but the gold mines in this field are not very deep. The production in this field is increasing year by year. The Gold mines of the Kolar Gold Fields alone have produced during the last 75 years 21.94 million ounces of gold of an approximate value of about 210 crores of rupees. Originally the gold mines at Kolar were being run by M/s. John Taylor & Sons. The State Government took them over in 1956, and the mines were run by an Indian Board of Management. Since 1962, the Government of India have taken over the management. The Hatti Gold mines are now being worked by Messrs. John Taylor & Sons.

The Bellara Gold mines were worked by the Mysore Geological Department in 1944 and mining operations went on till 1954, when they were closed down as they were found to be unprofitable. Plans are afoot to take up intensive investigations in some of the areas known to contain gold lodes in Karnataka by the Geological Survey of India and the Department of Mines and Geology, Mysore.

Karnataka has enjoyed the monopoly of gold production in India since ancient times. Gold is not available anywhere else in India.

Iron : Karnataka is rich in iron ore deposits (hematite, limonite and magnetite). Rich and workable deposits occur in the Sandur, Hospet and Ramagiri areas of the Bellary District, the Kemmangundi ore field of Chikmagalur District, and the Yellapur and Honnavar Taluks in the North Kanara District. There are also numerous areas of rich iron ores in the Districts of Dharwar, Shimoga, North Kanara, Belgaum, Bijapur and Bangalore but information is lacking regarding the exact quantity of the ores in these areas. Recently, extensive high grade iron ore deposits containing 60 to 65% iron have been discovered in the Yellapur and Honnavar Taluks in the North Kanara District. The Kemmangundi ore field has a reserve of 20 million tons of high grade hematite containing on an average 55% Fe, 7% Al_2O_3 , 3% SiO_2 , and 0.10% P. The Sandur field has a proved reserve of 200 million tons and a possible reserve of 600 million tons of high grade hematite ore containing 60 to 65% Fe with a very low content of phosphorus and sulphur. The ores are being exported at present to foreign countries. Around the Kemmangundi ore field there are numerous localities containing high grade hematite ores, but sufficient information is not available about the reserve of ores in these localities. Iron ores (hematite and magnetite) also occur in the districts of Bangalore, Tumkur, Chitradurga, Mandya and Dharwar containing 40% to 60% Fe and sometimes even 70% Fe, to the extent of 150 million tons. These ores can be used for the manufacture of pig-iron and steel after beneficiation. It is estimated that Karnataka has a proved reserve of 765 million tons of high grade hematite and 215 million tons of magnetite and a possible reserve of 2 billion tons of hematite and 500 million tons of

magnetite. For the last 25 years, 10 million tons of iron ore (hematite) have been supplied by the Kemmangundi ore field to the Bhadravati iron smelting plant.

Lead and Antimony: The sulphide deposits of Ingaldhal ($1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons with an average sulphur content of 40%) contain a little arsenic, antimony, and lead sulphide. But lead and antimony sulphide do not form large ore bodies. Recently galena (lead sulphide) has been reported at Metri (Hospet Taluk, Bellary District). The area needs detailed prospecting before the actual extent of the deposit can be known.

Manganese: Karnataka ranks fifth in the production of manganese ores in India. Manganese ore is of great importance and is used widely in a variety of industries, the most important being the steel industry. Generally, manganese ores occur associated with iron ores. They are chiefly found in the Districts of Bellary, Shimoga, Chitradurga, Tumkur, North Kanara and Belgaum. Small deposits are also found in Dharwar, Bijapur and Bidar Districts. Of these the manganese deposits of the Sandur area in the Bellary District, Londa, Supa and Karwar in the North Kanara District and around Shimoga, Tarikere and Anandapuram in the Shimoga District are important. The manganese ores of Karnataka are considered to be lateritic in origin. The average grade of the manganese ores of Karnataka is 40% Mn, 16% Fe, 1 to 20% SiO_2 , 0.02% P. In the North Kanara District all grades of manganese ores occur. But some of the ores of Londa and Supa are richer, containing as much as 66% Mn., and 1 to 2% Fe. The Districts of Shimoga, Tumkur and Chitradurga at present produce medium to low grade ores (38 to 42% Mn), as the high grade ores (48% Mn and above) have all been mined. Most of the ores of the Bellary District belong to medium and low grade. An estimate of the reserves of the manganese deposits of all the areas is not available. It is estimated that the Sandur Taluk of Bellary District contains 2.7 million tons and around Supa in North Kanara occur 2 million tons of manganese ores. Further detailed surveys might reveal many more manganese deposits in the State.

Silver: Nowhere in Karnataka have silver ores been discovered. But the gold ores of Kolar contain a small quantity of silver which is recovered during the metallurgical process. The Kolar Gold Fields from 1882 to 1950 yielded 1,65,000 Ozs. of silver worth 33 lakhs of rupees.

Columbium, Tantalum, Titanium and Tin: Occurrences of ores of columbium and tantalum have been reported round about Bangalore. They are useful for the stainless steel industry and for making abrasives. Titaniferous iron ore occurs in the Mandya District. Tin gravels have been reported to occur in the vicinity of Kappadgudda in Dharwar District. Detailed information is not available about these occurrences.

Bauxite: Bauxite deposits, necessary for the aluminium industry, occur extensively in the Belgaum District and it is estimated to have 2.5 million

tons of all grades varying from 40% to 60% Al_2O_3 . Small deposits of bauxite are also found in the Babadudan Hill range estimated to contain 0.5 million tons, of which the high grade material amounts to 100,000 tons. The siliceous type of bauxite occurs in the Holalkere Taluk, Chitradurga District. Further survey and prospecting in North Kanara might reveal many new deposits.

Non-metallic Minerals: Numerous non-metallic minerals occur in Karnataka of which the more important ones are described below:

Asbestos: Amphibole asbestos occurs at many places in the Hassan District. In some places the deposit is quite considerable yielding a few thousand tons. Small deposits occur at many places in the Mysore District, in the Bagalkot Taluk (Yellagutti) in Bijapur District, and near Dhareshwar in the North Kanara District. Chrysotile asbestos occurs as small deposits in the Yennehole Rangabetta region near Holenarasipur and near Mavinahalli in the Mysore Taluk. Some of these deposits need further prospecting before the quantity available can be assessed.

Beryl: Some small beryl deposits have been located near Krishnarajasagar in the Mysore District and in a few localities in the Hassan District. It is doubtful whether any one of them is workable on a commercial scale. Beryl is valued as a precious stone. Its lightness and strength make it very useful for industrial purposes, particularly in combination with copper. Ancient Punnata (Heggadevanakote Taluk) was famed for its beryl (as recorded in old Kannada literature) while rubies were available in the Holenarsipur taluk.

Corundum: Corundum of various types have been located in the schists in several parts of Karnataka, particularly in the Districts of Hassan, Bangalore, Chikmagalur, Kolar, Mysore, Tumkur, Gulbarga and South Kanara. Of these the corundum deposits in the Hassan District are important and are workable on a commercial scale. A small quantity is being produced from these deposits. It is used mainly as an abrasive.

Feldspar: Feldspar (both potash and soda lime feldspars) are found as big deposits at many places. Large deposits occur in Raichur, Gulbarga, Bangalore, Hassan, Mysore and Kolar Districts. Much of this material is however not being utilised as ceramic industries have not been adequately developed outside Bangalore.

Garnet: Garnets of various shades and types are found in the schistose rocks at many places in Karnataka. Garnets also occur as loose crystals and as stream sands in the Saklespur Taluk, Hassan District, in the Mysore and Heggadevanakote Taluks in the Mysore District and along the coastal tracts of the North Kanara District. None of these deposits are at present being utilised. Its hardness makes it a valuable mineral for the abrasive industry.

Graphite: Graphitic clay containing 20% to 25% amorphous graphite

occurs as a deposit, estimated to contain about 100,000 tons in Bangarpet Taluk, Kolar District. The deposit is being mined and utilised for foundry linings. Crystalline graphite occurs as thin flakes in the granulitic rocks in the Sargur schist belt, particularly near Mavinahalli, Mysore Taluk. The material requires processing before it can be utilised. Recently, graphitic clay has been reported in the Dharwar schist belt, near Nagavi in the Dharwar District. Apart from its use in manufacturing lead pencils, graphite is largely used as a lubricant and in the metallurgy of iron and steel.

Kaolin (China Clay): Kaolin deposits of different grades and purity are abundant in Karnataka. Some of the deposits are being mined and washed to be used in the paper and porcelain industries or used as a refractory in the steel industry and for the manufacture of refractory bricks and sanitary wares. Small quantities are mined for use in indigenous industries like the manufacture of slate pencils. The deposits are situated in the districts of Hassan, Shimoga, Kolar, Chikmagalur, South Kanara, North Kanara, Belgaum, Bidar and Bellary.

Kyanite and Sillimanite: The deposits of these minerals occur in the districts of Bangalore, Hassan, Chikmagalur, Chitradurga and Coorg. Small deposits occur at several other places. Though Kyanite and Sillimanite have the same chemical composition, they differ widely in their refractory properties. The Sillimanite deposits of Kalyadi and Mavinakere in the Hassan District and the Kyanite deposit of Holalkere, Chitradurga District, are important. These minerals are much in demand in high-grade electro-porcelain industry.

Limestones: Karnataka has extensive deposits of limestone distributed in the districts of Mysore, Shimoga, Chitradurga, Tumkur, Bellary, Raichur, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Dharwar, Belgaum and North Kanara. Small deposits of limestone are found in the other districts also. The limestone deposits range in composition from high calcium to magnesium, dolomitic, siliceous and clayey types. The high calcium types are used in the manufacture of cement. The cement factories situated in the districts of Shimoga and Raichur consume, respectively, about 40,000 and 250,000 tons annually. About 5,000 tons of limestone are utilised as flux annually by the iron-smelting plant at Bhadravati. Large deposits of limestone occur at and around Bettadabidu (1.5 million tons) in the Mysore District, Bhadigund (3 million tons) in the Shimoga District, Vobalapur (50 million tons) in the Tumkur District, near Bagalkot (26 million tons) and around Mudhol (750 million tons) in the Bijapur District, Nagargali (55 million tons) in the Belgaum District, and Nagajari (10 million tons) in the North Kanara District. There are many more deposits which require detailed examination before their purity and extent of availability can be correctly estimated. 'Kankar' which occurs practically in every district is being utilised locally for making quicklime.

Magnesite: Magnesite occurs as veins in ultrabasic rocks in the districts of Hassan, Mysore and Coorg. The deposits in the Mysore District are fairly big and the one occurring near Dodkanya has been worked for the last thirty years and has yielded so far about 100,000 tons. There are smaller deposits round about Mysore (Kadakola) and Coorg. Magnesite is a carbonate of magnesium. It is largely in demand for the manufacture of refractories. Various compounds of magnesium are also used in medicinal preparations.

Quartz: Vein and reef quartz occur at many places in Karnataka but no systematic investigation has yet been undertaken to ascertain the quality and quantity of the material. It occurs practically in every district: but the more important consideration is the nearness of the deposit to the quartz consuming industries. Some of the deposits are quite considerable like the one occurring near Bhadravati (1 to 2 million tons) supplying quartz for manufacturing ferro-silicon. Similarly, detailed information is not available about the occurrence and quality of the glass sands and quartzite suitable for the glass industry.

Soap-stones (Steatite): Workable deposits of steatite occur at many places in Karnataka, though pure talc deposits are rare. They occur in the districts of Mysore, Hassan, Shimoga, Dharwar, Bellary and South Kanara. Soap-stones are generally cut and used as refractory bricks for the manufacture of refractory products and architectural purposes and in the preparation of domestic utensils and small images. At present soap-stones are mined in the districts of Mysore and Hassan. It can also be used in the cosmetic industry and as a lubricant.

The famous specimens of sculpture and architecture like those at Belur and Halebid have attracted world-wide attention and have been among the finest examples of Indian art and craftsmanship. They owe their delicacy and fineness to the fact that soap-stone was the material used by the sculptors. It is soft when mined but gets harder by weathering and ideally suited to the craftsmen employing the technique of wood-carving to stone sculpture.

Vermiculite: It is a variety of mica. Vermiculite deposits have been located recently in the districts of Hassan, Tumkur, Mandya, Mysore and Bellary. A careful search at the contact of basic and ultrabasic rocks might reveal many vermiculite deposits. The mineral has special refractory, acoustic and structural properties.

Ochres: Ochres are used for the manufacture of paints and distemper and they are mostly composed of oxides of iron, manganese and, rarely, hydrated magnesium iron silicates. Ochres occur in yellow, red and green colours. They are found as pockets and patches associated with iron and manganese ores in the districts of Chitradurga, Tumkur, Bellary, and Kolar.

Building Stones: Karnataka has numerous types and varieties of building materials such as granites, gneisses, porphyries, slates, marbles,

pot-stones, felsite, basic dykes, laterites and sandstones. Many of these stones are being exported to foreign countries to be used for pavements and other purposes. The stone quarries of Doddballapur and other places in the Bangalore District are sent to distant places in India and abroad, and are greatly in demand.

CONCLUSION

From the mineral survey so far carried out in Karnataka, it is clear that there are abundant resources of iron and manganese ores and an adequate quantity of chromite for a further expansion of the iron, steel and ferro-alloy industries. There are vast resources of limestone and clay for starting new cement manufacturing plants. Corundum, garnet and quartz deposits are found in sufficient quantity to expand the abrasive industry. There are also enough reserves of China clay, felspar and quartz to expand further the porcelain, stoneware and glass industries. There are quite a few mineral deposits (magnesite, bauxite, ochres etc.,) to permit the starting of heavy chemical, paint and aluminium industries in the State. There are numerous ancient gold workings found in Karnataka which point the way to further modern exploitation of this precious metal. More than all these are vast unsurveyed areas in the State, which yet await detailed geological and geophysical surveys, possibly leading to the discovery of many mineral deposits which might prove very valuable to the nation. The main obstacles to the development of mineral production and mineral industries so far has been the lack of transport facilities and power in some areas and the absence of an all-weather harbour. Efforts are now being made to remove these obstacles.

The latest figures available are tabulated on pages 29 and 30.

MINERAL PRODUCTION

Production of Chief Minerals in the State for the Year 1964 by Districts and also the Comparative Figures Relating to Mineral Production in India for the Year 1964

(Excluding Goa)

| Sl. No. | Name of the Minerals | Name of the Districts | Production in the State | Mineral Production in India (Excluding Goa) |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|
| I. METALLIC MINERALS | | | TONNES | |
| FERROUS | | | | |
| 1. | Chromite | ... Hassan | ... 2830 | 33167 |
| 2. | Iron Ore | ... Bellary | ... 1958995 | |
| | | Bijapur | ... 34543 | |
| | | Chitradurga | ... 256811 | |
| | | Chikmagalur | ... 182851 | |
| | | North Kanara | ... 25486 | |
| | | Shimoga | ... 43320 | |
| | | Tumkur | ... 81758 | |
| | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... 2583764 | 14802000 |
| 3. | Manganese Ore | ... Bellary | ... 126520 | |
| | | Belgaum | ... 324 | |
| | | Chitradurga | ... 18499 | |
| | | Dharwar | ... 80 | |
| | | North Kanara | ... 62583 | |
| | | Shimoga | ... 45945 | |
| | | Tumkur | ... 5015 | |
| | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... 258966 | 1233000 |
| NON-FERROUS | | | | |
| 1. | Bauxite | ... Belgaum | ... 16027 | 577769 |
| | | | GRAMS | |
| 2. | Gold | ... Kolar | ... 3725898 | |
| | | Raichur | ... 878499 | |
| | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... 4604397 | 4602000 |
| 3. | Silver | ... Kolar | ... 281618 | |
| | | Raichur | ... 69755 | |
| | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... 351373 | 4735000 |
| II. NON-METALLIC MINERALS | | | | |
| 1. | Asbestos | ... Hassan | ... 455 | 2774 |
| 2. | Aluminious Clay | ... Hassan | ... 2956 | |
| | | Shimoga | ... 1576 | |
| | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... 4532 | |
| 3. | Calcite | ... Bijapur | ... 410 | 12140 |
| 4. | Dolomite | ... Shimoga | ... 3551 | |
| | | Tumkur | ... 1358 | |
| | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... 4909 | 471428 |

| Sl. No. | Name of the Minerals | Name of the Districts | Production in the State. | Mineral Production in India (Excluding Goa) | |
|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|---------|
| | | | | TONNES | |
| 5. | Fire Clay | ... | Bangalore | ... | 202 |
| | | | Belgaum | ... | 247 |
| | | | Shimoga | ... | 961 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 1410 |
| 6. | Feldspar | ... | Kolar | ... | 1683 |
| 7. | Green Quartzite | ... | Chikmagalur | ... | 71 |
| 8. | Kaolin (China Clay) | ... | Bangalore | ... | 11420 |
| | | | Belgaum | ... | 715 |
| | | | Hassan | ... | 1020 |
| | | | Kolar | ... | 19 |
| | | | Shimoga | ... | 775 |
| | | | North Kanara | ... | 41 |
| | | | Tumkur | ... | 3365 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 17335 |
| 9. | Kyanite | ... | Chikmagalur | ... | 219 |
| 10. | Lime Stone | ... | Bijapur | ... | 265466 |
| | | | Chitradurga | ... | 142 |
| | | | Gulburga | ... | 668710 |
| | | | Shimoga | ... | 119913 |
| | | | Tumkur | ... | 109294 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 1163480 |
| 11. | Magnesite | ... | Mysore | ... | 6116 |
| 12. | Moulding Sand | ... | Belgaum | ... | 6305 |
| | | | Gulburga | ... | 13937 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 20242 |
| 13. | Ochre | ... | Chikmagalur | ... | 240 |
| | | | Kolar | ... | 47 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 287 |
| 14. | Quartz | ... | Bangalore | ... | 108 |
| | | | Gulburga | ... | 6973 |
| | | | Shimoga | ... | 28893 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 35974 |
| 15. | Red Oxide | ... | Bellary | ... | 4929 |
| | | | Tumkur | ... | 3197 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 8126 |
| 16. | Raw Clay | ... | Hassan | ... | 15738 |
| | | | Shimoga | ... | 10445 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 26183 |
| 17. | Soapstone | ... | Bellary | ... | 58 |
| | | | Chikmagalur | ... | 38 |
| | | | Hassan | ... | 150 |
| | | | Mysore | ... | 171 |
| | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | ... | 397 |
| 18. | Salt | ... | North Kanara | ... | 11916 |
| | | | | | 133000 |

* China clay (processed)

† Quartz and Silica

CHAPTER II

1. PHYSICAL FEATURES

THE ROLE OF GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KARNATAKA :

THE Mysore State as it has emerged out of the territorial adjustments following the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union in 1956 represents, by and large, the culmination of the demand for an administrative and cultural unification of the Kannada-speaking people. Geographically the State occupies a central position in the southern part of the Indian Peninsula, between longitudes 14-12E and 78-30E and latitudes 11-30N and 18-45N. It has an area of 74,122 square miles and a population of 23,525,081 (1961 Census). Its east-west extension is about 400 kilometres (250 miles) and north-south about 770 kilometres (480 miles).

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING :

Physiographically, Karnataka has many interesting variations and these have found expression not only in the life of the people, but have in no small measure influenced the historical evolution of Karnataka. From the point of view of relief, the major portion belongs to the Deccan table-land and only the Western fringe is a coastal plain.

The contrast between the Kanara coastal plain and the Mysore plateau is striking in many respects. The Mysore plateau itself has several physical variations. The southern half is generally at a higher elevation than the northern, and is held between the Sahyadris range on the west and the Eastern Ghats on the east, both merging in the south in the Nilgiri complex. The northern half has a table-land landscape, but is more open and rolling with well-developed valley forms. The contrast in the northern and southern portions of the Mysore plateau persists in many respects. Thus from the point of view of relief one may recognise the following broad divisions of the State: (a) The Kanara Coastal belt: (b) The Sahyadris: (c) The Eastern Ranges: (d) the Southern Plateau: (e) the Northern Plateau, and (f) The Submontane Belt.

GENERAL FEATURES OF RELIEF, DRAINAGE AND LANDSCAPE :

The Sahyadris or the Western Ghats with a general north-south trend form the backbone of the entire land and in many respects influence the

orientation and landscape of the State. Underlaid by a complex geological structure of the Dharwar rocks in the north and by granites in the South, the Sahyadris chain develops a distinct topographical pattern. It is a water-divide between the eastern-flowing rivers that drain the Mysore plateau, and the western-flowing drainage joining the Arabian Sea. In general, the Sahyadris have a well-eroded landscape, with the more resistant rocks appearing as peaks, and softer rocks yielding to intense stream erosion. Local rifts and fractures deepen the unevenness of the land. On the eastern flank, the landscape presents a mature and 'rolling' form, but on the western it is more often precipitous, bare and furrowed by gully erosion. On both flanks, the Sahyadris are buttressed, as it were, by transverse chains of hills, but these are more irregular in trend and topography on the western (coastal) side, than on the eastern, where the topography is smooth, and mellowed under the influence of a moderate rainfall regime. The main chain of the Sahyadris is adorned from north to south by a succession of peaks, of which the Baba Budan (6317 feet) and the Kuduremukha (6215 feet) are the major prominences.

There is a general increase in elevation south-wards and the Sahyadris merge into the Nilgiris complex at the southern extremity. Unlike the northern portion of the Sahyadris, the Mysore stretch is well-forested and economically better developed through coffee plantations, mining and hydro-electricity; its pass-routes, notably Agumbe and Charmadi, have played a significant role in the economic and cultural development of Karnataka. On the east, the Mysore plateau is marked by the south-western members of the eastern ranges. These are prominent in the Kolar region, but have a low average height from the plateau base level, and have a bare and 'hogback' landscape that is typical of the Dharwar rocks.

The southern plateau in its high average elevation has a variation in topography, because of the underlying granite and Dharwar rocks. Residual hills are detached and isolated with a typical granitic topography of bare rock faces and boulders. The small local variation in relief, which is not considerable provides an immense scope for 'tank' irrigation. The southern portion is drained by the Kaveri and its tributaries, the southern plateau is drained by two opposing river systems separated along the central axis by the Nandi Hills elevation; but the south-eastern fringe is drained by the upper tributary streams of Pennar and Palar. The northern portion is drained by the Tungabhadra and by the Pennar, and its tributaries.

While irregular shapes, adequate forest cover, knolls, tanks and brownish soils form the dominant theme of the southern plateau landscape, the northern plateau is characterised by broad valley plains and rolling black soil topography relieved by residual chains and isolated hills. The middle portion of the Tungabhadra and that of the Krishna with two dominant tributaries, the Ghataprabha and the Malaprabha, present an immense contrast to the southern plateau tract both in landscape and human economy.

CLIMATIC AND BIOLOGICAL FACTORS :

Climatic and biological factors have contributed in a very appreciable measure to the evolution of the regional settings in the State. The typically tropical monsoonal climate with its cool, hot and rainy seasons has an immense local variation. Variation in temperature is significant in that on the Kanara coast high humid heat with little seasonal variation prevails throughout the year; on the plateau the temperatures are subdued due to elevation, and distinctly lower on the higher tracts of the Sahyadrian ranges like the Bababudangiri, the Nandi hills, the Mercara high land and the Bangalore environs. The seasonal range is, however, greater in the northern plateau, where the summer is often trying. Of far greater consequence is the regional variation of rainfall both in its annual amount and regime. On the Kanara coast, it exceeds 150" per year and has an intense concentration during the four south-west monsoonal months; the western flank of the Sahyadris receives the full onslaught of the rain-bearing south-west monsoon and has a very copious rainfall, in places recording well over 200" a year. Eastward, the rainfall declines with amazing rapidity, so much so that while Chikmagalur receives 75", Chitradurga about 75 miles to the east records only 25.30" a year. From the coast into the interior the rain maximum also moves from July to August and in many places to September. Eastwards, the 'retreating' and the north-eastern monsoons become increasingly important for agriculture. Thus Bijapur with a rainfall of 20.19" a year, receives its major rainfall during the months of September and October. Similar regime is experienced in the eastern and south-eastern tracts. The heavy rains in the Kanara coastlands and the Sahyadris support a typical paddy and forest economy. The moderate rainfall augmented by tank irrigation on the brownish soils of the southern plateau produces a variety of crops like ragi and rice. The moderate rainfall on the black soils of the northern plateau promote jowar and cotton, while the late rains and mild winters favour extensive wheat cultivation in the northern and eastern tracts of the plateau. Towards the plateau interior the uncertainty of the monsoonal rainfall increases, and, along with it, the incidence of scarcities and famines, especially in the eastern parts of the Tungabhadra and Krishna basins.

Vegetation closely follows the climatic conditions. It may be added that extensive destruction by man of trees and minor forests has in many places altered the natural balance. In the Kanara coastland as well as in the plateau interior, better soils have been brought under intensive cultivation, and natural cover, though affected by cutting and neglect, adheres precariously to the less accessible areas in the Sahyadris and the poorer soils of the residual hills of the plateau. Forest wealth abounds in the Sahyadris in the shape of rich monsoonal and evergreen varieties. Economically useful trees, such as teak and sandal-wood are a steady source of income to Govern-

ment under a well-planned policy of conservation. The dry hilly tracts support only a poorer shrub growth useful as fuel and inferior grass. The Karnataka forests are well-known for their wild life, especially the tiger, the elephant and the bison. On the plains, sheep have a regional importance in the rolling hill ranges which support only inferior grass. Cattle, on the other hand, occupy an important place in rural economy and the Karnataka plateau is well-known for its several breeds.

The economic development of the different parts of Karnataka is a fair reflection of these natural conditions, though human effort receives greater impetus at favourable points. Agriculturally, the Kanara coastland, the coffee region of the Sahyadris, the jowar-cotton area of the northern plateau, the ragi-rice regions of the southern plateau, are well developed. Industrially, the Kolar Gold Fields zone, Bangalore, the Bangalore-Mysore belt and almost all the major towns have recorded noteworthy progress. This industrial growth has been mainly promoted by Hydro-electric power production, notably at Jog, Sivasamudra and Shimsha. The pattern of communication reflects in a striking manner the economic development of the land. On the plateau, the roads and railway lines connect the richer areas, and across the Sahyadris the passes in the ghats condition economic movement. In the Kanara coastland, coastal shipping routes are more important than the roads; they adhere to the coastal plain and the railway, which from Mangalore has an orientation to the Madras State owing to its administrative affiliation to that State till recently (1956). Population density again, to a large extent, reflects the economic development of its various parts. The Kanara coastal areas, the transitional zone and the Bangalore-Mysore belt are densely populated. The Sahyadris support a thin population for obvious reasons, and the central and eastern portion of the plateau supports a moderately dense population, depending mainly on agriculture.

The leading features of each region may now be broadly indicated :

1. THE KANARA COASTLAND :

A narrow strip about 160 miles long, with a width varying from about 15 to 20 miles, backed with the Sahyadrian scrap, has an orientation with the Arabian Sea. The coastal 'plain' features are severely restricted by the transverse hill ranges from the Sahyadris and by the lowland lateritic plateaus. In this belt of restricted level land, agricultural activity finds a very intensive expression mainly devoted to rice and coconut. These are the small valleys densely populated and forming the essential economic and cultural core of the region. On the extreme north and south are situated the more important towns, Karwar and Mangalore, and in between are the minor towns like Kumta, Honnavar, Bhatkal and Koondapur. Almost every estuary has a small port, though their sea-approaches are shallow and sand-barred; Karwar,

Bhatkal and Malpe offer some scope for development. Historically, this region has exerted influence of a two-fold nature : in the earlier period the land-based powers held sway ; thus the imperial Hindu dynasties of the earlier age had their feudatory rulers in the region. The numerous early Hindu and Jain architectural remains at Gersoppa, Nagarbasti-kere, and Karkal bear eloquent testimony to this day of that enlightened period. Subsequently, even the Bahamani rulers, for a time, extended their influence there. From the commercial point of view, however, the region was always in close touch with foreign lands from the days of the Greek and the Roman civilization down to the modern period of British and European adventurers. Commerce brought in its wake cultural contacts, and thus it was that the racial elements in Africa, Islam and, later on, the Portuguese and the English, and Christianity, all had their impact on the Kanara coast. Cultural diversity, thus, is very much in evidence in the life of this region.

2. THE SAHYADRIS :

In the Sahyadris the dominant keynote is the rich forest cover, very often luxurious monsoonal type with teak as its prime exhibit. There are occasional strands of rich typical evergreen forests. In general, the forest wealth gets richer as one goes into the inaccessible interior, and also as one goes from north to south. On the western flank, precipitous slopes are often bare ; and towards the drier east, the forests deteriorate into inferior 'pole', forests or scrub. Teak is the main produce of value and all forest roads and all forest activities are directed to raising, maturing and cutting down for the market this most useful tree. Thus there are several areas which are known for their teak. Next to teak is sandal which, in the south, is more developed and better exploited commercially at Shimoga. Bamboo is gaining increasing economic importance as can be seen from the flourishing paper factories at Dandeli and Bhadravati. Mineral deposits have also assumed importance in the local economy, though it has produced, especially in the north, a deeply scarred landscape due to careless mining. Manganese is the chief ore ; iron, near Bhadravati and at many other places is the second important mineral. Prospecting is likely to reveal further mineral resources in this region. Hydro-electric power at Jog, the Bhadravati iron and steel industry, the paper factories, all these reflect the new mood of the Karnataka Sahyadris ; and industries connected with local mineral and forest raw materials show a good promise for the future. The region is thinly populated, but has a significant concentration along the ghat routes connecting Hubli and Karwar, Shimoga and Udupi, Kadur and Udupi *via* Chikmagalur, and Mysore and Mangalore *via* Mercara.

3. THE TRANSITIONAL BELT :

A belt of sub-Sahyadrian eastern margin varying in width from 20 in the north to 30 miles in the south marks in almost every important respect the transition from the hill ranges to the plateau or the 'maidan'. In topography the hill ranges often dwindle down to develop an undulating topography rendered typical in places by the Dharwar rocks with their long 'hog backs'. The soils too are mixed and these coupled with the medium rainfall climate yield a variety of crops ranging from the wet paddy to the dry jowar. Tank irrigation is prominent. The hills have a forest cover, but of an inferior type, fast receding due to uncontrolled utilization. The belt combines the natural advantages of the rainy west and the drier east of the hills and the plains; and thus enjoying a salubrious climate, supports a dense population. Transport and industrial development have promoted rapid urban growth and thus the belt serves a two-fold purpose. It establishes a contact between the Sahyadris and the plateau tracts and facilitates north-south communications along the railway and the national highway from Poona to Harihar. A string of flourishing towns and cities, therefore, have grown up in this belt. Belgaum, Dharwar, Hubli, Ranibennur, Harihar, Davanagere, Kadur, Shimoga, Hassan and Mysore are the leading commercial centres with marked industrial and cultural development. Historically too, the belt has played a significant role as could be seen from the fortunes of ancient townships and towns like Halshi in the extreme north, Banavasi, Belur, and Halebid in the centre, Talkad and Punnata in the south. These townships flourished in the ancient period because of their advantageous situation. They were close to the forest hills providing them with a good defensive position, and yet not far away from the open country which offered economic attraction as well as ease of movement. The belt also proved a 'lane' for the campaigns of the more powerful adventurers, such as the Muslim invaders and the Marathas from the north. So important strategically was this belt in the historical period that almost everywhere it was dominated by powerful princes who maintained their hold and changed their allegiance to suit the changing pattern caused by the changes in the fortunes of the larger political powers like the Chalukyas, the Hoysalas, the Vijayanagar rulers, the Bijapur kings, and the Marathas. The cultural development of this belt in the historical period is well evidenced by the noble Hindu and Jain monuments like the Belur temple and the Sravanabelgola statue, to mention only the two most famous examples.

4. THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU :

The average elevation of the southern plateau, with its variations and its position in relation to the two monsoons, make the southern plateau

region quite distinctive from the northern. Agriculturally, this is a region dominated by ragi-rice-coconut economy, much influenced by tank irrigation, but, nevertheless, poorer in productive capacity, than the northern plateau. The population is comparatively thin, settled in smaller villages and economically not so well developed. The grassland area of a scrub type with its poorer forest cover is a recurring theme in the landscape. But this region contains also the Bangalore-Mysore urban belt, and the Kolar Gold Fields region. Rapid economic development in this area has followed in the wake of electricity supply from Sivasamudram, and this has promoted industries in Bangalore, the sugarcane factory at Mandya and, the famous Kolar Gold Fields. Industries depending on agricultural products like vegetable oil are also setting a new pace. Regionally, the Mysore-Mandya-Bangalore region is a developing economic belt. Bangalore, the capital of the State, has not only administrative importance, but is rapidly growing as a city having a complex industrial structure. The Kolar Gold Fields are well-known for their gold production. Historically, Kolar or Kolara or Kuvalaala, to call it by its old names, is a place of great antiquity and was once the capital of the Gangas and the viceroyalty of the Chola-empire. Similarly, Devarayanadurga, Doddaballapur, Nandidurga, Madhugiri and Sira have historical importance. In fact, almost every fortified point, generally, crowning an isolated hill or a range of hills, has a local historical significance.

5. THE NORTHERN PLATEAU :

A line drawn from Chikmagalur to Chitradurga and extended further north-east to the boundary of the State, broadly demarcates the northern plateau from the southern. The hilly and wooded red soil topography with the typical landscape of tank irrigation gives place to a broad undulating black soil plain where an occasional knoll or a residual hill-chain breaks the prevailing monotony. No longer is it rice-ragi-coconut economy, but one depending upon jowar-wheat-cotton and oil seeds. The hamlets yield their place to large-sized clustered villages. The 'wet' landscape of comparatively poorer resources gives way to a 'dry' landscape where cotton and oilseeds govern the rural economy. Larger towns are route and commercial centres, and most of them have developed an industrial bias. This region has three sub-regions: the Chitradurga region, the Dharwar-Bijapur cotton tract, the Gulbarga-Raichur-Bidar region. Chitradurga is famous historically for its big fort but is now famous for its commerce and industry based on cotton and oil seeds. The Dharwar-Bijapur tract is well-known for cotton, jowar and oil seeds, and its blacksoil landscape is relieved in places by the red soil, and the residual hill chains of Kaladgi quartzites. There are densely wooded spots but they carry poor soil. The gaps between these hills had strategic importance with fortified points like Saundatti and Badami. The Gulbarga-

Raichur-Bidar region is a black soil extension of the Bijapur section. Historically, this is a region of well-known political capitals, great campaigns and battles, and famous dynasties. The south-eastern corner was a theatre for the dynastic struggles among the Cholas, the Gangas and the Pallavas. The eastern margin of this region came into prominence in the early period with the rise of the Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas. The glory of Hindu rule reached its climax with the rise of the Vijayanagar empire. Bijapur, Gulbarga and Bidar were the capitals of the Bahamani rulers, with Bijapur extending its sway westwards to cover practically the whole of north Karnataka and maintaining its hold for a fairly long period. The Mughal and Maratha campaigns that followed the decay of Bijapur rule were more directed through this region than any other. With the rise of Haidar Ali and Tipu in southern Karnataka, the northern plateau—the Krishna and the Tungabhadra doab—became a scene of a sea-saw game in the struggle for political power. It was during this period that the Marathas got a hold on north Karnataka, and the subsequent conquest of the Marathas by the British resulted in northern Karnataka being administratively merged into the Bombay Presidency.

THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE MAIN STRANDS OF KARNATAKA HISTORY AND CULTURE :

On the basis of the foregoing outline of the geographical setting of Karnataka, we may now consider how Karnataka history and culture responded through the ages to its environment. At the outset, it is well to warn ourselves against a 'deterministic' interpretation of historical events and trying to explain all history with reference to the geographical factors; for it is well-known that the course of human history has been guided not merely by environmental factors, but by many complex influences including man's genius, his response to situations and his wisdom, or the lack of it, in taking decisions. A truly geographical approach to history and culture would examine the changing relationship between the 'environment' and man. The second important aspect is that Karnataka history and culture was not solely determined in the past by administrative boundaries. Indeed, in British India regional dynasties and cultures, originated at favourable points and were territorially expanded and contracted in accordance with the prevailing political conditions. The Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas extended their sway to enclose the upper Godavari valley. The Cholas, the Pandyas, the Pallavas and the Gangas held territories that are now divided among Karnataka, Andhra, and Tamilnad. In fact, it is good to note that the idea of the State and culture was not coterminous with territorial boundaries, and the history of Kannada dynasties and their culture with their vicissitudes was not conditioned by territorial loyalties, as borne out in the history of Vijayanagar

and the Bijapur empires, and in the struggle for power between the Marathas and other powers for the hegemony of Karnataka and the Deccan.

During the 18th century, Mysore became a theatre in the contest for supremacy among the major powers. Locally, some political stability was possible, as in almost all other parts of India, through the agencies of local rulers, who, in spite of their changing allegiance, had a good administrative system. The rise of the Wodeyar family in the extreme south of Mysore was one of those fortunate circumstances whereby a local dynasty rose to occupy a major territory of the Kannada-speaking people and consolidated the political unity of a considerable section of the Kannada people and gave them a cultural unity and integrity. The interregnum of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan strengthened, for a time, paradoxically it would seem, the political frame-work of Mysore through the conquest of Haidar Ali of the neighbouring areas. But the piece-meal British conquests of South India produced a hardened and fragmented framework into which the land of the Kannada-speaking people came to be parcelled out: Mysore, and the adjacent territories, which became parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the Nizam's dominions. Coorg remained isolated. Something like fifteen Indian States, small and big like Mudhol, Jamkhandi etc., held sway and administered so many areas. It was only with the recent reorganisation of the States that Mysore, or Karnataka, became a real administrative entity.

From the foregoing survey of the geographical setting it is possible to point out some of the major indications relating to the influence of the geographical factors in the making of Karnataka. It would be a vain search if we try to find any key or a compelling influence of a geographical kind that would explain to us the facts of Karnataka history, because though the geographical factors operate in shaping the destinies of mankind, man in his own turn reacts differently to his geographical setting and often ambitiously tries to overcome them.

It is just possible to discern the influence of certain geographical factors in the history of Karnataka. First and foremost it is possible to gauge the influence of geographical features in the evolution of political events and forms in Karnataka. Broadly, it would seem, that the major political powers descended from the northern plateau regions and spread their sway from the central belt of Karnataka eastwards and westwards. The transitional belt lying just to the east of the Sahyadris afforded easier communication, because of the absence of relief barriers and abundance of food. Scarcities were often deterrents. Thus we can visualise how the Karnataka plateau became a political checker-board where a succession of rulers advanced from the north; this northern advance in the early days was repelled by two dynasties: the Pallavas and the Gangas, with the Cholas making a partial attempt. It is interesting to note that these three southern powers hailed not from the Mysore plateau, but from the coastal and riverine plains of the

south. Similarly, the founders of the Vijayanagar kingdom which resisted for more than two centuries the Moslem incursions from the north in the 14th century belonged not to the Mysore plateau but hailed from the plains of the Tungabhadra river and the country on the fringe of the Sahyadri range where the Hoysala capital was situated.

While the movements and conquests of the major rulers were along a north-south axis, relief played a very significant role in the pattern of local administration and local political events. In ancient and mediaeval India, conquest of large territories was inevitably followed by extension of the feudal policy. Karnataka was no exception to this pattern of development. The local rulers like the Kadambas, the Nayaks, the Muslim rulers, and the Palaygars, the Nawabs and the Marathas had their capitals invariably at strategic points. They who ruled on behalf of their suzerain authority become points and the routes linking them make a geographical pattern. The role of the eastern and western ghat routes has been quite striking from that point of view.

It is difficult to determine precisely how far geographical factors have influenced the origin and development of Karnataka history and culture. The Kannada language found its early development in the southern plateau; it had a remarkable spread northwards even as far north as the Godavari valley. On the western coast, it had local variations in Tulu and other dialects; on the east, however, the languages merged through the belt of bilingualism with Telugu and Tamil. Geography, therefore, may be said to have favoured the growth of Kannada language and Kannada culture northwards, but it is also to be remembered that the same uninterrupted nature of the plateau tracts was later responsible for the advance of the Maratha power, their language and culture, which became crystallised in the territorial region known before 1956 as Bombay Karnataka. If ancient monuments, seats of capitals, religious shrines and places of pilgrimage are an index to the cultural development of a territory, we find that the transitional belt with places like Uluvi, Banavasi, Sringeri, Sravanabelgola, and the southern rim of the plateau offered a more favourable setting. The local rock material, forest environment and river fordings, appear to be in no small way responsible for these regional developments.

Summing up this study of the role of geographical factors in Karnataka history and culture, it may be stated that the plateau offered a favourable setting for the larger political and cultural movements to take place along the north-south axis; in this elevated theatre, the northern and southern powers contested for supremacy, with the northern powers exercising a greater influence; the western, southern and eastern mountain rims of the plateau produced local political fragmentation; these marginal highlands with the ghat routes in them and the residual hill chains traversing the plateau acquired strategic importance; cultural lead was given more by the transi-

tional belt and the southern plateau rim than by other tracts. The political ambitions of rulers and petty chieftains during the ancient and mediaeval periods produced only empires and feudal structures or retarded them, but how far geographical factors promoted or retarded the administrative unity of the Kannada-speaking people it is difficult to determine. But with the impact of the British and the superior administrative acumen of their agents, the territorial divisions became stable; but this process deterred the earlier flexible cultural unity of Karnataka. Thus even with the creation of the new Karnataka, the Mysore State unifying the Kannada-speaking peoples, traces of 'political inertia' linger on in the shape of 'Bombay Karnataka', 'Madras Karnataka', 'Hyderabad Karnataka' and 'Mysore'. Time and political sagacity alone can erase the barriers and create a living entity and unity of Karnataka representing the traditional culture and the political and social aspirations of the Kannada-speaking people as a whole.

CLIMATE, RAINFALL AND IRRIGATION

We have dealt with the geological and geographical factors of Karnataka so far. Now before dealing with the vegetable and animal wealth of this rich region, it would be helpful if a brief account is given of its climate, rainfall and irrigation, as these condition to a large extent the occurrence of flora and fauna in the State.

CLIMATE :

The year may be broadly divided into four periods from the point of view of weather and climatic conditions : (a) the south-west monsoon period lasting over three months from the beginning of June when the western portions of the State have their heavy rainfall, (b) The retreating or north-east monsoon period lasting a little over two months from October, when the north-eastern portions of the State get their much-needed though often meagre showers, (c) The cold weather period from the middle of December to the end of February, and (d) The hot weather period during March, April and May.

Most parts of the State on account of their altitude enjoy an equable climate throughout the year. Extremes of climate are rarely experienced even in the so-called interior areas somewhat removed from the sea-coast, not at any rate, to the extent that one experiences such extremes in many regions in Central and North India. The difference between the maximum and minimum rarely exceeds 30 degrees Fahrenheit. Such marked difference occurs in Belgaum, for instance, where the maximum is about 95° and the minimum less than 60° F in cold months, or in Bellary where the maximum is nearly 100° F and the minimum 70° F in February or in Gulbarga, which registers the highest temperature in the State, where the maximum is about 110° F and the minimum is 70° F in March. These are exceptional. The central plateau region, and the districts of Coorg, Hassan, Bangalore and parts of Dharwar and Bidar, in particular, have the most equable climate throughout the year, and make them coveted summer resorts for those who cannot afford to go to hill-stations during the hot season.

RAINFALL :

The amount of average annual rainfall varies sharply as one passes from the western parts to the eastern parts of the State. The Western ghats border, *viz.*, North Kanara, South Kanara, Belgaum, parts of Shimoga, Chikmagalur and Hassan and Coorg receive abundant rainfall averaging more than 150" a year. It is as high as 300" at Agumbe, which in 1946 had a record of 509". The middle and south-eastern portion, *viz.*, Bangalore, Kolar, Mandya and Mysore have a moderate rainfall of about 30" a year. The remaining areas specially in the north and north-east, *viz.*, Bidar, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Raichur,

Bellary, Chitradurga and parts of Dharwar and Tumkur Districts have less than 25" and some areas record even less than 15" a year. This is a part of the 'rainshadow belt' of Peninsular India and is a dry area, 'next only to the Thor Desert'. It is estimated that one-fourth of the entire area of the State gets less than 25" of rainfall in a year.

IRRIGATION :

As over 70% of the population of the State, as in the rest of India, depend on agriculture for their livelihood, the provision of irrigation facilities becomes a matter of paramount importance in the economy of the State.

Karnataka, with its hilly and undulating landscape for the most part, has numerous tanks to store rain water to help agricultural operations. Thus there are 37,328 tanks (big and small) in the State, with a total *atchkat* (irrigation potential) area of 10.89 lakhs of acres as against 25,880 villages and 221 towns. These tanks are a legacy from the old days. Rulers, noblemen and wealthy merchants in the past centuries considered it an act of merit to construct tanks and undertake other works of public utility. What the present and future generations have to do is to maintain them in good condition, attending to their desilting and periodic repair. Many of these old tanks are still the single largest source of irrigation. They account for 3,59,621 hectares or about 8,88,264 acres. While the canals built by Government and private enterprise come next and irrigate about 2,64,102 hectares or 6,52,332 acres. Wells irrigate about 1,49,640 hectares or 3,69,611 acres. (The figures are those for 1961-62).

After the coming of Independence in 1947, the country entered upon a period of planned economy. Targets were worked out for food-production and for the extension of irrigational facilities, as in other matters bearing on the economic welfare of the people. It was realised that the facilities existing prior to 1947 were far short of our requirements. Thus the State had irrigational facilities to cover only 17 lakhs of acres—which was only 4.9% of the total land available for cultivation. This was far below what obtained in the neighbouring States of Andhra and Madras and far below the 24% which was fixed as the target for an all-India plan. The ultimate possible irrigation in the State is estimated to be about 82 lakhs of acres or about 23½% of the cultivable land available, namely, 35 million acres.

Efforts have been made in the three Five Year Plans to step up irrigational facilities, mainly through the erection of dams across the rivers, and it is expected by the end of the Third Plan period (1966), to provide for the irrigation of 30.3 lakhs of acres. The ultimate potential of 82 lakhs of acres is yet far-off and is expected to be reached by 1980. Among the projects undertaken are the following :

| <i>Project</i> | <i>Estimated Cost</i> | <i>Ultimate Irrigation Potential Acres</i> |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| | <i>Rs.</i> | |
| 1. The Tungabhadra Project (Left Bank) ... | 3,100,00,000 | 5,80,000 |
| 2. The Tungabhadra Project (Right Bank) ... | 688,40,000 | 91,854 |
| 3. Ghataprabha I Stage ... | 545,00,000 | 1,20,000 |
| 4. Bhadra Project ... | 3,353,00,000 | 2,44,663 |
| 5. Ghataprabha II Stage ... | 1,318,00,000 | 1,78,000 |
| 6. Tunga Anicut ... | 231,12,000 | 21,500 |
| 7. Nugu Reservoir ... | 311,00,000 | 20,000 |
| 8. Tungabhadra High Level (Ist Stage) ... | 258,40,000 | 70,339 |
| 9. Kabini Project ... | 320,00,000 | 30,000 |
| 10. Dharma Project ... | 69,14,000 | 14,000 |
| 11. Harangi Project ... | 1,050,00,000 | 1,05,000 |
| 12. Upper Krishna Project ... | 40,150,00,000 | 5,33,000 |
| 13. Malaprabha Project ... | 2,000,00,000 | 3,00,000 |
| 14. Hemavati Project ... | 390,00,000 | 22,500 |
| 15. Kambada Kadu Project ... | 190,00,000 | 33,000 |
| 16. Harinala ... | 75,00,000 | 10,500 |
| 17. All other minor projects together (for less than 10,000 acres) ... | 430,32,000 | 79,157 |
| | <hr/> 54,479,38,000 <hr/> | <hr/> 24,53,513 <hr/> |

In addition to these big projects, the three Five Year Plans have made provision for the restoration of old tanks, construction of new wells and well-boring schemes. It is estimated that these will extend the benefit of irrigation to about 36 lakhs of acres in the State on the whole.

The huge projects, with their net work of high level and low level canals will change the face of the country, and prove what man's determination equipped with scientific knowledge and modern machinery can achieve to overcome unfavourable environmental conditions, and enable him to utilise to the full the blessings of nature.

STATEMENT I

Statement showing the Districtwise Average and Normal Rainfall for the year 1964 (Rainfall in Millimetres).

| <i>Districts</i> | | | | <i>Actual Average Rainfall for the year 1964</i> | <i>Normal Rainfall</i> |
|------------------|--------------|-----|-----|--|----------------------------|
| 1. | Bangalore | ... | ... | 1111.3 | 777.3 |
| 2. | Kolar | ... | ... | 912.7 | 720.9 |
| 3. | Tumkur | ... | ... | 858.2 | 668.7 |
| 4. | Mysore | ... | ... | 973.1 | 757.5 |
| 5. | Mandya | ... | ... | 866.4 | 687.9 |
| 6. | Hassan | ... | ... | 1143.8 | 1015.2 |
| 7. | Shimoga | ... | ... | 1836.4 | 1461.0 |
| 8. | Chikmagalur | ... | ... | 1965.3 | 1890.7 |
| 9. | Chitradurga | ... | ... | 583.9 | 566.8 |
| 10. | Bellary | ... | ... | 787.3 | 571.7 |
| 11. | Bidar | ... | ... | 1209.4 | 857.0 |
| 12. | Gulbarga | ... | ... | 937.0 | 717.7 |
| 13. | Raichur | ... | ... | 718.5 | 579.3 |
| 14. | South Kanara | ... | ... | 3413.3 | 3870.8 |
| 15. | Coorg | ... | ... | 2823.0 | 2702.7 |
| 16. | Dharwar | ... | ... | 864.8 | 684.4 |
| 17. | North Kanara | ... | ... | 2932.3 | 2714.4 |
| 18. | Bijapur | ... | ... | 874.6 | 569.9 |
| 19. | Belgaum | ... | ... | 989.5 | 791.7 |

S T A T

Statement showing the average Maximum and Minimum Tempe

| | | January | | February | | March | | April | | May | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | |
| 1. | Honnavar (N. Kanara District) | ... | 31.4 | 18.0 | 31.3 | 18.7 | 32.8 | 22.6 | 33.0 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 21.0 |
| 2. | Mangalore | ... | 31.5 | 21.3 | 31.5 | 22.8 | 33.4 | 25.0 | 33.7 | 27.8 | 33.6 | 21.0 |
| 3. | Bidar | ... | 30.2 | 16.8 | 28.5 | 18.3 | 35.8 | 22.7 | 38.5 | 24.9 | 39.0 | 21.0 |
| 4. | Gulbarga | ... | 31.8 | 16.4 | 33.0 | 18.7 | 37.6 | 24.0 | 39.7 | 25.8 | 41.2 | 20.0 |
| 5. | Raichur | ... | 31.6 | 18.9 | 32.9 | 21.0 | 37.6 | 24.8 | 40.1 | 27.3 | 40.8 | 21.0 |
| 6. | Bijapur | ... | 31.2 | 16.4 | 32.6 | 18.3 | 37.2 | 23.2 | 39.2 | 24.5 | 40.4 | 21.0 |
| 7. | Belgaum | ... | 30.6 | 14.0 | 31.4 | 16.4 | 35.5 | 19.3 | 36.5 | 21.1 | 34.0 | 21.0 |
| 8. | Gadag (Dharwar) | ... | 31.2 | 16.5 | 30.8 | 19.0 | 35.9 | 21.7 | 38.2 | 22.9 | 36.8 | 22.0 |
| 9. | Bellary | ... | 31.1 | 18.9 | 32.9 | 20.0 | 36.8 | 22.4 | 40.8 | 26.3 | 39.8 | 20.0 |
| 10. | Chitradurga | ... | 29.7 | 17.8 | 31.4 | 19.8 | 35.0 | 21.9 | 36.9 | 23.5 | 35.7 | 22.0 |
| 11. | Bangalore | ... | 27.8 | 14.2 | 29.1 | 15.9 | 32.6 | 19.5 | 34.7 | 22.1 | 34.3 | 21.0 |
| 12. | Mysore | ... | 29.3 | 16.0 | 30.9 | 17.8 | 33.9 | 21.2 | 35.8 | 22.5 | 34.1 | 21.0 |
| 13. | Mercara (Coorg)... | 26.4 | 13.3 | 27.3 | 14.6 | 29.6 | 17.1 | 30.0 | 18.5 | 28.1 | 18.0 | 18.0 |

NT II

at the observatories for the year 1964 (in Degrees Centigrade)

| St. No. | June | | July | | August | | September | | October | | November | | December | |
|---------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|----------|------|----------|------|
| | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. | Max. | Min. |
| 3 | 23.6 | 28.2 | 23.3 | 27.9 | 23.2 | 28.2 | 22.9 | 28.8 | 23.6 | 30.8 | 20.7 | 32.1 | 20.0 | |
| 5 | 23.8 | 31.2 | 23.7 | 28.8 | 29.1 | 29.1 | 23.2 | 30.3 | 23.7 | 30.1 | 22.2 | 32.5 | 21.0 | |
| 2 | 23.8 | 29.6 | 21.2 | 27.2 | 20.7 | 28.1 | 20.6 | 29.4 | 20.9 | 27.2 | 17.2 | 27.1 | 15.7 | |
| 9 | 24.3 | 31.6 | 22.5 | 29.8 | 21.7 | 29.8 | 22.0 | 31.9 | 21.3 | 30.1 | 17.0 | 29.3 | 14.6 | |
| 9 | 25.2 | 31.9 | 22.9 | 31.4 | 22.7 | 30.4 | 22.2 | 32.0 | 22.9 | 29.9 | 19.2 | 28.8 | 18.0 | |
| 0 | 23.6 | 30.2 | 21.8 | 28.4 | 21.0 | 28.7 | 21.2 | 30.7 | 21.3 | 28.5 | 17.3 | 28.1 | 14.9 | |
| 8 | 21.2 | 26.1 | 20.6 | 24.5 | 20.1 | 26.8 | 19.8 | 28.6 | 19.5 | 28.8 | 16.4 | 28.5 | 13.7 | |
| 8 | 21.7 | 27.7 | 21.1 | 25.5 | 20.6 | 26.2 | 20.4 | 28.0 | 20.5 | 29.5 | 17.3 | 28.9 | 16.0 | |
| 2 | 25.2 | 31.7 | 23.9 | 30.5 | 23.6 | 31.0 | 22.8 | 31.4 | 22.1 | 29.1 | 19.0 | 29.4 | 16.6 | |
| 3 | 21.8 | 28.0 | 21.2 | 26.8 | 20.0 | 26.9 | 20.2 | 29.0 | 20.5 | 27.3 | 17.9 | 26.9 | 16.0 | |
| 9 | 19.7 | 28.4 | 20.6 | 26.3 | 19.5 | 26.9 | 19.4 | 28.1 | 19.5 | 25.9 | 16.7 | 25.2 | 15.5 | |
| 1 | 20.4 | 28.9 | 20.3 | 27.2 | 19.8 | 28.0 | 19.9 | 28.8 | 19.8 | 27.3 | 17.3 | 26.8 | 15.6 | |
| 6 | 16.9 | 22.0 | 17.1 | 20.0 | 16.5 | 22.1 | 16.4 | 23.9 | 16.7 | 24.0 | 14.9 | 23.7 | 11.4 | |

FLORA — THE VEGETABLE WEALTH OF KARNATAKA

Karnataka enjoys a variety of climatic conditions ranging from the extremely humid to the very dry, and equally varied topographical features. This accounts for the great wealth of plant life—both natural and cultivated—found in the various areas of the State. The elevation of the State ranges from sea level on the west coast to more than 6000 feet in the Bababudan Hills and averages about 2000 feet. Rainfall also varies greatly; a considerable portion of the State suffers from scarcity of rain, so that artificial irrigation from tanks, reservoirs or canals is necessary for food production.

There are two distinct types of forests found in the State. There is, firstly, a narrow zone of moist forests comprising the Western Ghats of the Sahyadri range. This comprises the richest forest area and is the main source of timber and other products from trees. The second comprises the drier eastern parts of the State. The forests in these two areas are governed by contrasting conditions of growth of plant life. In the moist areas plants are dense, consisting of huge trees, and, on account of the rich soil and moisture, the plants have to compete with one another for existence. In the dry area, on the other hand, they are sparse. There is plenty of room for other plants to grow, but all these plants, new and old, have to contend against inhospitable physical surroundings, so that only the hardiest survive. The western part of the State is mountainous throughout; and these mountains send spurs across the more depressed eastern dry part. In both these areas together nearly four thousand species of flowering plants are known to exist.

The forests of the Western Ghats of the State consist of huge trees set in a thick mass of almost impenetrable vegetation. In some parts of these forests there is rank growth of grasses and climbers. The trees are of gigantic size, and often tufted bamboos interlace themselves beneath their wide-spread arms. These together form a canopy overhead so that very little sunshine filters through to ground level. It is almost impossible to get into these forests except along narrow paths and the tracks often made by wild animals. Where no such tracks exist, one has to cut one's way through the dense vegetation. Some of these dense forests, particularly those on the western coast, include a very large variety of smaller trees, shrubs, parasitic plants and creepers.

These forests are confined to a narrow belt ranging between six and forty miles in width bordering the western ghats. The region has abundant rainfall during the south-west monsoon. Within these forests, there are generally three storeys of vegetation, each having its own characteristic plant species. The topmost layer consists of great evergreens, growing over 150 feet from the ground. These are sometimes deciduous trees which shed their leaves at the end of the growing season. These trees are found practically in all places covered with orchids and ferns growing on trees.

The temperature and humidity under the forest canopy differ considerably from those at the level of the crown above it. During the major part of the year the atmosphere is saturated with water vapour, and consequently the air temperature is considerably lower than in the open. Above the level of the crown (150 to 120 feet above ground level), the air is relatively dry. Thus the interior of the forest has its own climate. Here one can see how some of the climbers vie with one another to reach and occupy bright and sunny spots on the tree crowns. These point the way to others that follow suit, so that the tree tops harbour a variety of flowering and non-flowering plants growing on the tree trunks. The struggle for light thus plays an important part in the tree tops being occupied by smaller but enterprising epiphytes.

It is also noticed that the character of the forest changes according to the exposure of the hillside (the ghats) to the monsoons. In addition to the moisture and temperature, adequate quantities of which are necessary for the optimum development of vegetation, the effect of wind has decided influence on the distribution and height of the forest, as well as the size and shape of some of its component members.

A recent study of soil profiles in some of these forests (Belgaum, Chikmagalur and Shimoga Districts) shows that most soils are acidic with pH. ranging from 4.5 to 6.5. There is more calcium in the deciduous forests and grasslands (up to 30%) than in the evergreen and scrub forest (20%). There is more magnesium in evergreen forests (14%) than in deciduous and scrub forests (9.5%), and, similarly, there is more potassium (6.5%) in evergreens than in deciduous and scrub jungles (3.5%).

The best wet forests abound in or around the ghat heads, on both the western and eastern sides of the ghats. Here the annual rainfall exceeds 300" in some areas. On the ghat heads and the steep slopes the soil is shallow, and, therefore, incapable of supporting tall trees: while on the gentle slopes and in the valleys the soil is much deeper and capable of bearing them. In an area like Agumbe (Shimoga District) there is a characteristic variation in the distribution of vegetation in the three parts, viz., the lower ghat area with steep precipitous rocky surfaces, the ghat proper with a rich soil cover, and the open hill tops which face the high winds.

The tall trees constitute the topmost storey of the evergreen wet forest. Some of the common plants of this storey are *Dipterocarpus indicus* (Dhooma), *Calophyllum apetalum* (Kalhonne), *Poeciloneuron indicum* (Balagi), *Vateria indica* (Dhoopadamara), *Elaeocarpus tuberculatus* (Satagadamara).

Foot-note—The Kannada equivalents are given in brackets transliterated in Roman script. In the transliteration of Kannada words put in brackets, the following scheme has been adopted: t as in top: t as in path: d as in dog: d as in then: n and l are palatal sounds: for the aspirates h is added.

Canarium strictum (Haalumaddi), *Holigarna caustica* (Halageru), and species of *Artocarpus* (Halasu). Some of the areas under wet forests have a different composition, and the common trees noticed here include *Acrocarpus fraxinifolius* (Naaruberu), *Knema attenuata* (Kaadupindi), *Polyalthia longifolia* (Kantadamara: Putrajeevi) and others.

The second storey of trees in the evergreen rain-forests on the ghats consists of medium-sized trees of 50 to 70 feet, namely *Holigarna arnottiana* (Kootageru), *Antiaris toxicaria* (Byri), *Dysoxylum malabaricum* (Bilideva-daaru), *Artocarpus hirsuta* (Hebhalasu), *Machilus micrantha* (Kaadulavanga), *Toddalia bilocularis* (Ilisingi). Some of these and other species are also found in the forests among others with lesser rainfall a few miles east of the ghats. These moist deciduous forests do not show the vegetation as in the ghats and their principal constituents include *Actinodaphne hookeri* (Galavaara), *Alstonia scholaris* (Saptaparna), *Alseodaphne semecarpifolia* (Massi), *Anogeissus latifolia* (Dindiga), *Aporosa lindleyana* (Salle), *Careya arborea* (Hennumatthi), *Dillenia pentagyna* (Kaadukanigalu), *Flacourtia montana* (Hennusampige), *Garcinia morella* (Makkimara), *Lagerstroemia lanceolata* (Nandi), *Strychnos nux vomica* (Vishamushti), and several *Terminalias* (Mattijaati).

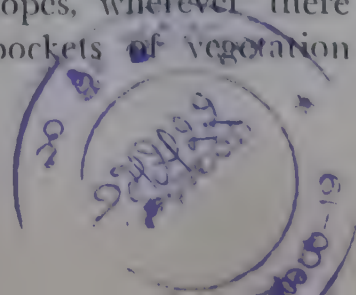
The third storey of trees in the ghat forests generally consists of *Schleichera oleosa* (Kendale), *Artocarpus heterophyllus* (Halasu), *Artocarpus lakoocha* (Paachigida), *Myristica malabarica* (Doddajaaaji), *Anthocephalus cadamba* (Kadamba), *Oroxylum indicum* (Patagani) among others.

Apart from the forest giants occupying the major portion of the wet forests, there is also a ground cover of bushes and a profusion of climbers. These bushes and climbers are of very little use in the economy of the State. But some of the canes (*calamus*) form the basis of a useful cottage industry for making baskets, mats etc.; while some of the climbers like *Strychnos colubrina* (Naagamushti), *Cocculus hirsutus* (Dhagadiballi), *Tinospora cordifolia* (Amritaballi), of medicinal importance are used by the inhabitants. One other climber—*Gnetum ula*—is occasionally used for roping elephants because before it dries it is extremely hard and resilient.

The ghat heads and barren hilltops have a heavily denuded soil and they are exposed to the high velocity of winds for about seven months in the year. These winds are cloud laden. They rise up and, on reaching the forest, rush inland with considerable velocity. This velocity of the wind is responsible for the stunted growth of the trees, for the diminution of leaf size and the placing of leaves on short branchy boles. In such locations the trees grow at a considerably higher altitude on the leeward than on the windward side.

Some of the hills which attain altitudes of above 4000 feet have on their tops slopes covered by grasses. In these slopes, wherever there is a stream flowing there is a pocket of trees. Such pockets of vegetation are termed

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'sholas'; and as one descends, the shola slopes towards the stream, the grasses are abruptly replaced by bushes of a gregarious kind. These gregarious species flower all on a sudden at periodical intervals of three to seven years, at which time they bear clusters of bright flowers so that the whole slope appears one blaze of bright pink or scarlet.

Some of the hilltops above 4000 feet, or at least their last 1000 feet, are very steep and only grass grows there. These slopes have very stunted trees, the basal portions of which are immersed in bracken (*Pteridium*).

There is a rain-shadow belt of deciduous forests which enjoys a rainfall varying from 40" to 100" per annum. These are mature, open, and mixed deciduous types of forest. This is a valuable zone for the extraction of timber and also for bamboo. Here are found medium-sized trees of *Terminalia tomentosa* (Matti), *Anogeissus latifolia* (Dindiga), *Tectona grandis* (Teak-Tega), *Emblica officinalis* (Nelli), *Schleichera oleosa* (Kendaale), *Grewia tiliaefolia* (Tadasalu), *Butea monosperma* (Muttuga), *Cassia fistula* (Kakkegida), *Bauhinia racemosa* (Vanasampige), *Zizyphus xyloporus* (Paarpaali), *Atalantia racemosa* (Huchchanimbe), interspersed with clumps of *Dendrocalamus strictus* (Gandubiduru) or *Bambusa bambos* (Bambu : Biduru). Shrubs and climbers in this area include *Flacourtia indica* (Miridigida), *Randia dumetorum* (Mangarekaayi), *Canthium dicoccum* (Kaare), *Argyreia cuneata* (Achchegida or Kallana Hambu), *Asparagus asiaticus* (Shataavari), *Asparagus racemosus* (Halavu Makkala Balli), *Hemidesmus indicus* (Sogade Beru), *Ampelocissus tomentosa* (Sambaara Balli), *Smilax macrophylla* (Parangi Chekke). Most of these species constitute minor forest produce and are useful for local economy.

Most of the eastern districts of the State are covered by deciduous or scrub forests, with teak occurring at intervals over the whole area. Much of this open country presents a jungle of small trees and shrubs together with herbaceous vegetation that is leafless or burnt up during the dry season. In all these areas there is drought for seven months or more during the year. This drought goes with very poor soils, so that whatever natural vegetation is left is evident only on the small hillocks. All over the area one sees only a few species of plants leading a precarious existence. The principal trees of such areas include species of *Acacia* (Jaali), *Flacourita indica* (Miridigida), *Capparis divaricata* (Reppegida), *Dodonea viscosa* (Bandare), *Grewia flavescens* (Chikka Gari Kele) and others. If protected, these forests also contain *Anogeissus latifolia* (Dindiga), *Santalum album* (Srigandha), *Cochlospermum gossypium* (Arisina Booruga), *Salmalia malabarica* (Shaalmali : Booruga), *Cassia fistula* (Kakke Gida), *Butea monosperma* (Muttuga), *Diospyros montana* (Jagala Gante) and *Alangium lamarchii* (Ankole). In some forests there is a great deal of Bamboo.

These deciduous forests have for long been the main source of fuel supply to the growing population of the State. Wherever the natural vegetation is

cut down there is an invasion of lantana. In such cases the lantana drives all other species out of existence. It has, however, proved to be a useful fence for saplings of the sandalwood tree. In the dry plains, the vegetation occurs as patches here and there, usually in depressions or along valleys. In several places extensive areas are covered by the toddy palm with *Caryota urens* (Bagini) and *Phoenix dactylifera* (Kharjoora) scattered here and there.

The neighbourhood of villages generally has several cultivated trees to break the monotony of the dreary landscape. The trees commonly grown include the mango (*Magnifera indica*), jack (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*), tamarind (*Tamarindus indicus*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), banana (*Musa sapientum*), and honge (*Pongamia pinnata*). The coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) and arecanut (*Areca catechu*) form important plantation crops; while among introduced species the casuarina (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), and the eucalyptus (*Eucalyptus globulus*) are playing an increasing role in the welfare of the community.

Some of the northern parts of the State have extensive grasslands. Here shrubs and grasses are predominant, and on account of poor soil, gregariousness is common. If sufficient moisture is available, *Terminalia crenulata* (Matti), *Anogeissus latifolia* (Dindiga) and *Ougeinia oojeinensia* (Karihonne) are found to occur; or else, *Boswellia serrata* (Dhoopadamara) is the only representative on the dry poor soils. The open spaces are covered by grasses, among which *Dichanthium annulatum* (Urukunhullu), *Chrysopogon montanus* (Ganjigerikehullu), *Iseilema laxum* (Tengina naaruhullu), *Brachiaria isachne* (Porehullu) and *Heteropogon contortus* (Sunkarihullu) are important.

Tanks are found near most towns and villages in the dry eastern parts. The tanks that always store water are full of water plants. The water plants may be rooted in the soil or they may be floating freely on the surface of the water. Occasionally, there is a marshy area near the water margin. This marshy region contains mostly rushes, grasses, and herbaceous species of flowering plants.

The margins of the tanks have a great abundance of plants. Although the water lilies are frequently found covering the whole surface of the water area, they belong in reality to the marginal vegetation, since they must always be rooted; and it is only under conditions of relatively shallow water that they thrive best. There are some other plants of marshy areas which extend across the choked up surface of ponds. Such amphibious plants are capable of growing on moist land as also floating on water. This amphibious surface screen of vegetation in tanks consists mostly of *Jussiaea repens* (Neerudantu), *Colocasia antiquorum* (Kesavinagedde), *Marsilea quadrifoliata*, *Ipomoea reptans* (Bilihambu), *Moniera cuneifolia* (Jalabrahmee), *Leersia hexandra* (Paachihullu), *Polygonum orientale* (Neeru Kanigalu), and *Aeschynomene indica* (Bendu Kasa).

As pointed out above, the overflow from one tank goes into another

making a stream. The margins of such streams also have plants growing in certain seasons, as also some grasses which persist throughout the year. Among species which are frequently met with under such conditions are *Cyperus iria* (Dabbejambuhullu), *Crinum asiaticum* (Vishabiduru), *Isachne dispar* (Kaadu Sanna Saamehullu), *Jussiaea suffruticosa* (Kaavakoola), *Paspalum scrobiculatum* (Haaraka), and *Themeda triandra* (Bettanchihullu). The dried up pond beds and stream beds have often a covering of *Breynia rhamnoides* (Bilisooli), *Eragrostis japonica* (Jareehullu), *Mollugo lotooides* (Chandrakaasi Soppu), *Polygonum plebejum* (Neeranige Soppu) and *Sphaeranthus indicus* (Moodigida-Bodukadale Soppu).

Plants or plant parts and products have long been utilised for curing human ailments. The Bababudangiri Hills and Kappadagudda or Kapotagiri near Gadag are reputed to have hundreds of medicinal herbs. Chandradrona Parvata in the Chikmagalur District is traditionally believed to be the hill to which Hanuman flew from Lanka for the herb to cure Lakshmana who had fainted on the battle-field. Apart from the plants available on mountains, even the weeds round about human habitations are utilised for medicinal purposes. Thus *Acalypha indica* (Kuppigida), a common weed of waste places and gardens, in decoction is believed to relieve pains of snake bite, and powder from its dried leaves is used to cure bed sores. Another weed, *Achyranthes aspera* (Uttaraani) is used against dropsy. The juice from leaves of *Adhatoda vasica* (Aadusoge) is a well-known remedy for coughs, bronchitis and asthma. The cultivated *Aegle marmelos* (Bilva) has a root bark which is used against intermittent fever, and its ripe fruit is a mild laxative. The bark of *Alstonia scholaris* (Sapta Parna) is used in convalescence, fever and debility. Several *Artemesias* which grow in waste places round our villages have flower heads with a rich santonin content, and are effective in destroying intestinal worms. Another weed is *Boerhaavia repens* (Rakta Punarnava) whose root is a diuretic, laxative and anthelmintic. *Bryonia dioica* (Linga tonde Balli) is used against cough and bronchitis. The leaves and seeds of *Datura fastuosa* (Kari Ummatti) are deadly poisons while an extract from its dried leaves is useful against asthma and whooping cough. *Bacopa monnieri* (Neeru Braahmee) is a common weed in marshy areas, whose leaf extract is extensively used as a nerve tonic in epilepsy and insanity. Another common weed is *Centella asiatica* (Ondelaga) which serves as a good tonic and stimulant. The tulsi (*Ocimum sanctum*) is a well-known household remedy for stomach complaints. The castor is cultivated not only for its oil, but its roots are useful in curing sciatica and lumbago. *Vitex negundo* (Lakkiligida or Nekki) is a weed of waste places, all parts of which are useful its roots being a tonic, febrifuge and diuretic; powdered leaves being useful in piles; leaves in curing rheumatism, and the flower being a liver tonic. Among exotics which are useful medicinally the most important are *Cinchona*, *Digitalis purpurea* (cardiac tonic) and *Eucalyptus*. Under the auspices of

the newly started 'State Indigenous Medicinal Plant Organisation' with its nucleus of gardens and laboratories, it is hoped that great impetus will be given for the cultivation of medicinal plants and their utilisation.

The sandal tree (*santalum album*) is abundant in Karnataka which may will be said to enjoy almost a monopoly for its growth. Its range of distribution lies mostly to the west and south of the State forming an unbroken line through the deciduous and mixed zones (Shimoga, Kadur, Hassan, Mysore and Bangalore Districts).

The tree grows roughly on altitudes between 2,000 and 4000 ft. above sea level. It attains a height of 25-35 ft., and occasionally more in rich soil. The wood, particularly the heartwood, is valued on account of the sweet-scented oil that it contains. This oil occupies an important place in pharmacopoeic and cosmetic industries. Depending on its colour and the designs on the wood, the sandal is classified into four varieties: white, red, navil or peacock and naga or cobra. The sandal tree is a root parasite and it thrives well only in association with other shrubs like lantana. The tree attains commercial maturity after 25 to 35 years, when the heartwood is well-developed. There are sandal oil factories for extraction of the oil started by the State Government at Shimoga and Mysore. On an average the factories produce 200,000 lbs. of oil every year, of which roughly about 70% is exported, while 30% is used for domestic consumption.

The sandal is subject to a disease called the 'spike' and this disease in some areas is threatening the complete ruin of the trees.

MULBERRY (*Morus alba*): The silk industry is an ancient one in the old Mysore State. Mysore silk is well-known all the world over. The mulberry plant provides the best food for the silk worm. Hence this crop is raised in several districts, Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur, where silk worms are reared. The local or indigenous variety is a shrub and it grows in red gravelly or black soil. The leaves are plucked four times a year and the garden is kept clean of weeds and watered, if grown under irrigation. Otherwise, the crop depends upon the rains. With the introduction of new strains of silk worms from Japan, Kashmir and China, new varieties of mulberry plants also have been introduced into Karnataka. Some of these grow to the size of small trees and some grow in cooler climates. The plants are grown from cuttings. Delicate foreign varieties are grafted on the local hardy varieties with good results. It is a paying cash-crop.

TEAK (*Tectona gradius*): Extensive plantations of teak are found in Mysore, Shimoga, Hassan, Coorg, Kadur, Dharwar and Belgaum Districts. The teak tree clings to the western ghats. It is only on or near to certain ranges at the elevation ranging from 2000 to 3000 ft. that its growth is normal and the tree attains great dimensions. In other areas, its growth is stunted and the wood becomes knotty. While in flower, a fine specimen of 150 ft. height presents a grand appearance. The sapling grows vertically during the

first six to eight years reaching up to 50 ft. Then the growth in thickness starts and this goes on slowly. Even a plant of 200 years old is only about 4' in diameter. Teak is a valuable timber tree. The value of the timber is due to its lightness, immunity from white ants, softness, readiness to take polish and withstanding the action of salt water. It is these qualities which made the teak of the Western ghats the favourite material for shipbuilders in ancient India.

AGRICULTURE : CROP PLANTS OF KARNATAKA :

The chief crop plants of Karnataka may be considered under four heads : dry cultivation, wet cultivation, gardens and plantations.

Under dry cultivation the following are included :

(1) Jowar, (2) Bajri or millets (saame, navane, baragu, haraga, sajje), (3) wheat, (4) pulses (togari, kadale, hurali, avare, hesaru, uddu and halasande), (5) ragi, (6) cotton, (7) oil seeds (huchchellu, achchallu, haralu, groundnut, linseed, kusume), (8) spices (mustard, chilly, oma (carum), coriander, cumin seed (jirige), fenugreek, *cuminum trigonella* and tobacco.

Under wet crops the following are included : (1) Rice, (2) Sugarcane.

Under garden crops the following are included : (1) areca, (2) cocoanut, (3) plantain, (4) mulberry, in addition to the spices mentioned above.

Under plantation crops the following are included : (1) coffee, (2) tea, (3) cardamom, (4) piper betel, (5) pepper, (6) cinchona.

JOWAR : Jowar along with bajri or millets holds a prominent place in the agriculture of Karnataka next only to ragi and rice among the food crops. Its distribution is mostly confined to the black soil of North Karnataka while it is poor in southern Karnataka. There are also isolated small patches of black soil in Chitradurga and along the Kaveri in South Mysore. On the west the rugged ghats form the boundary. Jowar gives place to bajri as the rainfall decreases, the bajri requiring less of rainfall. Bajri is a supplementary food crop to jowar.

RICE : Rice and ragi are peculiar in their distribution, in that they are complementary to jowar and bajri. They prefer red soil and heavy rainfall, rice occupying rich soils like jowar while ragi grows on poorer soils like bajri. In Mysore the tank irrigation of rice has been known from times immemorial while canal irrigation is also a very old method along the river valleys. A narrow strip of rice cultivation along the slopes of the ghats in Karnataka depends upon the monsoon for its crop.

RAGI : Ragi can be grown on heavier soils. Here its yield is great. But it is a typically poor soil crop. The area under ragi is much greater than that under rice. It is particularly valuable since it takes about four months to mature and is valuable as the staple food of the poor man. A variety

of ragi is grown under irrigation and its yield is high. Transplanting seedlings appears to be advantageous since the yield increases thereby.

WHEAT : Wheat is typically a cereal crop of the temperate zone of the world. The main wheat land lies north of the Vindhya in the Punjab and U.P. In Mysore, wheat is grown in Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar mainly, and in small patches in other localities.

COTTON : Cotton is grown in the Mysore State in what is known as the rain-shadow region of the Western Ghats. Bijapur and Dharwar are the important centres. Bellary, Chitradurga and Gadag are also important cotton areas. The Dharwar-American variety is mainly grown here and it has a staple length of about 7/8". Attempts are being made to grow long staple cotton and to improve the Indian cottons to meet the demands of the world market. Sea Island cotton has been introduced in some areas and seems to thrive well in the Dharwar and Mysore Districts.

OIL-SEEDS : They are grown both as a food crop and cash crop. They are dry crops and their absence in the east of Mysore is noteworthy. This is determined by soil and rainfall.

SUGAR-CANE : Sugarcane is grown extensively in Karnataka under irrigation. It requires about a year to mature, during which time it requires constant watering. Hence the cane growing areas are confined to those regions with an assured supply of water for irrigation.

COFFEE : It is indigenous to South India and particularly Mysore. It is believed to have been brought here in the late 18th century. Large plantations gradually developed in the Kadur District with Bababudan Hills as the centre. Coffee flourishes best at an altitude of 1500 to 5500 feet, on a sloping well-drained eastern or northern surface. The original plants, *C. arabica*, are subject to certain diseases. Hence a new variety *C. robusta* was introduced and it is grown extensively now.

TEA : Coffee soil also suits tea plants. Hence tea has been introduced into Mysore and is thriving well.

CARDAMOM : Large areas in the valleys of the Western Ghats are under cardamom cultivation. Karnataka supplies half of the Indian production. It is grown along with areca trees in plantations. Plants are propagated by cuttings. In the third or fourth year, the plants begin to bear the pods.

PEPPER : (*Piper longa*) : The pepper of commerce is grown in the Malnad areas as a subsidiary crop. Pepper vine cuttings are planted very near the supporting trees, usually areca palms. They are carefully tended until the vine climbs up the supporting tree. The production of pepper in Karnataka is considerable. Piper betel, or the *pan*, is also cultivated like the black pepper throughout the State under shady coverings.

COCONUT : The sea coast is the natural home of the coconut palm ; but it also thrives well in the interior. Some of the well-known varieties are

grown in Tumkur District of which 'gangapani' is worth mentioning. In the dry areas of northern Karnataka coconut trees do not flourish, again due to unfavourable climatic and soil conditions. New varieties have been introduced by the Government, the chief of them being the (bansda) variety which produces big size fruits on plants of 3'-4' height. As a result of the efforts of the Coconut Research Board and the Coir Board, the crop is bound to improve. Several diseases of the coconut palm have been rooted out. The coir has become of late a very important raw material for industry. Coir and coir products are becoming more and more important with the advancing industrialisation of the country.

ARECA PALM : Areca, or supari, is grown under irrigation and mostly in the malnad areas, along with cardamom, pepper and plantain or bananas. In maidan areas also it is grown along the river valleys where water facilities are available. Karnataka produces large quantities of areca nuts. The Mysore Agricultural Department has to its credit the finding out of the causes for a serious disease of the areca palm, *i.e.*, koleraga and devising measures to check or eradicate the disease which almost threatened the extinction of this valuable tree.

HORTICULTURE :

The Lalbagh garden in Bangalore has been the centre of all horticultural activities from its inception in 1760. However, organised and systematic work can be said to have started when the Lalbagh became the State Botanical Garden in 1856. The activities of the garden and the Horticultural Society have now been extended to other parts of the State. There are branches of the Society in all the district headquarters. The Lalbagh was the earliest to introduce cotton, coffee and mulberry varieties from abroad and also to try grafting experiments in coffee. The American upland cotton, the Egyptian and South Sea Island and Peruvian cottons were cultivated and their performance studied. Valuable experimental cultivation work was done with mulberry. Further work on these crops was left to the concerned Departments. The Mysore State is one of the earliest parts in the country to introduce exotic varieties of fruits and vegetables, specially in Bangalore, on account of its ideal climatic conditions. This work has been done in the Lalbagh and at the Fruit Research Station, Hesaraghatta. Most of our common fruits such as sapota, apple, papaya, etc., are all exotics and were introduced in the last century.

The apple has been under cultivation round about Bangalore for over a century. In 1897 the outbreak of a disease caused considerable loss to the growers. The Department revived the cultivation of apple in 1911 by importing a variety grafted on disease-resisting stock from Australia. This is the well-known Bangalore apple, 'Rome Beauty'. This is a prolific bearer and

the fruits have attractive colour. They can be preserved under room temperature for about a month.

GRAPES: This is grown extensively in the southern districts. The Bangalore blue variety is the best and it gives two crops a year. It is disease-resistant. It fetches a good price, *viz.*, about Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per acre.

Similarly, guava, sapota, papaya and banana, pomegranate, mangoes, pine-apple, jack, citrus *i.e.*, lemons and oranges, fig, custard apple, komarec, loquat, butter-fruits have all been introduced and they help the cultivator to get better yield than the local varieties.

In the field of vegetables, numerous new varieties of European vegetables have been introduced from time to time, in addition to the intensive cultivation of indigenous varieties.

FLOWERS: Work on the introduction of new varieties and the improvement of the local flower plants have gone on simultaneously yielding very satisfactory results. Several new Bougainvilleas, new Crotons, Cannas, Dahlias, Gladioei, Palms, and Orchids have been introduced and some have been evolved in the garden and made available for cultivation.

In the cultivation of flowers and flower trade, Karnataka may well give a lead to the rest of India. The jasmine, crossandra, tuberosa, chrysanthemum and the roses of the State are particularly admired. Mysore flower garlands have won an international reputation.

FAUNA : THE ANIMAL WEALTH OF KARNATAKA

THE fauna of Karnataka is more or less identical with the rest of the Deccan. The animals fall into two categories—those of the centrally placed open land or maidan, and those inhabiting the hilly and densely wooded areas of the west or the malnad. The coastal belt is narrow and contains throughout spurs of the western mountain ranges; and the fauna of this area is not very different from that of the Western Ghat region. The most important groups of the vertebrate are listed below :

MAMMALIA (Sastanigalu) : These are characterised by the presence of mammary or milk glands in the females. Two genera (*Macacus* and *Pithecus*) with about half a dozen species are found. The lion-tailed monkey (*M.ferox*—Kargodaga) inhabits the dense forests of the Western Ghats. It looks like a baboon except for its black coat and grey beard and ruff. The bonnet monkey (*M.sinica*—Manga) is the type commonly met with. It is trained to perform tricks by some of the professional beggars. The human monkey or the langur (*M.entellus anchises*—Kondamuchchu) has a black face, ears and soles, and is also found in the State.

The Lemurs (Kaadu Paapagalu) are represented by the Slender Loris and are found in Coorg. They are characterised by a gap in the incisor region and by having a claw instead of a nail on the second toe. The tail is absent.

CARNIVORA : (Maamsaahaarigalu) : The cat tribe is characterised by a round head and retractile claws. The lion has never penetrated into this region though the *Ramayana* mentions its occurrence in the dense Dandakaranya forests. But the tiger (*Felis tigris*) frequents the thick forests of the State. It keeps down the herds of deer and wild pig which destroy crops on the outskirts of the reserve forests. The panther (*F.pardus*) is also common in many parts of the State, and specially in the hilly tracts. A cunning and ferocious creature, it is a real danger to the cattle wealth of the farmers. The black panther is only a variety, but it is rarely found. The leopard cat (*F.bengalensis*—Hulibekku) from Coorg and Mysore is a very fierce animal though only two feet in length. The spotted cat (*F.rubiginosa*) is smaller than the domestic cat and is said to be tractable. The common Indian type (*F.affinis*) is found in the jungle as well as in the open country. On account of the tuft of hair at the ear tips it looks like the lynx. It destroys game birds and poultry. The cheeta or hunting leopard (*Acinonix venaticus*—Chirate) is characterised by non-retractile or partially retractile claws and slender long legs. It can keep up a very high speed over short distances, and is used to run down deer, gazelle and such game. It is fast disappearing.

The small Indian civet, (*Viverricula malaccensis*—Punugina Bekku)

the Indian toddy cat (*Paradoxurus niger*—Kappu Bekku) and the mongoose (*Mungos ellioti*—Mungasi) have longer snouts, non-retractile claws and a larger number of molars. The civet cat, which secretes the well-known article of perfumery (Punugu) from its perineal glands near to the root of the tail, lives in detached woods, feeding on rats, squirrels and birds' eggs. The toddy cat is stated to have a craving for fresh palm juice.

There is only one representative of the hyena (*Hyenidae*—Kiruba) family found in Karnataka and its drier districts. It is of help as a carrion feeder with very powerful jaws.

Of the dog family, the wolf (*Canis naria*—Tola), the jackal (*Canis indicus*—Nari), the wild dog (*Cuon dukhunensis*—Sheel Naayi) and the fox (*Vulpes bengalensis*—Kempu Nari) are met with. Found in the Mahnad area, they are intelligent and cunning. The jackal and the fox often take to a vegetarian diet and cause considerable damage to sugarcane, collee, and groundnut. The wolf and the wild dog which hunt in packs are destructive to game like deer and antelope.

Of the family of martens, the South Indian marten (*Martes gwatkinsi*) is found in the forests of the Nilgiris and the Western Ghats. The otter (*Lutra lutra*—Neer Naayi) destroys the fish in rivers and large tanks. It lives in burrows on the waterside. A clawless otter is reported from Coorg.

The bear family, characterised by a more omnivorous dentition, is represented by the sloth bear (*Melursus ursinus*—Karadi). It is sometimes found in rocky caves on the hill sides and lives on fruit, insects, and honey.

INSECTIVORA : These small nocturnal animals include the South Indian hedgehog (*Erinaceus micropes*) found in the Eastern Ghat region; the Madras tree shrew (*Anathana ellioti*) which looks like a squirrel; the brown shrew (*Pachyura murina*) found in the woods and occasionally in the houses near by, and the grey musk shrew (*P. eccerulea*) sometimes frequenting houses, emitting a metallic squeak and destroying vermin.

The bats (*Chiroptera*—Baavali) are flying mammals. The digits are elongated and covered by a web which extends over the hind limbs and the tail. The knee is directed backwards on account of which they shuffle awkwardly on land. They have a very keen sense of touch. Of the varieties, two may be described here. The flying fox or fruit bat (*Pteropus giganteus*) lives in large colonies hanging from the branches of trees during day time. They do extensive damage to fruit gardens. The fulvous fruit-bat (*Rousettus leschenaulti*) living in caves and the South Indian fruit-bat are also destructive to plantain, guava and mango gardens.

Rodents are destructive pests. The South Indian flying squirrel (*Petaurista philippensis*) is nocturnal. The Coorg striped squirrel (*Funambulus aeroughtoni*) and the dusky-striped squirrel (*F. triistratus numarius*—Kaadu Alilu) lives on fruits, nuts and berries. The large Indian Squirrel (*Sciurus malabaricus*), the grizzled Indian Squirrel (*S. ceylonicus*)

inhabits dense woods and makes burrows in the trees. The gerbil or anelap rat (*Bila Ili*) destroys crops. Field rats and mice attack crops and enter granaries also. Other varieties met with are the catch rock-rat, the bandicoot rat, the South Indian mole rat, the Deccan tree-mouse, the white-tailed rat, the common Indian rat, the South Indian field mouse, the common Indian house mouse and the long-tailed tree mouse (*M. badius*). The Indian porcupine (*Hystrix leucura*—Mullu Handi) which is met with frequently is protected by its cover of quills, and works havoc in coffee and sugarcane plantations. Of the hares, the common Indian hare (*Lepus ruficaudatus*) and the black-collared hare (*L. nigricollis*) occupy the open waste grounds and are hunted with dogs.

The elephants are the biggest animals found in the forests of Karnataka. They are vegetarians. The Indian Elephant (*Elephas maximus*) occurs in the foot hills of the Western Ghats in the districts of Mysore, Hassan, Kadur and Shimoga.

The ox, sheep, goat, gazelle and antelopes which are hollow-horned ruminants belong to one family of animals. The bison or gaur (*bibos gaurus*—Kaadu Kona) occurs along with the elephants in dense forests, and belongs to the ox family.

The four-horned antelope is found in hilly areas. The antelope or black buck (*cervicapra*—Chigari) is a purely Indian variety and has curved horns. The Indian gazelle or ravine deer (*g. benetti*—Shankha Hulle) is not so gregarious as the antelope.

The deer tribe (*Cervidae*—Jinke) possess solid antlers confined to the males. The barking deer or jungle sheep (*Muntiacus vaginalis*—Kaadu Kuri) has a cry resembling the bark of a dog. The male has long sabre-like upper canines, which form good defensive weapons. The sambar or rusa deer is the largest of the tribe. The male has a mane. It is mostly confined to the woodlands. The spotted deer (*Axis axis*—Saaranga) are smaller than the type found in the Deccan and have a beautiful colour and build. They are found mostly near water courses, and roam about in herds. The mouse-deer (*Tagulus meminna*—Kурpandi) looks more like a pig. It is hornless. The feet have four toes. It is mostly found in the jungles.

The Indian wild boar (*Sus cristatus*—Kaadu Handi) is a solitary animal. The females, however, are gregarious. They turn up the soil with their tusks in search of roots. Very rarely they feed on carrion. Of the ant-eaters the Indian pangolin (*Manis pentadactyle*—chip Handi) is characterised by large imbricating scales covering the head, trunk, limb and tail. They tear up ant-hills to eat up the ants.

BIRDS: The bird fauna is rich and varied especially in the forest area, where insect and vegetable food can be had in plenty.

The crows (*Corvidae*) form the highest group in this order. The plumage is black and the tail is not as long as in the case of magpies. The

common house crow (*Corvus splendens*) has a slaty grey neck. The jungle crow (*C. macrorhynchus*) has a black neck. Both are found in towns and villages. The male and female look alike. The tree pie (*Dendrocitta vagabundus*) is a denizen of the open forest but also enters gardens sometimes. It is chestnut brown with a sooty head and neck. The grey tit and the yellow-cheeked (*Machrolophus Xanthojenys*) are found all over the country. The thrushes and babblers are represented by the jungle babbler commonly moving about in small batches (*Turdoides somervillei*), the common babbler of the dry plains (*Argya caudata*), the Deccan scimitar babbler of the thick forests (*Pomatorhinus horsfieldi*), the rufous-bellied babbler, (*Dumetia hyperethra*), the yellow-eyed (*Chrysomma sinensis*), the blue rock thrush (*Antonticola colitaria*) wintering in the plains and hills and the Malabar whistling thrush (*Myiophonus horsfieldi*) living in the forests of the Western Ghats.

The pied bush chat (*Saxicola caprata*) is found in stony open country hunting grass-hoppers and plant-bugs, while the collared Indian bush chat (*S. torquata*) is only a winter visitor to the plains. The fairy blue bird occurs in the evergreen forests. Of the bulbuls there are six varieties. The green bulbul (*Cloropsis aurifrons*) is found in thick jungles. Jerdon's cloropsis is found all over peninsular India and feeds on the nectar of flowers. The red-vented bulbul is also a resident bird in the gardens and light forests. The red-whiskered bulbul goes up to an altitude of 6000 feet specially in the more humid areas. The white-throated bulbul is widely distributed in the open shrub country. The red-start is a winter visitor to the Deccan. The Indian robin (*Saxicoloides fulicata*) and the dayal or magpie (*Copsychus saularis*) are found all over the country feeding on crickets and grass-hoppers. The shama occurs infrequently, specially in the ghats, near bamboo-covered ravines. The southern black bird (*Turdus merula*) is a resident of the ghats wandering into the plains in winter.

The Nut-hatches are represented by the chestnut-bellied nut-hatch (*Sitta castanea*) found in wooded tracts and the velvet-fronted one (*S. frontalis*) found chiefly in the ghat regions. The king crow or the black drongo shrike (*Dicrurus macrocercus*) is a glossy black bird with forked tail and is found all over except in the dense jungles. The white-bellied avoids cultivated and treeless areas. The rocket-tailed drongo is occasionally found in thick forests. The tailor bird (*Orthetomus sutoris*) is found in scrub jungle and in gardens, stitching together leaves to form a nest. The fan-tailed warbler, (*Cisticola juncidia*) is a tiny bird of the paddy fields feeding upon insects which infest the grasses. The ashy wren warbler (*Prinia socialis*) and the Indian wren-warbler (*P. sub-flave*) are also found in open grass lands and fields. The shrikes or butcher birds (*Laniidae*) are very quarrelsome creatures. The grey shrike, the bay-backed shrike, the rufous-backed shrike and the wood shrike are met with in the dry open country. The black-headed cuckoo-shrike is spread

all over in light deciduous forests. The large cuckoo shrike and the minivets are found in the Western Ghats. The orioles (*Oriolidae*) have a mellow whistle. The golden oriole or mango bird is fond of orchards. The black-headed oriole is found in well wooded country. The rosy pastor or starling (*Pastor riseus*) comes to our country by July and feeds upon the ripening jowar. The grey-headed myna (*Sturnia malabarica*) is found in open thinly forested country. The black-headed myna (*Temenuchus pagodarum*) is found throughout in the open country, and occasionally in gardens. The common myna (*Acridotheres tristis*) is distributed all over, is sociable and is omnivorous. It is sometimes taught to speak. The paradise fly-catcher (*Terpsiphone paradisi*) is found in light deciduary jungle and often near houses and it conspicuous by the white streamers in the tail. So also is the distribution of the white-spotted fan-tail fly catcher (*Rhipidura-allogularis*). Both have hairy patches over the nostrils. Tickell's blue fly catcher is found in lightly wooded country. All are insectivorous. The baya or weaver-bird (*Ploceus philippinus*) is found all over in open cultivated areas building wonderful retort-shaped nests. The striated weaver-bird, (*P. Manyar*) is often kept as a pet and is also common. The munias are handsome birds. The white-backed, the white-throated, the spotted, and the red munia or the wax bill are found in flocks feeding on grass seeds etc.

The finches (family : *Fringillidae*) have heavy beaks for husking grain. The rose-finch is a winter visitor to South India feeding on berries and nectar. The yellow-throated sparrow has two whitebars on the wings and a lemon-yellow patch on the throat. It is mostly found in scrub country.

The house sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) is the best known of the finch family and hangs on to human habitations. The buntings, red-headed and black-headed which resemble sparrows, are winter visitors feeding upon ripening crops. The martins (*Piparia concolor*) are resident throughout India, inseparable from crags and old stone buildings. The swallows (*Hirundo rustica*) come down in winter. The wire-tailed swallow is a resident bird. The pipits (*Anthus rupulus*) and wagtails (*Motacilla cinirea*) are found near streams chasing insects on the ground. The small sky-lark (*Alaudagulgula*) is found in dry meadows. It is a fine singer. The crested lark (*Galerida cristata*) is found in dry sandy areas and whistles pleasantly as it soars in the sky. The ashy-crowned finch larks inhabit the cultivated country, mainly feeding on grain. The 'white-eyed' are found in well-wooded regions and in gardens. The purple sunbird and the purple-rumped sunbird are nectar suckers and are found moving about in gardens flitting among the flowers. The flower-pecker (*Dicema concolour*) also feeds on nectar. The India pitta (*Pitta brachyura*) is found in woody or scrubby country mostly on the ground feeding on insects and grubs. The yellow-fronted wood-peckers (of the order of *Pici*) frequent open scrub country feeding on insects off the barks of trees. So also the golden-backed wood-pecker which enters gardens, searching the

barks of trees for insects. The crimson-breasted barbet or copper-smith (of the order of *Capitonidae*) is resident throughout the State. Its cry resembling the hammer sound of a distant copper-smith is very characteristic. The common hawk cuckoo or brain fever bird (*Cuculus varius*) is a local migrant inhabiting scrub jungles, gardens and groves. It is silent in winter but when the days become warmer he starts his song. The pied crested cuckoo is also a resident of South India. The koel is a familiar bird in our country celebrated by poets. In their nesting habits all the above three are parasites laying eggs to be hatched by other birds, mostly the house crow. The crow pheasant or coucal (*Centropus sinensis*) is found in bushes commonly near cultivation. It lives on insects. The large Indian parakeet (of the order of *Psittaci*), or parrot, is found throughout, in wooded country and in orchards. The rose-ringed parakeet is a very familiar bird, doing damage to fruits and ripening crops. The blossom-headed parakeet is found mostly in wooded country. The loriquet (*Loriculus vernalis*) about the size of a sparrow is fond of rubber and coffee plantations.

The roller or blue jay (*Coracias indica*) is as big as a pigeon and lives in open cultivated country, feeding on crickets, grass-hoppers and other insects. The common green ' bee-eater ' (*Merops orientalis*) is found in the open country near towns and villages. It catches insects on the wing. The chestnut-headed bee-eater (*Merops leschenaulti*) occurs up to Belgaum. It prefers well-wooded country. The pied king-fisher (*Ceryle rudis*) frequents rivers, jheels and backwaters, hovering above the water and darting upon unwary fish. The white-breasted king-fisher (*Halcyon smyrnensis*) has similar distribution and has a coral red bill. When far inland it feeds on insects and lizards. Another common form is the brown-headed stork-billed king-fisher (*Pelargopsis capensis*) which keeps to the woods, to shaded streams, and to tidal creeks.

The common grey hornbill (*Tockus birostris*) is found in open-wooded country and mango gardens. The Malabar form extending along the west coast has no casque. The hoopoe (*Upupa epops* of the size of a myna) is found all over the country and is often seen in lawns and gardens.

The house swift (*Apus affinis*) is a tiny bird, smoky black with white throat, usually found near houses occupied or deserted. It catches insects while flying. The palm swift (*Gypsiurus parvus*) is closely associated with the toddy palm. As the name indicates the swifts are among the fleetest of birds flying at over 100 miles per hour. The night jars (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*) are owl-like nocturnal birds found in scrub country and round about cultivation.

The owls are characterised by large forwardly directed eyes and reversible outer toe. The barn or screech owl (*Tyto alba*) of the size of a crow is found all over. Ruins, old tombs and forts are their favourite haunts. The brown fish owl (*Kelupa zeylonensis*) avoids heavy forests and is also common. The

spotted owl (*Athene brama*) is also of universal occurrence and with its semi-diurnal habits is not afraid of being near about human habitations, with its incessant jabber, looking for termites near street lamps. Vultures (of the order of *Accipitres*) are bald-headed and bare-necked. They are day birds with a heavy tearing bill, powerful talons and are capable of sustained flight. The black or king vulture occurs throughout India, but avoids dense forests. It is a carrion eater. The white-beaked vulture is met with everywhere except in dense humid forests. The white scavenger vulture is also found throughout, mostly near human habitations. The laggar falcon (*Gidaga*) is resident all over, feeding on small birds which it captures by its speed. Also found in dry scrub country is the red-headed merlin feeding on small birds, rats and mice. The kestrel is found in meadows and open country feeding on mice, lizards and crickets. The tawny eagle is another common form found all over, barring regions of heavy rainfall. Of similar distribution is the short-toed eagle found in dry plains, foothills and near cultivation. Crabs, frogs, small birds and mice form its food. The handsome crested serpent-eagle inhabits jungle-clad ravines and wooded streams. It is a powerful flier. In the drier parts one may occasionally come across the white-eyed buzzard eagle. The sacred Brahminy kite or garuda is found all over. It avoids dense forests. A bird mostly found near human habitations is the common pariah kite. The black-winged kite is found in the Western Ghats. The shikra dwells in open woods preying upon chicken and smaller birds.

Pigeons and doves (of the order of *Columboe*) are fruit and grain eaters. The common green pigeon is purely arboreal, and is found in well-wooded country. The blue rock pigeon is a very familiar bird. In the wild condition, it frequents the rocky country. Otherwise, it is semi-domesticated. The spotted dove is also a familiar bird near cultivated areas. The common sand grouse (of the order of *Pterocletes*) is found in the dry plains.

Fowls (of the order of *Gallinae*) are shy birds, frequenting bamboo groves. The peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) (Mayoora or Navilu) is a gorgeous bird with its characteristic ocellated train, inhabiting dense scrub and jungle. It is also domesticated. The grey jungle fowl and the red spur fowl are found in the deciduous forests. A winter visitor is the grey quail frequenting standing crops. The black-breasted or rain quail, on the other hand, is a resident form in luxuriant grassland and near crops. The jungle bush quail is also a resident form in open forest regions and lives in groups. The blue-legged bustard quail (*Turnix suscitator*) is a three-toed form, without the hind toe, found all over the country. The white-breasted water hen (*Amaurornis phoenicurus*) is a slaty-grey bird found near swampy regions. The moorhen and the purple moorhen favour thick reed beds bordering tanks and jheels.

The demoiselle crane (*Anthropoides virgo*) is a winter visitor to our plains. In open semi-desert areas we come across the great Indian bustard (*Choriotis nigriceps*), a heavy bird looking like a young ostrich. In grassy areas and often in fields we come across the florican (*Sypheotides indica*). The stone curlew (*Oedipodius xolopax*) lives in open plains. In the drier parts of the country we find the Indian courser (*Cursorius coromandelicus*). The black-headed gull visits our sea-board during winter. There are two kinds of terns living near rivers and marshes; the river terns and the whiskered tern. The little ringed plover inhabits mud-flats near rivers. The lapwings (*Vanellus*)—the red wattled and the yellow wattled—are resident throughout the country. A thorough marsh bird is the black-winged stilt (*Himantopus*) wading in shallow water. The sand pipers (*Tringa hypoleucas*) are very common over jheels and swamps in winter. Another winter visitor is the wader, the little stint (*Calidris minutus*). The fan-tail snipe (*Capella gallinago*) is also a winter migrant into our paddy fields and reedy marshes. The cormorants (*Phalacrocorax javanicus*) are good swimmers found near tanks and large rivers, and sometimes close to the sea shore. Another aquatic bird found on rivers, tanks and jheels is the darter or snake bird with a long S-shaped neck and a dagger-like bill. The spoon-bill (*Platalea leucorodia*) affecting marshes and sand banks, is a white bird with a spatulate bill. The white-necked black stork (*Xenorhynchus asiaticus*) is occasionally met with on the river margins. In similar surroundings are found, though not frequently, the grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*) with its long black occipital crest. The little egret is more commonly met with in similar regions along with pond herons, and provides the 'aigrette' feathers of commerce. The pond heron or paddy bird is a buff-coloured bird at rest, always found near water. The nukta or comb duck (*Sarkidiornis melanotos*) is a resident in well-watered country, specially in the Malnad. The cotton teal (*Nettopus*) is a small duck found all over. The ruddy sheldrake or Brahminy duck (*Cusurca ferruginea*) is a winter visitor. Larger numbers of the common teal (*Anas crecca*) and the pintail (*Anas acuta*) come down during winter. The little grebe or dabchick (*Podiceps ruficollis*) resides in our country, specially near perennial sources of water, and is a good swimmer and an expert diver.

REPTILES : (Cold-blooded, scaly air breathers) :

The mugger or marsh crocodile (*Crocodylus palustris*) occurs in all big rivers and tanks. Its head is broadly triangular, and its snout is about two feet long. It has a prominent ridge in front of the eye. *C. porosus* is a salt water crocodile found in brackish waters also. Its snout is moderately sharp. It is found not far inland, and mostly in coastal swamps and grows to a length of twenty feet.

The tortoises, with their long necks and retractile legs, can be easily

identified. The soft-shelled (*Trionex leithi* and *Emyda*) are found in the rivers and are pugnacious. Those of terrestrial habits (*Testudo elegans* and *Nicora-trijuga*) are found in grassy jungles at the base of hills. The Kaveri has another form which is a leathery turtle. The hawks bill turtle, which yields the tortoise shell of commerce, is also found in the neighbouring sea.

The lizards (*Squamata*) with cylindrical digits, are found in the forests. The Geckoes, with dilated digits and with adhesive pads, are found in houses.

The *Agamidae* comprise arboreal forms with laterally compressed bodies. The flying dragon occurs in hill forests. It parachutes from tree to tree. The ground form (*Sitana ponticeriana*) occurs throughout the State. The tree lizard is rare in Mysore. The blood-sucker lizard (*Calotes versicolor*) is very common. The rock lizard has a depressed body and is of common occurrence. The South Indian monitor attains a length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet without its tail. The true lizards are found in arid waste lands. The skinks (*Scinidae*) with red tails occur all over Mysore. The chameleon is an arboreal form capable of changing colour to suit the surroundings, and is a dweller of wooded tracts.

Snakes are only lizards characterised by the absence of limbs and girdle bones. The burrowing ones have, however, traces of the hip girdles.

The boas are represented by the rock snake growing to eighteen feet. The striped *Lycodon sulicus* often enters homes destroying rats and other vermin. The rat snake resembles the cobra and suffers for it, though it is a great friend of man destroying rat pests. The palmyra snake (*Dendrophis pictus*) is arboreal. The grass snake (*Tropidonotus stolatus*), the pond or river snake (*T. piscator*) and the thick green snake (*T. plumbicolor*) found in rubble are also found in the State.

Snakes possessing poison fangs in the rear of the jaw, are represented by the common whip snake (*Dryophis mycterizans*) found on trees and in river marshes.

Of the dangerous *Proteroglypha*, with the fang in front, kraits, cobras, vipers, and the coral snakes occur throughout the State and are the most poisonous. All marine snakes are dangerous.

The black and white banded krait (*Bungarus coeruleus*) is a shy creature. The cobra, with its expansible hood, is really to be dreaded and is found all over the country. *Hemibungarus nigrescens* with its red-coloured belly is confined to the Malnad. The Daboia or Russel's viper, with its diamond-shaped colouration, is easily recognised. It attains a length of five feet. It is rather sluggish. The saw-scaled *Echis Carinata* is very fierce but not fatal to man. The pit vipers are found in the Malnad, and are represented by the hump-nosed viper and other varieties. Their poison creates constitutional disturbances not necessarily fatal.

AMPHIBIANS: The green tank frog (*Rana hexadactyla*) and the bull frog (*tigrina*), inhabit permanent water spreads and are large in size. There are other varieties found in street gutters and in paddy fields.

The toads (*Bufonidae*) are toothless and are terrestrial forms with a warty skin. A pair of glands in the neck region exude a musky poisonous fluid.

Limbless amphibia (*Apoda*) are worm-like. They are burrowers found in the dense moist forests of the Malnad.

FISHES: The fish wealth is varied and plentiful. Sharks abound in tropical seas and the oil extracted from its liver is highly priced. The ground shark (*Carcharias gangaticus*) ascends the rivers. The hammer-head shark (*Lygaona blochii*) is common on our coast. The saw-fish (*Pristis cuspidatus*) is said to get into rivers in search of food. The sting-ray (*Tribon-seaphen*) has its entire body flattened.

Eels are marine forms with an elongated snake-like body, and are not considered good eating. Thede (*Arius dussumieri*) is a marine form common on the west coast as also the 'dorab' (Karli)—(*Chirocentrus dorab*). Of the herrings, *Clupeia longiceps* (pedi) *C. fimbriata* and 'mallasu' are good eating. Of the anchovies (manangu) *Engraulis purava* is a common variety. Of the mackerel group is 'bangada' (*Scomber microlepidotus*). The seer-fish *Cybiium guttatum* (Khul Khul) is best eaten when two inches long. Aarkulai (*C. Commersonu*) is delicate eating also. Perches are found in the Indian seas. There are also found Kolaaji, the ribbon fish (Paambola) and horse mackerel (Tiriyande). Silver bellies (Kurichchi) is a small fish. Of the pomfrets (*Stenateus cinerius*) we have the white (Chanda) and the black fish (Chandratya). Soles, (Nangu) (*Flaggusia bilineata*) is a flat fish.

Mullets (Shevuta) are marine fishes. The salmon (Vaameenu) and the jaw-fish (Balde) ascend tidal rivers.

Catfish with barbels round the mouth are mostly seen in the tanks. Magur (Animeenu) and *saccobranchus fossilis* (Chelumenu) are said to be nourishing. They have accessory air-breathing organs. The latter has a pectoral spine with poison glands at the base. The butter fish (*Callichrous bimaculatus*) is good eating and is found in rivers and large tanks. *Rita hastata* is also from the Tunga river and can be carried long distances without water. *Glyptosternum lena* and *G. Madraspatanum* have adhesive pads on the ventral side to help living in rapids. They are from the tributaries of the Kaveri and the Bhadra.

The carps have no teeth. The small loaches destroy mosquito larvae. *Labeo* with its thick pig-like snout is represented by Handi-Kurlu (*L. kontinus*), Madakurlu (*L. boga*) and are common in the markets of Shimoga and Mysore. *L. Rohita* (Ruhu) and *L. Calbush* (Kurimeenu) four feet long, are eaten by poor people. Katla Katla much relished as food, is found in the Kaveri. The bigger rivers abound in species of the genus *Barbus*, of which the mahseer (Harale or Halla Meenu) is very well known. Over twenty more species of this genus occur in the Mysore State. The common (Paraga) of fishermen is a surface feeder destroying mosquito larvae. *Rasbora daniconi*

found in wells, tanks and channels, is of similar use to man. Species of *Chela* (Kende) are in great demand in the markets.

Notopterus pallas and *N. chitala* (four feet long) are plentiful in rivers and large tanks and are highly prized, in spite of their bony nature. *Haplochilus melanostigma* is a small fish found in paddy fields and destroys mosquito larvae.

Mastacemblus pancalus (Haavu Batti) is a common eel-like form from the rivers and tanks and is esteemed as food. *O. punctatus* (Hoo Meenu) is a common form from Shimoga. *Etroplus Suratenis* (Baachanige Meenu) is also said to be good eating.

CHAPTER III

THE RACES AND PEOPLES OF KARNATAKA

WHEN did man begin to inhabit Karnataka? The answer to this question largely depends on the evidence furnished by the fossil remains. In India, unlike Africa, the amount of evidence for skeletal remains of man in the palaeolithic and neolithic stages of culture is extremely scanty. So far as Karnataka is concerned, there is hardly any in the palaeolithic, but skeletal remains of the neolithic—chalcolithic man have been found in the excavations of burials at Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Maski and T. Narasipur. Chronologically they all fall within a period from c. 2500 B.C. to 1000 B.C. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to know the racial and physical characteristics of these people as their full anthropological studies are not yet published.

The geographical position of Karnataka clearly indicates that it was open to the inroads of immigrants from the contiguous areas: the Telugu districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool in the east, the Tamil districts of Coimbatore and Nilgiris in the south and the Malayalam-speaking areas of Cochin in the west. In its turn, Karnataka also did send emigrants to most of the neighbouring areas mentioned above. Eickstedt's identification of Mahishamandala with the home of the Todas on the ground that they had an extraordinary predilection for breeding and tending buffaloes points to their migration from the Mysore area to the Nilgiris, their present home. There is also an admixture of Kannada words in their language.

Apart from the Todas, a large number of tribes still inhabit the jungles and hills of Karnataka. Their numbers are gradually dwindling. Since 1940, the Lambanis, the Korachas, Koramas, and Voddas applied to Government that they would live with other backward groups in the villages.

We have no idea when these various jungle and hill tribes came to Karnataka. They might have done so at some period of remote antiquity. In dealing with the movement of people in antiquity, F. J. Richards speaks of the three processes of annihilation, assimilation and isolation. The tribal people must have taken to these areas of refuge after being driven out of the fair and fertile tracts by subsequent invaders. Edgar Thurston and Ananthakrishna Iyer have given a graphic description of these tribes in their monumental works. We may note very briefly the cultural and physical characteristic traits of the more important ones.

The Sholigas of the Biligirirangan Hills have considerably changed since Buchanan saw them. He described them as speaking an old dialect of

Kannada, having very little clothing and sleeping round a fire, lying on a few plantain leaves.

They still live in bamboo huts and their hutment areas called as '*podus*', are visited by doctors regularly appointed by the Government for looking to their health. The Government has also set up a colony for them with tiled houses. Literacy is encouraged among them by the State. Free food, clothing and education have been provided for their children. But they are very slow in responding to these changes. They still prefer to live in the age-old class system. The five-kula Sholigas are commonly found in the Biligirirangan temple and hill area, while the seven-kula Sholigas live in Bedaguli. Each one within the kula is like a brother or sister and they do not marry within the kula. Tribal disputes are decided by the Yajaman.

In the five-kula division, it is interesting to note, that everything is done with number five as the basis. Similar is the case with the seven-kula. For example, among the five-kulas fifth day after birth, they feed five elders to bless the child. In marriage, five relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride to the wedding pandal; there are five posts, for carrying the dead, they use five bamboos and mourn for five days.

Despite some modern changes that have crept in owing to their contact with the local villagers, the old system of elopement by agreement between boy and girl still prevails as the form of marriage. After staying in the forest for two or three days they return and arrange a feast for the elders. Another interesting point to note is that widow-marriage and polygamy prevail and polyandry is unknown.

Though animists, the Sholigas worship Biligiriranga and consider him as their brother-in-law. Their tribal deities are Kaarayya and Maadesvara. They also worship the *Doddasampige* tree (champaka). They have a remarkable sense of division of labour. While the man goes to work for the Forest Department or the minor forest produce contractor or hunting or honey-gathering, the woman is engaged in grubbing out edible roots and collecting fruits.

Thurston writes that the Badagas are dolicocephalic (long-headed) and not of the sub-brachycephalic (round-headed) or mesaticephalic (medium-headed) type common to the Kannada-speaking areas; but the Badagas appear to have originated in the Mysore area, as they speak a language akin to old Kannada. Though primarily a pastoral people, the Badagas have taken to various professions and are very progressive. Many work on the coffee and tea estates and earn good wages in the cordite factory near Wellington. The younger generation, to some extent, are learning Tamil and English. Even in 1904-5, there were 39 schools for the Badagas, which were attended by 1222 pupils. By 1907 one Badaga had passed the Matriculation of the Madras University and had become a clerk in the Sub-judge's Court at Ootacamund.

The toddy-tapping and tulu-speaking Billavas constitute a good portion

of the population of the South Kanara District. The Halepaikas of Kundapur are similar to the Billavas, and like the Bants, still have a number of exogamous sects or clans (*balis*), which observe the *aliya-santana* system (inheritance through the female line).

The *kaidhare* (pouring of water) ceremony for the marriage of virgin girls and the *bidudhare* rite for the remarriage of widows still prevail among the Billavas.

Like the Bants, the Billavas also practise Bhuta worship. Both of them worship Koti Vaidya and Chennaya Vaidya. The most dreaded, however, of the Bhutas of the Billavas is Kulkuti. Other well-known Bhutas are Kodanani-taya and Kundaltaya, and the jungle demons Hakkerlu and Brahmerlu. The Bhuta worship of South Kanara is of four kinds: *kola*, *bandi*, *nema* and *agelu-tambila*. The *kola*, *bandi* and *nema* are for invoking all the Bhutas but the *agelu-tambila* is applicable to the Bhaderlu only.

Another tribal people of South Kanara inhabiting the Puttur, Mudabidri and Uppinangadi areas are the Koragas. Like many tribal people of India, the Koragas are distinguished for their unswerving truthfulness. They have three clans and each clan is divided into exogamous septs called *balis*. It is interesting to note that there is interdining among the three clans but no intermarriage. Thurston observes that marriage is indissoluble though remarriage of widows is allowed. The Koragas were probably worshippers of the sun and they are still called after the names of the days of the week: Aita (for Aditya or Sun), Toma (Soma or Moon), Angara (Mangala) and Tukra (Sukra).

An interesting custom in vogue among the Maleru of South Kanara and the Malnad in regard to marriage is that the headman and the astrologer call for the bride and the bridegroom and tell them that henceforth they are husband and wife, an attractive custom at once very simple and the least expensive. Another tribe that follows the *aliyasantana* law is the Kudiya who live in Dharmasthala and other parts of South Kanara. To fix marriage, the father of the bridegroom accompanied by two women goes to the house of the girl with betel leaves, arecanut and gingelly oil. If the parents of the bride accept the oil, they consent to the match.

Numerous other tribal peoples of Mysore like the Hasalars, the Kadu Kurubas and Yaravas have also been described. The older anthropologists lumped all these tribal people together into a Pre-Dravidian stock, but two elements, namely, the Negroid and Proto-Austroloid have contributed to their physical formation. The Negroid features include broad nose, frizzly hair, thick lips and short stature. The Proto-Austroloids have hair with wider curls. Eickstedt uses the term Malid for the former and Gondid for the latter. So far as the tribal people of Mysore are concerned, the former is not pronounced.

Sir Herbert Risley postulated a Dravidian element in the population of

India, but modern anthropologists do not endorse the prevalence of a unitarian Dravidian race. The people of Karnataka cannot be said to fall into a well-marked single physical entity. There must have been an admixture of the various racial elements in Karnataka. But, by and large, the dolicocephalic head, medium stature, medium nose, and brownish complexion characterise the bulk of the people. Eickstedt uses the term Indid for this type.

Occasionally, the brachycephalic element (round-headed) is also met with, particularly among the Muslims and Christians of Karnataka. This perhaps indicates the presence of the Alpine or Armenoid strain.

The question of determining the presence of the Nordic element in the population of Karnataka requires the accumulation of more anthropological data than what is available at present. Ultra-dolicocephalic head (extreme long-headedness) and tall stature characterise this race. A large percentage of this element is found in South India among the Chitpavan Brahmins. It is possible that some groups like the Konkani Brahmins fall into this ethnic entity.

THE LANGUAGES OF KARNATAKA

The State of Mysore was reorganised in 1956 so as to include, more or less, all the area in which Kannada is predominantly spoken. Hence the present boundaries of the State may be considered to represent, in a rough manner, the boundaries of present-day Karnataka. There are, of course, contiguous Kannada-speaking tracts which lie outside this boundary; similar claims have been made on behalf of other languages, particularly Telugu and Marathi, as regards some areas within the boundaries of the present State of Mysore. Such a situation is inevitable, since in a vast and multilingual country like India there are bound to be bilingual belts straddling linguistic boundaries, even if these were drawn without reference to any non-linguistic factors.

The list of languages spoken in the re-organised State of Mysore, with their names as returned by the speakers themselves, runs to about 170 entries in the *Census of India, 1961*. Among indigenous languages and dialects it includes such fanciful names as 'Budubudike' and 'Udupi' which are but varieties of Kannada and Tulu respectively; out-of-the-way non-Indian languages like Burmese, Czech, Hebrew, Turkish and Yugoslavian are also listed in it. Out of this multitude we shall select for consideration here only about a dozen languages which are important from our point of view; almost every one of them claims more than a hundred thousand speakers, a few of them running to several millions.

The total population of Mysore, according to the Census of 1961, is 23,586,772. The following languages have the number of speakers noted against each:

| <i>Language</i> | | | | | <i>Speakers</i> |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|
| Kannada | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15,371,753 |
| Telugu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,047,379 |
| Urdu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,034,482 |
| Marathi | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,056,498 |
| Tamil | ... | ... | ... | ... | 854,227 |
| Tulu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 850,474 |
| Konkani | ... | ... | ... | ... | 491,535 |
| Malayalam | ... | ... | ... | ... | 290,586 |
| Banjari | ... | ... | ... | ... | 288,012 |
| Hindi-Hindustani | ... | ... | ... | ... | 93,830 |
| Kodagu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 78,192 |

Among these, Kannada, Tulu, and Kodagu—all the three of them belonging to the Dravidian family of languages—are concentrated within the State. There are of course, as already noted, speakers of these languages outside the boundaries of Mysore, particularly in the border states of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Maharashtra ; but their numbers are not large in comparison with those in Mysore. As regards Kannada, Madras comes next to Mysore with 947,828 persons speaking the language and then Maharashtra and Andhra with 633,244 and 382,142 Kannadigas respectively. The Kannada-speaking population in other States is negligible. The total number of Kannada-speakers in the whole of India is 17,415,827. Of these 88.2% live in the present State of Mysore. No figures of the Kannadigas who are settled outside India are available.

One interesting feature about the Madras State in relation to the spread of Kannada may be mentioned here. The speakers of Badaga, definitely a dialect of Kannada (from the main stream of which Badaga separated many centuries ago), are to be found almost exclusively in the Nilgiri District. Out of a total of 85,463 Badaga-speakers, less than a hundred are to be found outside the State of Madras.

Of the 934,849 speakers of Tulu, nearly 91% are to be found in Mysore, particularly in the South Kanara District. 58,284 Tulu-speakers are returned from Kerala ; it may be taken as certain that most of these are to be found in the Kasargod Taluk which was separated from South Kanara and joined to Kerala at the time of the re-organisation in 1956.

As far as the Kodagu language is concerned, it is almost wholly confined to the Coorg District of the present Mysore State, even though some Coorgis who have settled down are to be found in other States also.

Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam, like Kannada, are major Dravidian languages, with long histories and wide territories. Each one of them is the predominant speech of a State of the Indian Union contiguous to Mysore (Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Kerala respectively), claiming many millions of speakers. But a considerable number of them reside within the boundaries of Mysore also. Among these languages Telugu has a special place in the State of Mysore, with the second largest number of speakers (nearly 9%). It is concentrated in certain eastern parts of the State.

Among the Indo-Aryan languages Konkani claims our first attention, since out of a total of 1,352,363 Konkani-speakers in India, 491,535 (*i.e.*, 37.1%) live in Mysore. Maharashtra claims only 214,686 (15.1%), while Kerala has an even smaller figure, 77,593. It is only in Goa, as is but natural, that the speakers of Konkani (556,557) outnumber those in Mysore. It may also be noted that 30.7% of the total number of Konkani-speakers of India (excluding Goa) have returned Kannada as a subsidiary language spoken by them. (The bilingual figures, however, were not collected in the territory of Goa).

Next we may mention Urdu which is spread all over Mysore and takes the third place in our list. A small number of persons have returned Hindustani as their mother-tongue ; but it is not clear whether it is closer in affinity to Urdu or Hindi. Even if it is tagged on to Hindi, as we have done above, the total population with Hindi as the mother-tongue does not reach the one hundred thousand mark.

Banjari, a dialect of Rajasthani, on the other hand, is the mother-tongue of an important tribal group ; their number in Mysore is 48.9% of the total Banjari population of India (592,654). *The Census of India* lists separately Lamani/Lambadi as another dialect of Rajasthani. In many parts of Mysore, Banjars are also called Lambanis. It is likely that Banjari and Lambani are in actuality different names for the same tongue, making due allowance for dialectal variations. It is noteworthy that Lambani is not listed in the Census Report as a speech prevalent in Mysore.

Marathi is the Indo-Aryan language which is analogous to the Dravidian Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam in having a contiguous border with a considerable part of Mysore ; its population figure within the Mysore State is more than a million. It is the predominant language of the State of Maharashtra and has had for centuries many cultural links with the north Karnataka area.

Before closing this section we have to make a special mention of Sanskrit. As is well-known, Sanskrit ceased to be spoken as the home-tongue of the common people more than two thousand years ago, though it has continued to have a profound impact on all the languages of India, including those of the Dravidian group. It is interesting, therefore, to note in the 1961 Census returns, 79 males and 46 females in Mysore have given Sanskrit as their mother-tongue. (The corresponding All-India figures are 1,849 and 695 respectively). It is a matter for investigation if these persons solely use Sanskrit at home, without any other Indian language as their traditional mother-tongue.

No language belonging either to the Munda or the Tibeto-Burman group claims Mysore as its homeland. A few hundred Tibetans have very recently been settled in the Mysore District.

English is returned as the mother-tongue of 18,297 persons.

II

Kannada belongs to the Dravidian family of languages together with Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Tulu, Kodagu, Toda, Gondi, Kolami, Kui, Kurukh, Malto, Brahui and a few others. The parent language, called Proto-Dravidian, is believed to have entered India from outside in pre-historic times, many millennia ago. Some scholars hold the view that the language of the Indus Valley culture was some kind of Dravidian ; but nothing definite can be said about this until the Indus script is satisfactorily deciphered. All the Dravidian

languages, including Brahui, which is now to be found in Pakistan, developed on the Indian sub-continent and are practically confined to it, if we leave out of account the emigration of some Tamil-speaking people to Ceylon and a few other foreign countries during historical times. The Dravidian languages have certain distinctive characteristics of their own and have no established genealogical affinities with any other language family in the world. Among the literary Dravidian languages, Kannada and Tamil have the closest affinity. These two and some other languages (like Toda, Tulu, Kodagu) belong to what is called the South Dravidian group. It is not known when exactly Tamil and Kannada separated from each other and became distinct languages; but the middle of the first millennium B.C. may not be wide of the mark.

Several etymologies have been proposed for the name *Kannada*. From the linguistic point of view the most likely source appears to be *Kar-nadu* 'the black soil (land)' which was Sanskritised into *Karnata*, signifying both the land and the language; from *Karnata* the form *Kannada* would be a regular development.

Kannada as an independent language appears to have existed as a spoken tongue only, without any written records, for several centuries. The Halmidi Inscription (c. 450 A.D.) is the earliest authentic record of Kannada now available. But some scholars feel that it is possible to recover at least a few specimens of the Kannada language from earlier inscriptions written in Prakrit and Sanskrit and also from some foreign sources. One such specimen is the word 'Isila' occurring in the Brahmagiri Inscription of Asoka (3rd century B.C.). Isila was the name of a place which was situated well within the present Kannada-speaking area; some scholars identify it with Siddapura in the Chitradurga District. 'Isila' is generally taken to be a Prakrit word and derived from *rsi*; but there are difficulties in this etymology. Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar argues, in a still unpublished paper of his ('The oldest datable word in Kannada'), that this is an Aryanised form of an ancient Kannada word 'Esil' 'a fort', cognate with Tamil 'eyil'. If Prof. Narasimhachar's brilliant conjecture is correct (the writer is not aware of any valid arguments as to why it should not be so), then 'esil' would be one of the first words which may be considered as authentic Kannada.

As a result of explorations conducted at a place called Oxyrhynchus in lower Egypt towards the close of the 19th century there came to light some manuscripts which are called the 'Oxyrhynchus Papyri'. One of these contains a Greek farce (composed in the 2nd century A.D.) which has a number of sentences in a foreign tongue. The scene of the farce is laid in the west coast of India; the characters whose utterances these sentences represent are Indian. Ever since the noted epigraphist E. Hultsch read a few of these sentences as Kannada (in 1904), much interest has been taken by scholars in this farce and the presumably Kannada sentences embedded in it. One of the most valuable studies on the subject is by M. Govinda Pai. But there

are serious difficulties in accepting even his conclusions. Unfortunately, the matter cannot be argued out here. The criteria laid down by L. D. Barnett, that the reconstruction of the passages of the unknown language must represent the oldest form of Kannada, that the interpretation must make good sense, be natural and not forced, are quite sound. And Barnett's own final remarks are as follows: "It is very doubtful whether these passages are Kanarese (Kannada) at all. The attempts at interpretation vary hugely, and are most unconvincing to all but their authors." And here the matter rests, for the present at any rate. (One may hazard the view that if the language is in any way authentic and Indian, it is more likely to have been ancient Tulu rather than ancient Kannada).

As noted already, the earliest authentic record in the Kannada language now extant is the Halmidi Inscription, which, though undated, is usually ascribed to about the middle of the 5th century A.D., on the basis of the royal names and dynasties mentioned in it. From the linguistic point of view it is a very interesting record. The invocatory stanza is in Sanskrit; the body of the inscription is in Kannada prose which, again, is full of Sanskrit words and even long Sanskrit compounds. This shows that Sanskrit had already secured a very firm foothold in the diction of literary Kannada as current at the time. And it did not stop with the vocabulary only. There occurs in the inscription the expression (*Daana*) *pasupatiyendu pogaleppottana* which is obviously a mislection for *pogaleppattana*, 'of him who was praised as *daanapasupati*'. We should note here the use of the passive voice in *pogaleppattana*. It is well-known that Dravidian languages do not have the passive construction even to this day in their spoken form; even in literary Kannada it is very rare indeed. But curiously the earliest literary record of Kannada shows it already, thanks to the permeating influence of Sanskrit. From the standpoint of Kannada grammar, there are some forms here like *eridu* 'having fought', *Kottar* (they) 'gave,' *adaan* 'that (accusative case),' etc., which differ from the corresponding forms *iridu*, *kottar*, *adam* etc., of old Kannada. We shall see presently that these represent an earlier stage of the Kannada language, called 'Purvada Halagannada' or 'Purvada Kannada' ('Primitive Old Kannada' or 'Primitive Kannada') by scholars.

The earliest extant book in Kannada is the *Kavirajamarga*, officially ascribed to the Rashtrakuta King Nripatunga Amoghavarsha (814-877 A.D.), but written most likely by a court poet of his, Srivijaya. The *Kavirajamarga* refers to earlier works in verse and prose, but not one of them has survived. The *Kavirajamarga* also cautions practitioners of the literary art against the use of 'Palagannada', indicating that certain grammatical forms and modes of expression had become obsolete by that time. Though the literary works, to whose 'old' diction the *Kavirajamarga* is obviously referring, are no longer extant, there are the numerous inscriptions ranging all the way from about 450 A.D., (The Halmidi Inscription) to about 750 A.D., which can be taken

to represent this stage of the language. A few of its special features may be noted here. One of the most striking is that the Proto-Dravidian initial *v* still remained unchanged in Primitive Old Kannada, as is evidenced by the imprecation (often placed at the close of an inscription): *vittidalli veleyaade keduge* 'May the sown seed perish without growing!' In standard Old Kannada this sentence would become: *bittidalli beleyade kiduge*. The form *kedu* 'to perish' may also be noted; it became *kidu* in Old Kannada (and *kedu* again in later Kannada), with the change of the vowel *e* in the initial syllable to *i*; there was also a similar change of *o* to *u* (both the changes taking place under certain specific phonological conditions). Here are a few examples: *Kesu* (Old Kannada 'Kisu') 'red', as in *Kesugola*, the name of a village; *eri* (O.K. *iri*) 'to strike, to fight'; *toru* (O.K. *туру*) 'cattle'; *pogu* (O.K. *pugu*) 'to enter'; and *Kori* (O.K. *kuri*) 'sheep'. Then again the long *a* in forms like *eridar* (O.K. *eridar*) 'ascended (plural)'; *veleyaade* (O.K. *beleyade*) 'without growing'; *adaan* (O.K. *adam*) 'that (accusative)'; *elaneya* (O.K. *elaneya*) 'of the seventh', etc., is noteworthy.

The example P.O.K. *adaan*—O.K. *adam* illustrates another important feature of Primitive Old Kannada. In certain case forms and in certain personal suffixes of verbs, we find that P.O.K. shows *n* while *m* corresponds to it in Old Kannada. A few more instances are: P.O.K. *magan* 'son'—O.K. *magam*; P.O.K. *degulamaan* 'the temple (accusative)'—*degulamam*; '*padedaan*' (he) attained'—O.K. *padedam*. We may state in technical terms that in certain word-ending positions there is a loss of contrast between *n* and *m* in Old Kannada, as distinguished from Primitive Old Kannada.

There are some other distinctive features of Primitive Old Kannada into which we cannot go here. Mention may however be made of the P.O.K. locative suffix *ul* as in *vettadul* 'in the mountain', (O.K. *bettadol*).

It is interesting to note that on most of these points, Primitive Old Kannada bears a closer resemblance to Tamil, pointing ultimately to a time when Kannada and Tamil were mere dialects of a single language. It may also be stated here in a general way that the later the date of the P.O.K. inscription the rarer is the occurrence of the archaic forms. We also notice that in some of the inscriptions certain archaic forms like *eri* and *kedu* exist side by side with the corresponding O.K. forms *iri* and *kidu*. This can only mean that what is usually called Primitive Old Kannada was really a transitional stage from 'ancient' Kannada (of the early centuries of the Christian era) to Old Kannada. In this respect Primitive Old Kannada may be likened to Middle Kannada (about which we shall speak later), which is really a transitional stage between Old Kannada and Modern Kannada.

The development of the language from the Primitive Old Kannada phase appears to have been gradual, but we may presume that it had shed most of its archaic features and started functioning as normal Old Kannada by the turn of the eighth century, if not a little earlier. As noted already no

literary work earlier than the *Kavirajamarga* (c. 850) has survived. And the *Kavirajamarga* itself ushered in a glorious epoch of old Kannada literature. The tenth century was the hey-day of this truly classical age. Outstanding poets like Pampa (born in 902) and Ranna (born in 949) wrote their masterpieces in Old Kannada; a superb prose work like the *Vaddaaraadhane* (c. 930) was composed in it.

1042 It is, however, strange that no full-fledged grammar of Old Kannada appears to have been written earlier than the middle of the 12th century—by which time Old Kannada had already yielded place to Middle Kannada in speech and even partly in writing. It was Nagavarma II (c. 1150), grammarian, rhetorician, prosodist, lexicographer (and also poet!) that gave for the first time (as far as we know) a fairly full treatment of Old Kannada grammar in a long chapter (called *Sabdasmṛiti*) of his *Kavyavalokana* and also in his independent work *Karnataka Bhashabhushana*, a grammar of Kannada written in the Sanskrit language. He was followed about a century later by Kesiraja with his *Sabdamanidarpana* (c. 1260), which is a classic in the field. Kesiraja's work is a comprehensive descriptive grammar of Old Kannada, even though his statements are sometimes not quite precise: his collection of *prayogas* (illustrative quotations) is unrivalled. Much later in 1604 came Bhattakalanka's *Sabdanusasana* written in the form of terse Sanskrit sutras in the Paninian style. But as a faithful account of Old Kannada it cannot stand comparison with the *Sabdamanidarpana*, much less supersede it. Further, the *Sabdanusasana* hardly bestows a glance at the great changes that the language had undergone by the close of the 16th century.

We have no space here to give even the briefest account of Old Kannada. All that we can do is to mention a few important phonological features which were characteristic of it and indicate their development through the centuries. The first thing that springs to the mind is the phoneme *l* (zh-sound as in 'azure') which symbolises Old Kannada (together with certain consonantal endings) to the popular mind. Baazhe and Baa/ē contrast in Old Kannada: the first means 'a banana' while the second means 'a kind of fish.' This is a phoneme which occurred in Proto-Dravidian: it may loosely be described as a kind of retroflex r-sound. It still exists as a distinct phoneme in Tamil and Malayalam, though there are dialectal variations in its articulation. It was also to be found in the earliest Telugu inscriptions (till about the middle of the 9th century), but disappeared later leaving *d* as its reflex. It was a special characteristic of Old Kannada; in general, poets carefully distinguished it from another retroflex sound, the lateral *l* in the 'praasasihaana' (the initial rhyme position).

But *l* (zh) began to change in the speech of the people even during the Old Kannada period, as the inscriptions amply illustrate. In consonantal clusters it was replaced by an *r* sound, as in galde to 'a wet field' to garde (Modern Kannada gadde); alti 'affection' to arti; and so on. In between vowels it

changes to *l* (zh) as in *izhi*, 'to descend' to *ili*; *mazhe* 'rain' to *male* and so on. Poets, however, went on generally observing the rule about not mixing up the two *l* sounds even long after their merger in popular speech. But the poet Harihara (C. 1200) declared that since the two had merged into one and since it was very difficult to articulate *l* (zh) correctly, he would not observe the theoretical distinction between them. And that repudiation sounded its death-knell even in literature. The grammarian Kesiraja, with his love of the classical forms, tried his best to revive the obsolete *l* (zh) by drawing up elaborate lists of words where it was to be used and not the other *l*; but his labours were futile. It is only scholars and editors of Old Kannada texts that bestow any attention nowadays to the distinction between the two *l*'s.

There is another phoneme *r* which ran a somewhat similar course to *l*, but its life lasted some centuries longer in Kannada. (Its loss about the end of the 16th century or so may be taken to mark roughly the end of the Middle Kannada period). Its precursor in Proto-Dravidian appears to have been articulated as an alveolar plosive (somewhat like *t* in English as in *ten*, *tip* etc.). In Kannada the Proto-Dravidian *-nr-* had already become *-nd-* as in *pandi* 'pig' (compare Tamil *panri*); *-rri-* had become *-tt-* as in *netti* 'forehead' (compare Tamil *nerri*). Single *-r-* was in Old Kannada a kind of hard *r*-sound, but was carefully distinguished from the ordinary *r*. Contrast *ari* 'to know' and *ari* 'to cut'; *pari* 'to tear' and *pari* 'to flow,' and so on. The two *r*'s became merged towards the close of the Middle Kannada period, as already noted. In Modern Kannada *hari* (O.K. *pari* as well as *pari*) means both 'to tear' and 'to run'.

Let us now take a look at *pari* and its modern development *hari*. We notice here another sound change, that of *p* to *h*. In Old Kannada *p* as an initial sound was to be found in numerous words like *paal* 'milk', *pidi* 'to hold', *puli* 'tiger', *pene* 'to plait', *poge* 'smoke' etc., but it changed to *h* giving rise to forms like *haal*, *hidi*, *huli*, *hene*, *hoge*, etc. The change became pronounced towards the close of the Old Kannada period and may be said to have completed its course in the spoken language by about 1000 A.D. As is the case with sound-changes, even Sanskrit words which had entered Kannada and been assimilated before the commencement of this change came under its sway. Compare forms like Old Kannada *pasu* (Sanskrit *pasu*)—Modern Kannada *hasu*, O.K. *Pagga* (Skt. *pragaha*)—Mod. K. *hagga*.

This emergence of the aspirate *h* (technically 'a glottal fricative') in the native vocabulary of Kannada is a somewhat unexpected phenomenon, since Kannada (along with Tamil and other Dravidian languages) did not originally have any aspirated articulation. Sanskrit words like *Hanuman* and *haara* 'necklace' at first entered Old Kannada as *Anuya* and *aara* respectively, losing their *h*-sound. But at the time of the transition from Old Kannada to Middle (and Modern) Kannada, *h* became a member of the native

phonemic system (even though aspirated consonants like kh, gh, th, dh, etc. continued to be found in the Sanskritic vocabulary only). This h however could not retain its place for long in the speech of all classes of people. It dropped out in certain dialects yielding forms like *annu* 'fruit' (from *hannu*, from *pan*), *aalu* 'milk' (from *haal*, from *paal*), (v) *uli* 'tiger' (from *huli*, from *puli*) etc. But it continues to remain to this day in the literary form of the language as well as in the standard colloquial speech.

In Old Kannada, while words could not end in consonants like k, c, t, l, p, v and s they could end in consonants like n, m, y, r, l, l, (and even r occasionally as in *nesar* 'the sun,' *basir* 'stomach'). But this variety was lost when the change to Middle Kannada occurred. Every word had now to end in a vowel, which was usually -u. Compare *Kan* — *Kannu* 'the eye,' *Kaan* — *Kaanu* 'to see,' *pon* — *honnu* 'gold,' *meen* — *meenu* 'fish,' *usir* — *usiru* 'breath,' *kal* — *kallu* 'stone,' *kaal* — *kaalu* 'the leg,' *mul* — *mullu* 'thorn,' *el* — *elu* 'to rise,' etc. Words ending in y took an i at the end : as in *bay* — *bayyi* 'to scold, to abuse,' *baay* — *baayi* 'the mouth,' etc.

Then again, there was another feature in Old Kannada which gave some variety to the flow of syllables. This was the occurrence of certain consonant clusters in medial positions as in *kalte* 'an ass', *chelvu* 'beauty', etc. In the change to Middle and Modern Kannada the cluster was either reduced to a long consonant as in *katte* (through *karte*) or inserted a vowel in the middle as in *cheluvu*.

There were some other phonological developments from the Old Kannada stage ; there were also many changes in inflexional and derivative suffixes, the structure of sentences, the vocabulary, and so on, all of which have the cumulative effect of making an Old Kannada passage sound so very different to the modern ear. But there is no space to make even a bare mention of them here.

The middle of the 12th century A.D., was a period of great religious and social ferment touching the masses as well as the classes in Karnataka. This had its repercussions on the language also. Veerasaiva mystics and reformers like Basavesvara, Allamaprabhu and Akka Mahadevi poured forth their spiritual aspirations and philosophical musings in the shape of Vachanas whose prose reflected the development that the Kannada language had undergone by that time. It was full-fledged Middle Kannada and became the seasoned medium of expression for poets like Harihara and Raghavaanka who came a generation or two later. And this form of language continued to dominate the later Kannada for some centuries after. The celebrated epic, the *Kumaraavyuhasabharata* (C. 1430 A.D.), was composed in it, and many other poems of volume and stature adopted the same medium.

It is hard to indicate when exactly Middle Kannada became Modern Kannada, since the transition was necessarily a long-drawn one. The merger of the two r's was only one of the features, but it is as good a mark as any.

Middle Kannada, and sometimes even Old Kannada (as in many works of the period of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, (1672-1704) continued to use them in literature; but popular speech developed much further, as is evidenced by the later inscriptions, some historical records in prose and even the occasional 'lapses' of literary works.

It was after the fall of Tipu Sultan (in 1799 A.D.) and the restoration of the throne of Mysore to Krishnaraja Wodeyar III that a literary form of Modern Kannada began to develop in the latter's court. Krishnamacharya in his *Hosagannada Nudigannadi* (1838) made an attempt for the first time to give a picture of Modern Kannada, avowedly basing it on the speech of the elders of his time. Though he often admits archaic forms like hannibbaru 'twelve persons' and milirtu 'having moved about', he also accords recognition to forms like tintaane 'he eats' and kethhoyitu '(it) was spoilt,' which are considered to be colloquial and not used in 'correct' writing even today. The 'acceptable' forms would be tinnuttaane and kettuhoyitu respectively. 'Colloquial' and 'dialect' forms are freely used in modern writing in recording dialogues in such types of literature as the social drama, the novel and the short story.

The Karnataka country stretches over a vast area; the present State of Mysore covers 74,861 square miles. In such a situation dialectal variations are bound to develop. And these appear to have existed in Kannada from ancient times. The *Kavirajamarga* refers to certain differences that existed among the verbal forms in the speech styles of the south, the north and the further north. This information is fascinating, but the details given are, alas, meagre.

In Modern Kannada there are at least three well-defined regional dialects which are popularly known as Mysore Kannada, Dharwar Kannada and Mangalore Kannada, pin-pointing the cultural centres of the three geographical divisions, namely South Karnataka, North Karnataka and Coastal Karnataka respectively. The river Tungabhadra is more or less the dividing line between the south and the north, while the Western Ghats mark off the west coast region. It must be remembered, however, that in each of these vast regions there are numerous dialectal sub-divisions. Thus, for instance, the dialect of Bijapur has a distinct quality of its own.

Then, again, there are the social dialects. In addition to the usual 'class' varieties there are some special dialects too. To mention an outstanding example, the Havyaka community of the North and South Kanara Districts speaks a type of Kannada which has retained some archaic features and has developed some others which isolate it from the common run of Kannada speech. And the Havyaka dialect itself has about half a dozen regional variants in the North Kanara District itself.

Dialect studies are still in their infancy in our country. Only a few serious studies have been made so far and even these are not all available in

print. Until a systematic dialect survey of the whole of Karnataka is undertaken and completed it will not be possible to make precise statements as regards the nature and extent of the dialects of Kannada.

According to the *Kavirajajamaarga*, the area bounded by Kisuvolal (Pattadakal in Bijapur District), Kopananagara (Koppal in the Raichur District), Puligere (Lakshmesvara in the Dharwar District) and Onkunda (Okkunda in the Belgaum District) was the land of 'the cream of Kannada' ('Kannadada tiruḷ'). It was in this standard Kannada that Pampa wrote. As the centuries rolled on, the centre of gravity shifted more to the south. But the unity of the standard literary form has been surprisingly well maintained through the ages in spite of the numerous dialectal variations current all over the country. In modern times the literary form of the language current in the three main geographical divisions necessarily shows a few regional differences, particularly in the vocabulary. But thanks to the increased facilities for rapid travel and easy communication from one end of the State to another these differences are being ironed out. One can confidently hope that as a result of the political reorganisation and consolidation of the Kannada-speaking land, a uniform standard of literary Kannada acceptable to all sections of the people is being evolved with smoothness and rapidity.

III

Among the languages, other than Kannada, belonging to the Dravidian family, there are two which are prevalent almost entirely within the boundaries of the new States of Mysore and hence call for some detailed notice. There are Tulu and Kodagu. Tulu is practically confined to the coastal district of South Kanara. The Kalyaanapuri river marks its northern boundary. (Beyond it is a full-fledged Kannada-speaking area while pockets of Kannada speakers are to be found in the area of Tulu dominance also). The southern boundary of Tuluvaadu is the Chandragiri (or Payasvini) river in the Kasargod Taluk (at present a part of the Kerala State).

In its areas of prevalence Tulu is the home-speech of all classes of people. At least three, if not more, social dialects can be distinguished: there are also regional variations. The Tulu of the Brahmin community has a perceptibly larger element of Sanskritic vocabulary.

Tuluvaadu has been known from ancient days. *Akanaanooru* (one of the earliest Tamil classics going back to about the 2nd century A.D.) refers to "the Tuluvaadu, famed for its groves filled with peacocks feeding on pagal fruits" (*Akanaanooru*, 15). This suggests that the Tulu country was recognised as a distinct entity even at that early period. There is, again, a mention of "Tulava" (sic!) in a Kannada Inscription of 1012 A.D. (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Srirangapattana, 140). The Tuluvaadesa is referred to in the *Basavarajadevara ragale* of Harihara also (C. 1200 A.D.).

It is very likely that the language too of this particular region had a distinct existence from ancient times and was not a mere regional dialect. This is borne out by the fact that some of the sounds of Tulu cannot be treated as mere forward developments of the sounds of the oldest Tamil or Kannada; then, again, certain grammatical features of Tulu (like the pronominal forms of the second person, *i* and *iru*) are more akin to those in the central Dravidian languages than to those in South Dravidian. Linguistic scholars classify Tulu as a distinct language and place it between Tamil and Kannada. As noted already, it is not impossible that the Indian language found in the *Oxyrhynchus papyrus*, if at all authentic, is pre-Tulu.

In view of all this it is rather surprising that Tulu should not have developed into a literary language in the course of more than a millennium and three quarters of separate existence. A script similar to the one used for Malayalam was in use in the Tulu country from about the 14th century among scholars for writing books in Sanskrit. Not a single old book in the Tulu language written in this or any other script, is known to exist. Tulu ballads and folk-songs there are in plenty and some of them must be several centuries old. Ballads (*paaddone*) like the story of Koti and Channaya have a haunting beauty. But all these have been preserved and transmitted by oral tradition. Tulu-speaking poets and scholars have used only Kannada as the medium of literary expression (apart from Sanskrit) through the ages. The inscriptions found in this area from the earliest times have been in Kannada.

It was only about the middle of the 19th century that some books came to be written in Tulu (and printed in Kannada characters). The pioneers in the field were the Christian missionaries of Mangalore. The first grammar of the Tulu language (written in English by the Rev. J. Brigel) was published in 1872. Another grammar, written in Tulu itself by U.S. Paniyadi, came out some sixty years later. Even today publications in Tulu are few.

Kodagu is the other Dravidian language whose position is somewhat similar to that of Tulu, though its population is very much less; its speakers are confined to the small district of Coorg. The earliest mention of the "Kodagas" is to be found in a Kannada inscription of 1174 (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Hunsur, 20). On linguistic grounds Kodagu is classified as a distinct language; it is perhaps a little nearer Kannada than Tulu.

From the standpoint of Kannada phonology it is interesting to note that Kodagu shows no sign of "the close vowel mutation" which marked the transition from Primitive Old Kannada to Old Kannada. Thus, Kod. *eli*—O.K. *ili* 'rat'; Kod. *Kori*—O.K. *Kuri* 'sheep' etc. Further, Kodagu has preserved the initial *p* while *p* changed to *h* in the transition from Old Kannada to Middle Kannada. Compare Kod. *pattu*—Mod. K. *hattu* 'ten'; Kod. *pola*—Mod. K. *hola* 'field', etc.

Kodagu has no written literature. The language of the inscriptions and of ordinary writing in the Coorg area has been Kannada throughout. Some of the ballads and folk-songs in which Kodagu, like other Indian languages, abounds were collected in *Kodavada Pattole Palame* by Nadi-keriyanda Chinnappa and published in 1924. This work contains also an account (written in Kannada) of the Kodagu country, its history and traditional customs. *An Elementary Grammar of the Coorg Language* written in English by Captain R. A. Cole, was published as far back as 1867.

We have no space here to speak, even very briefly, of the major Dravidian language like Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam with which Kannada has had intimate association through the ages and some dialects of which are spoken within the Karnataka country. Nor can we refer to the Indo-Aryan languages like Sanskrit, the Prakrits, Marathi, Hindi-Urdu (particularly in the Dakhani form) which have had a close and enduring contact with Kannada. But it is necessary to make here a few remarks about Konkani, since more than 37% of its speakers, as already noted, live in the Mysore State.

Konkani, according to the considered opinion of distinguished modern linguists is a language with a distinct status, and not a 'dialect' of any other language. In the words of Dr. S. M. Katre, "Taking into account all the main features of Konkani, we may now definitely assign it to the south-western group (having Marathi and Gujarati as its nearest of kin) with a tinge of the central group (Hindi, especially in the dative postposition — 'ka'). The differentiations noted in the formation of the direct singular of masculine nouns in their extended form and the divergent postpositions for the dative clearly mark off Konkani as a separate language from Marathi, preserving in many respects an earlier stage of development. Its position as a separate language (and not a mere dialect) is thereby proved, but phonological considerations show that both belong to a common parent 'Prakrit.' (*The Formation of Konkani*, page 152).

Konkani means the speech prevalent in the Konkani strip of the west coast. What exactly have been the boundaries of Konkani from the early times is a matter which needs close investigation but is beyond the scope of the present article. The derivation of the word Konkani is also controversial. There is a reference to the Konkani (the people of Konkani) in the *Silappadikaram* (26. 106-121), a Tamil classic which is not later than the 5th century A.D. Konkani also figures in the *Brihatsamhita* of Varahamihira of the 6th century. But it is not certain that the people of Konkani, at least of the strip which forms part of the Karnataka area, spoke during these early centuries a language akin to the present-day Konkani or its ancestor. A few sentences in an inscription of 1186 (JBBRAS. Vol. 12, page 333) of Silahaara King Aparaditya, who is called 'Konkani Chakravarti' in the inscription itself, are claimed to be in an older form of the Konkani language.

But according to an eminent authority (Dr. S. M. Katre) the language of these particular sentences is really Old Marathi and not Konkani.

When the Portuguese occupied Goa and wholesale conversions to Christianity began to take place, many Konkani-speakers fled to the south, to the North and South Kanara Districts, and even to Kerala. These were probably some dialectal variations in Konkani even earlier; but now, on account of the long stretch of the territory where the Konkani-speakers are settled, their religious and social strata, and the influence of the languages prevalent in the new surroundings, many dialects of the Konkani language have come to be well differentiated and crystallised. At least six dialects are distinguished at the present day.

The script in which Konkani is written at present differs from area to area. The Kannada, the Devanagari and the Roman scripts are used in different regions and by different communities of Konkani-speakers according to their affiliations. It may be noted, in this connection, that the Kannada script was used for the accounts and the correspondence kept in the Konkani language even in Goa until recent times. Kannada was the official language of Goa from the time of the Kadamba rulers.

A Grammar of the Konkani language with the title *Arte de lingua Canarian*, written by Father Thomas Stephens, was printed in 1640; this is said to be the first printed grammar of any Indian language. Konkani began to be used occasionally for literary purposes from the 17th century. Prior to it, it is believed, there was hardly any Konkani literature as such. Even now the writing in Konkani is not profuse.

Before closing we may mention that the Konkani-speaking community of the Kanara districts has produced several men of letters who have enriched and continued to enrich Kannada literature and have been second to none in their devotion to Kannada. It is enough to mention here the respected names of the late Panje Mangesh Rao and the late M. Govinda Pai to substantiate this observation.

*The Principal Languages of India, and the number of persons speaking
them as their mother-tongue — according to the 1961 Census*

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|
| Assamese | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,803,465 |
| Bengali | ... | ... | ... | ... | 33,888,939 |
| Gujarati | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20,304,464 |
| Hindi | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,33,435,360 |
| Kannada | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17,415,827 |
| Kashmiri | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,956,115 |
| Malayalam | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17,015,782 |
| Marathi | ... | ... | ... | ... | 33,286,771 |
| Oriya | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15,719,398 |
| Punjabi | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,950,826 |
| Sanskrit | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,544 |
| Tamil | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30,562,706 |
| Telugu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 37,668,732 |
| Urdu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 23,323,518 |

CHAPTER IV

THE PREHISTORIC CULTURES OF KARNATAKA

IT is becoming increasingly evident that environmental studies are of great importance to the student of pre-history. If one wants to understand a culture as a function of mankind, the environment to which it was an adaptation has to be reconstructed. In fact, one of the cardinal principles of human geography is to trace the close connection that exists between physical regions and cultural ideas and institutions.

The study of the river systems is of great importance to the pre-historian, since pre-historic chronology is closely linked up with river chronology. Rivers have, at all times, provided man with his supply of water, food and communication. Furthermore, the pebbles of the rivers constituted an important raw material for the manufacture of his tools. It is in these river terraces that we find large quantities of the discarded implements of the palæolithic man. The Indus and the Son in the Punjab, the Sabarmati in Gujarat, the Narmada in Central India, the Godavari, the Kortallayaiyar, the Palar, the Tungabhadra and the Malaprabha in southern India are outstanding examples. As an example of a palæolithic site stratigraphically studied, Hampasagara on the Tungabhadra may be cited. The exact location is east of Gauri Nalla where a double terrace is seen. The section extending to the higher level shows loose gravel on rock, covered by kankarised gravel and about 10 feet of kankarised silt. This carries a soil section with a grey A-horizon (c. 2 feet) and a brown B-horizon (c. 7 feet).

The palæoliths come from the loose gravel, which is only a few feet thick. The thinness of these palæolithic gravels is a feature common to most rivers in the interior of South India. It means that they owe their existence not to an actual aggradation but to a lining of the bed of the river at that time. The modern rivers have a similar pebble lining which is moved when the river is in flood, but which lies dry and accessible to man in the dry season. This explains the large number of palæoliths found on such sites. Pebbles were collected and converted into implements on the spot by palæolithic man. Many were, of course, swept away by the river later on. The implication is that climatic conditions in the palæolithic age need not have been very different from those of today. The climate was certainly not wet enough for laterite to be formed, and a dry season occurred regularly.

Besides, geology governs the supply and distribution of the raw materials of stone-stool-using peoples. All rocks have not the same degree of hardness nor do they fracture in the same way. In northern Europe before the Neolithic age, for example, flint was, as a rule, used for tools since it could be easily shaped by

clipping or pressure flaking. In India and South Africa, man had to fall back upon other and generally inferior local materials. These differences of raw material greatly influence the final appearance of the tools, as some materials lend themselves to, or even compelled man to use, special techniques (Burkitt, 1928). Two types of tools characterise the palæolithic industry of India: choppers and hand-axes. The predominance of hand-axes is the typical characteristic of the Deccan, Karnataka and South India. The hand-axe complex recalls European and African affinities, while the pebble chopper-chopping tool complex suggests affinities with Java and Burma (Movius, 1949).

One of the important open-air sites where palæolithic man had made his home in Karnataka was at Kibbanahalli, Tiptur Taluk, Tumkur District. The site lies at the foot of the Banasandra Hills, and has a large number of small streams (now dried up), the gravels of which yield numerous tools and implements. The assemblage includes a few rostrocarinate-like tools (earliest tools), without much working, which were probably used for grubbing roots. Some of the tools are 'beaked' and resemble those from Clacton-on-sea in England. There is an abundance of Abbevillian hand-axes. The presence of thinly made cleavers, used probably for cutting trees and branches, and a few ovates indicate late Acheulian technique.

Among the flake tools numerous scrapers (for scraping skins) occur. The hollow scraper is a speciality and its occurrence indicates that the palæolithic man of Kibbanahalli used, in addition to his stone tools, wooden implements. The hollow scraper was used to smoothen the body of the wooden spears. In England both the hollow scraper and the wooden spear have been found together, but in India wood disintegrates owing to tropical weather. The borer is another noteworthy implement. It was probably used to bore holes in the skin of hunted animals, after being scraped thoroughly with the aid of the scrapers.

Joshi (1955) explored some twenty-one sites on the Malaprabha. Of these Manasgi (Megur Asoti) and Khyad were major habitats of palæolithic man of the Malaprabha valley. The tools from Khyad are very interesting, and comprise mostly of finely made hand-axes and cleavers of late Acheulian character. Other major sites are Lingadahalli in the Chikmagalur District and Halakundi, 6 miles south-west of Bellary, both discovered by Foote. Foote also noticed a number of minor sites: Talya (Chitradurga District), Nidaghatta (Chikmagalur District), Nyamatli (Shimoga District), Kuri Koppa, Gadiganur, Daroji and Anguru (Bellary District).

Recently, a major palæolithic site was explored by the Archaeological Department of Mysore, just near the outskirts of the town of Bagalkot (Bijapur District).

The Ghataprabha river here has a vast pebble bed exposed in its midst where a large collection of Abbevillian and early Acheulian tools was made. Very largely, the raw material of these tools is sandstone. Tools of late Acheulian, such as ovates, do occur, but their number is rather small.

PRE HISTORIC KARNATAKA

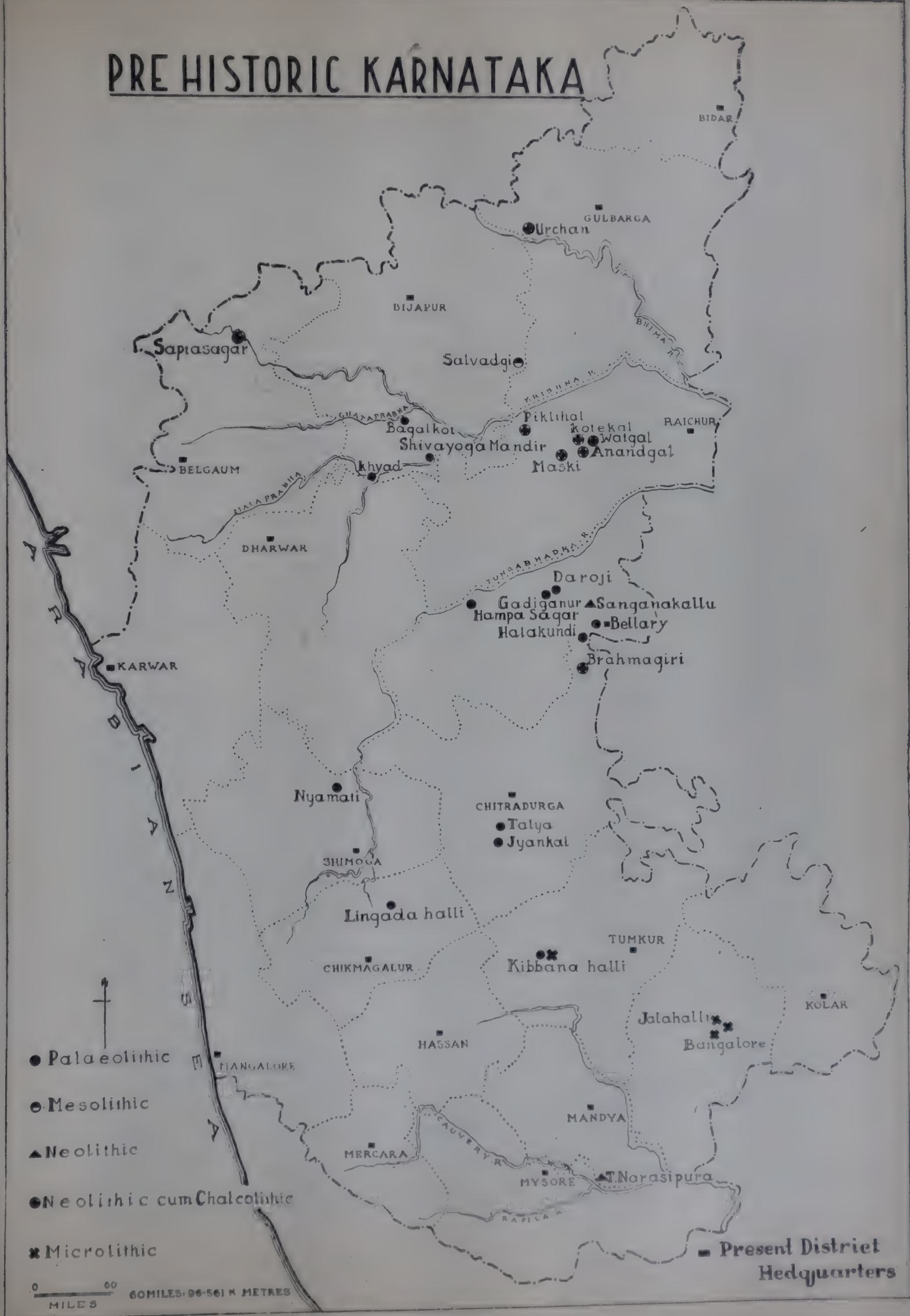


Figure 6

We do not know further details of the palæolithic man in Karnataka at the moment. His lot was a hard one, and most of his life was spent in hunting and fishing, and thus gathering food from day to day for himself and his family. If we should come across his skeletal remains, we would be in a position to know his physical features.

THE MESOLITHIC IN KARNATAKA :

Between the palæolithic (food gathering stage) and the neolithic (food producing stage) there occurred a series of small stone industries usually designated as the mesolithic (Middle Stone stage), at any rate, in Europe. But do we have it in India and Karnataka ?

So far, the evidence is not in the affirmative. Recently, the writer came upon an interesting group of implements from Salvadgi near Talikota in the Bijapur District. Since knife blades, borers and scrapers abound, it is very likely that the assemblage belongs to series II to III. The tools are large-sized and blade-flakes occur frequently. Besides, no lunates and points occur. The long blades, and the fluted cores of the Harappa type, together with the knife blades, would indicate affinities of this industry with the chalcolithic culture of the Indus Valley and not with the usual chalcolithic of the Deccan with its typical black-on-red pottery and the microliths of the Brahmagiri type. The occurrence of the mesolithic in Karnataka still requires to be established.

NEOLITHIC CULTURE OF KARNATAKA :

Karnataka appears to have attracted the neolithic man to a greater extent than other regions. One of the reasons for this was the prolific occurrence of trap dykes from which the neolithic man obtained his supplies of raw material for his axes, adzes and chisels which he polished, particularly at the cutting edge, perhaps for greater efficiency. The grinding grooves used by the neolithic man of Karnataka for polishing his tools have been found on the North Hill, Bellary. Foote (1916) found them at Helalagundi on 19th February 1889, in Alur Taluk. Kap-pataralla Hill, Pattikonda Taluk, Kurnool District, and Pullayyagudda in Hyderabad have also revealed excellently preserved grinding grooves. That these grooves are associated with the axe-makers is further confirmed by DeTerra's (1942) discovery of a large boulder of a quartzite with seven grooves, each measuring six inches in length and one and a half inches in depth, near Burzahom, another important neolithic site in Kashmir.

The word 'trap' is derived from the old Swedish 'trappa', which means step or stairs. Petrologically a trap is of varying composition, trachytes, andesites and basalts being commonly encountered. The vast sheets of trap lava are no good for tool making, because they are porous; but the numerous dykes of trap which have been formed as a result of the intersection of lava with the basement complex are extremely dense and, therefore, constitute first-class raw material. Of the 260 dykes discovered by Foote (1895) in the Bellary District, the Golla Linganahalli dyke, beginning at the extreme south of the Sandur syncline together

with that of Kailasa Konda, west of Rayadurg, would be three miles in length, if continuous. Besides these, the Voddarahalli dyke near the Jatinga Ramesvara Hill was also accessible to the neolithic man of Brahmagiri.

Though no structures were found owing to the limited character of the excavations, the occurrence of post-holes in a straight line in one of the cuttings suggests that some of the dwellings were rectangular in plan. Low walls of rough granite blocks were used in addition to timber ones. A horizontal excavation would help us considerably to solve some of these specific problems.

The Neolithic-cum-chalcolithic folk practised two types of burial; inhumation and urn-burial. Only two examples of inhumation were found. One of them showed the complete skeleton of a child, eight or ten years of age. The head of the child faced east, and the presence of a spouted pottery vessel near its head and two small pottery cups near its thighs suggests that rites of some kind had been performed. Urn-burial, on the other hand, was more frequent but was apparently confined to infants. The body was closely packed into a coarse wide-mouthed urn.

The pottery used by the neolithic folk is invariably hand-made, has a coarse grey fabric and is usually burnished. The pottery forms are also simple. Wide mouthed bowls, spouted and ordinary vases, cups and, occasionally, larger vessels with a flaring mouth are commonly met with. This coarse grey ware is occasionally decorated with incised criss-cross and herring bone designs. It is interesting to note that some of these bowls and cups of burnished grey have their rim painted with red ochre. This was particularly the case with the burnished grey pottery unearthed at T. Narasipur. The writer, however, collected a few grey burnished sherds with a violet streak on the underside of their rims from Vottugal, a promising neolithic site in the Lingsugur Taluk, which deserves to be excavated. Further, T. Narasipur also yielded the channel-spouted grey burnished or dull-red ware in considerable numbers. Though evidences for the food producing economy, except those provided by the polished celts, are lacking, the absolute non-occurrence of copper or bronze at the T. Narasipur site despite three or four seasons' work should be regarded as important. This indicates that the site was occupied by a non-metal using folk, and the pottery evidence shows that that they were neolithic. Later, the chalcolithic people from the Deccan or Central India squatted on the site only for a short period. This is indicated by the overlapping of the neolithic and chalcolithic layers.

THE CHALCOLITHIC CULTURE OF KARNATAKA :

Most of our sites present an evidence which does not clearly indicate a separation between the chalcolithic and the neolithic. Brahmagiri, Sanganakallu, and Maski may be cited as classic examples and confirmed by recent excavations at Tekkala Kota (Bellary District) and Hallur (Dharwar District). The chalcolithic culture presented by these sites is characterised by the occurrence and use of the following :

- (a) Copper and bronze in small quantity,
- (b) Black-on-red pottery,
- (c) Parallel-sided, microlithic blades, some used as such, and others blunted at the back, and
- (d) Polished stone axes of trap.

In 1959, excavations were carried out by the Department of Archæology, Mysore, on a site near T. Narasipur on the left bank of the Kaveri. This is a unique site which throws some light on the prevalence of a pure neolithic phase. So far, the neolithic layers which have been dug up have revealed a complete absence of copper or bronze. But there was a thin layer which produced the usual black-on-red pottery, and the parallel-sided microlithic blades both worked and unworked, typical of the chalcolithic below the megalithic layers. Layers below this one abounded in polished stone axes, coarse grey pottery and large quantities of animal bones. It is also interesting to note that fossil bones of cattle were found on the surface embedded in the kankary limestone adjoining the bank of the Kaveri.

As a result of the intensive exploration organised by the Department of Archæology, Government of India, a large number of chalcolithic sites have come to light in recent years. *Archæology - A Review, 1959-60* gives the following list :

| | | | |
|---------------|---|--|-------------------|
| 1. Hingani | } | Indi Taluk on the right bank of the Bheema | Bijapur Dist. |
| 2. Anachi | | | |
| 3. Chik Manur | | | |
| 4. Rodgi | | | |
| 5. Almel | | Sindgi Taluk | - do - |
| 6. Gundgi | | - do - | - do - |
| 7. Budihal | | On the Don River | - do - |
| 8. Chokavi | | Muddebihal Taluk | - do - |
| 9. Hulagabal | | Muddebihal Taluk | - do - |
| 10. Hadergeri | | | Dharwar Dist. |
| 11. Asundi | | | - do - |
| 12. Medanur | | | - do - |
| 13. Udchan | | Afzalpur Taluk | Gulbarga Dist. |

Further work by way of a large scale excavation on some of the important sites mentioned above would certainly produce evidence for the separation of the neolithic from the chalcolithic complex.

TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS

Traditions are stories or accounts of happenings orally handed down from generation to generation. Legends are myths or imaginary accounts about saints or great persons which grow by what Max Muller has called 'the dialogic process'. They are usually about their miraculous powers, which enhance their glory among the masses. Myths are not wholly reliable in the construction and interpretation of history, though a searching analysis may find a grain of truth in their contents. Early Indian history consists of traditions and legends which serve some purpose where no other material is available. Whatever be the historicity of legends, it cannot be denied that they have considerably moulded the life and character of the masses. The Vedic and epic traditions have continuously infused life and spirit among the people generation after generation. A close study of the local chronicles and folklore current in the region displays the patent truth that the main life of the people is a harmonious blend of the best cultural elements in society.

From the remotest antiquity of Indian history as recorded in the literary and epigraphical material, Karnataka is known to be an integral part of Bharatavarsha; and the course of cultural and political events in the region has been moulded, as anywhere else in India, by the Vedic and post-Vedic traditions and legends. These latter may be considered under the following heads: 1. Political, 2. Administrative, 3. Religious, 4. Domestic and 5. Art, Architecture etc. In all these, the epic and puranic traditions have played an important role.

The political history of Karnataka starts with the rise of the Satavahanas in the Deccan in the 2nd century A. D. Their successors, the Kadambas, are known to be the first Kannada rulers of a kingdom at Vijayanti (Banavasi) in North Kanara. The Nanaghat inscription of Naganka starts with an obeisance to Dharma, Indra, Sankarshana, Vasudeva, Chandra, Surya, and the four gods of the quarters, Yama, Varuna, Kubera and Vasava (Indra), who are Vedic and puranic gods. The Nasik inscription of Pulamayi introduces Satakarni as a powerful monarch like Rama, Kesava, Arjuna, and Bheemasena. This proves the strong influence which the Vedic and epic traditions had on the royal families of Karnataka in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Kadambas are affiliated to the lineage of the Manavyas *i.e.*, the Vedic seers. It is interesting to examine the preambles of inscriptions of the Gangas of Talakad, the Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyana, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, the Kalachuryas of Kalyana, the Yadavas and Hoysalas and, lastly, the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasties, where the same tendency to trace the descent of the royal family to some early Vedic or puranic hero is noticeable in each case. The Chalukyas are fond of attributing their family greatness to the grace of Bhagavan Narayana who, in the form of Varaha-Avatar, conferred upon them a kingdom in the Deccan. It is a popular puranic tradition which can be traced to the exploits of the Vedic God Vishnu, that Varaha recovered and revived the submerged earth from the clutches of the demon Hiranyaksha who had concealed her in the bottom of the ocean. The Rashtrakutas, Yadavas and Hoysalas indulge in glorifying their

lineage, with Yadava Krishna of the Yadu race as the first ancestor. Thus, the history of the royal families of Karnataka from the earliest period illustrates the alternate influence of the Saiva and Vaishnava puranic traditions on the life and culture of the people in the respective periods.

The great Chalukya king Mangaleesa is extolled in the Mahakuta pillar inscription with the significant string of epithets: 'Invincible like Mahendra,' 'Unconquerable like Parasurama,' 'Munificent like Sibi and Ausinara,' 'Truthful like Yudhishtira', etc. The kings and queens were instructed in the glories of the epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* which served to mould their character after the noble traditions of the epic heroes.

The study of royal emblems and coin legends may also be noticed in this connection. The lion, the eagle, the monkey-god Hanuman, the Disc. (Chakra of Vishnu), Trisula (Siva's ensign), Varaha (Boar incarnation of Vishnu), are found engraved on the seals and coins of the royal families of Karnataka. Such legendary accounts and affiliations are common in the chronicles of India and they have largely contributed to the rise of mighty power and unfailing self-confidence among the royal dynasties.

The political and administrative institutions of Karnataka are modelled after the Vedic traditions handed down through the feudal rule of the *Janapadas* and *mahajanapadas*. The institution of *mahajanas* and *daivas* in Karnataka is a remnant of the Vedic and Buddhist traditions, according to which the entire village population was empowered to rule the village. The imprecatory remarks occurring in old Kannada inscriptions, *Padinenbarum Padinaaruvarum Kaadooduvar* (The eighteen and the sixteen should protect the gift from misappropriation) point to the Vedic and Buddhist division of Bharatavarsha into eighteen and sixteen *Janapadas* (administrative divisions) which administered the country with equal powers. This ancient tradition is preserved only in Karnataka and South India.

The following historical traditions also deserve to be noticed in this connection. The contact of the Mauryas with Karnataka is mirrored in the local traditions of *Morerangadi* (stalls of 'Morer' or 'Mauryas') preserved in several ancient places in Karnataka. The Egyptian traders who hunted after gold mines in Karnataka in some early period have left traditions in the prehistoric remains called the cairns and kistevans, with peculiar arrangements of burial mounds, e. g. the stone circles, in the forest of Agadi in the Haveri Taluk (Dharwar District) and the adjoining area.

The study of place names and geographical divisions in Karnataka is full of great historical interest. Almost every village has a glorious record of achievements to its credit pointing to the contact of epic heroes and Vedic Rishis. A few examples may be cited to elucidate this point. The contact of the Vedic Rishis is remembered in the villages of Galagali (residence of Galava Rishi), and Manur (Mandavya Rishi). Vatapi (Badami), a residence of the demon Vatapi in the Dandaka forest, who was killed by sage Agastya; Agastyatirtha (Badami Tank) at Badami is named after Agastya. The legend of the birth of the Kaveri from the

Brahmagiri hill in Coorg says that Lopamudra, Agastya's wife, was confined within the Kamandala (water-vessel) of Agastya containing the water of the Ganges placed on the hill, and she became changed into the sacred river Kaveri.

The sages Vibhandaka and Rishyasringa are associated with Sringeri, in the Kadur District, the seat of one of the principal mathas established by Sri Sankaracharya. Varahapurvata, where the Tunga and Bhadra rivers take their birth, is associated with Varaha-Avatar, the Boar-incarnation of Vishnu. The two rivers Tunga and Bhadra are supposed to have come out of the sweat of the body of Varaha.

Some asuras, or demons, mentioned in the ancient epics and puranas are associated with places in Karnataka: for instance, Guhasura is associated with Harihar and Hidimbapura with Chitradurga. Bakasura is associated with the hill near Kaiwar (in the Kolar District) which is supposed to be the Ekachakrapura mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. The name Mysore is derived from Mahishasura and the Chamundi Hill is sacred to Sakti-worshippers in India.

The western coastal strip has been known from ancient days as Parasurama Kshetra, which stretches from Bombay to Cape Comorin. Parasurama is supposed to have salvaged the coast strip and established the seven Konkanas, as described in the following verse from the *Skanda Purana* :

Karaatam cha- Viraatam- cha
Maraatam Konkana tathaa
Havyagam tauluva - chaiva
Keralam cheti saptakam.

Of these, Viraata, part of Karaata, Havyaga (North Kanara), and Taulava (South Kanara) are in Karnataka. In Karnataka there are many places associated with Parasurama. For example, there is a town named Parasagad, near Saundatti. It is adjacent to Yallammanagudda, the presiding deity of which is known as Renukadevi (mother of Parasurama). By the side of this temple there is another dedicated to Parasurama.

The Jatinga Ramesvara Hill in the Chitradurga District is believed to have been the place where Jatayu laid down his life after fighting with Ravana. This is mentioned in an inscription of the 10th century (E.I. Molakalmuru, dated 961 A. D.).

Lakkundi (Lokkigundi of old inscriptions) is associated with Sri Ramachandra in the expression ' Ramara-datti mahagrahara Lokkigundi '. Kratupura (Gadag) is the agrahara of Janamejaya. Panungal (Hanagal, Dharwar District) to this day is remembered as the capital of the epic king Viraata (Viraatanagara) where the exiled Pandavas spent one year of *ajnatavasa* (sojourn *incognito*), and where Bheema killed the evil-minded Kichaka. Such instances may be multiplied from the Karnataka region to illustrate the powerful influence which the epic traditions exercised on the minds of the people in ancient times. The sacred banks of the Krishna river at Sitimani (Bijapur District), Chhaya Bhagavati near Muddebihal, and Bira Kabbi in Bagalkot Taluk preserve traditions of the sojourn

of Ramachandra and the monkey-god Hanuman. Hampi, or Pampakshetra near Hospet, is replete with reminiscences of the *Ramayana* period. The hills Matanga parvata and Rishyamuka parvata, Kishkindha (Anegondi), Valibhandara, Validibba (mound of Vali's cremated body), the first meeting of Rama with Hanuman, the monkey-god, Anjani parvata where Anjana performed penance and bore Anjaneya (Hanuman), Pampasarovara (Lake Pampa), all these preserve the living traditions of the *Ramayana* and are authenticated by the graphic descriptions of the several sites mentioned above given in Valmiki's *Ramayana*. The traditional association of the epic heroes with these cannot be doubted in the face of such monuments still existing in the region.

Similarly, the cult of Vedic sacrifices has left strong legendary accounts of the performance of sacrifices by the Vedic and pre-Buddhist kings. The places called Ishtagi (*Ishtika*--bricks) found in Karnataka points to the performance of Garudachayana and Agnishtoma sacrifices, which, according to the injunction of 'Srauta sutras' require the brick-constructions of vedis or altars. It is interesting to note that a sacrificial vessel called *Ukha*patra assignable to the 1st century A. D., was actually unearthed in a pit of bricks at Itgi on the banks of the Tungabhadra near Sirhatti. Inscribed sacrificial pillars called *Yupastambha* are also found in Karnataka, e. g., the Vadgaon Madhavapur hexagonal basalt pillar with a Prākṛit-Brahmi inscription of the 1st century B. C. The Vedic traditions are without break continued in Karnataka, and kings like Pulikesi I, Keertivarma I, etc., are known to have celebrated numerous Vedic sacrifices like Asvamedha, Paundarika, Vajapeya, etc.

Karnataka art and architecture, as well as Kannada literature, are considerably influenced by the Vedic and epic stories. The artisans and architects of Karnataka have been imbued with these traditions. The plan and design of Karnataka temples are modelled after the traditional criteria traceable to the Vedic and puranic literatures. The Nandi temple, in front of the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal, preserves on the four walls of the shrine miniature figures of temples in different styles of architecture to illustrate the various standards current in the local tradition. The art traditions are illustrated in the sculptures and temples of Badami, Aihole, and Pattadakal of the 6th-8th century A. D. The Ellora cave temple is a rich treasure of art, where all divine and semi-divine figures of the puranas are illustrated with fine workmanship. Besides the puranic stories, the *Panchatantra* and Buddhist legends as found in the *Jatakas* furnished themes for sculptures in temples.

The traditions and legends current in Karnataka have thus swayed the life of the people from the highest to the lowest ranks of society. The cultural history of Karnataka in its numerous aspects has been greatly inspired by Vedic, puranic and epic traditions, and myths and legends handed down from ancient times.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD MAURYAN AND SATAVAHANA SETTLEMENTS

WHAT is the earliest date in the historical period when Karnataka came into touch with the north? The answer to this question is not very precise. Of course, we have the Asokan inscriptions located in the various parts of Karnataka; but what about the pre-Asokan period? Certain epigraphs of the 12th and 13th centuries, in Kannada, found in the present Shimoga District (*E.C. VII*, Shikarpur 225) refer to the rule of the Nandas over Karnataka (Kuntala). Asoka conquered only Kalinga and we do not know who conquered the south among Mauryan kings. It is possible, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri suggests, that the Mauryas came by their southern possessions as a matter of course by overthrowing the Nandas. If this is conceded, then the Kannada inscriptions of the Shimoga District, mentioned above, preserve a correct tradition.

The coming of Chandragupta Maurya to Śrāvaṇabelagola with his teacher Bhadrabāhu, who foresaw the advent of a great famine in Northern India, resulting in the abdication of the throne by Chandragupta Maurya would not be unnatural because this portion presumably formed a part and parcel of his own empire. The smaller hill at Śrāvaṇabelagola where the teacher and the pupil lived on for some time prior to the passing away of Bhadrabāhu is referred to as Kaṭavapura, and Chandragupta lived on here for twelve more years and it is known as Chandragiri after him. There is also a *basadi* (temple) bearing his name, one of the oldest buildings at Śrāvaṇabelagola.

That this episode in the life of Chandragupta Maurya may belong more to the realm of history than to that of myth is indicated by certain literary and epigraphical evidences, though they are not contemporaneous. One of the oldest inscriptions on this subject belongs to 600 A.D., according to Rice. Two inscriptions of about 900 A.D., from the neighbourhood of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa refer to the lower hill at Śrāvaṇabelagola as marked by the footprints of both Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta Maurya. The *Brihalkathākōśa*, a work of Harisēna, dated 931 A.D., and Ratnanandi's *Bhadrabāhu Charita*, 1450 A.D., describe the main events mentioned in the inscriptions. But the evidence relating to the episode of Chandragupta Maurya's advent to Śrāvaṇabelagola has been challenged by Fleet and Shama Sastry. Smith, who disbelieved the evidence sponsored by Rice and R. Narasimhachar, came round and testified to its historicity in the 4th edition of his classic work on the early History of India.

Bindusāra's (298—272 B.C.) rule in the south, including probably a portion of Mysore, has generally been conceded by historians on the basis of Tārānath,

the Tibetan historian, and Māmoolnār, the Tamil poet. Perhaps, Bindusāra was launching on a career of conquest in the Deccan and the South in order to establish his claim over these territories, which had become a part and parcel of the Mauryan empire after the fall of the Nandas. It may not be unlikely that Mahishamandala (Mysore) also had become a part of his empire.

We may briefly refer to the occurrence of the Asokan edicts in Karnataka. Rice, who discovered the Brahmagiri, the Siddāpur and the Jatinga Rāmēśvara edicts in the Chitradurga District, all the three situated at short distances from one another, published them in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI. The two rock edicts at Kopbal and the one at Maski in the Raichur District are now in the Karnataka territory. The Maski edict is important as it links the title 'Devānāmpriya' with the name of Asoka. The rock edicts in the Chitradurga District refer to certain royal messages first received by the Viceroy at Suvarṇagiri, now identified with Kanakagiri between Maski and Hampi, and then transmitted to the high officials at Iśila. It is thus obvious that Iśila was a small provincial town, the seat of government of the Mysore territories under Asoka. But where is this Iśila? It must have been, as Vincent Smith suggested, near the place where the inscriptions exist. Dr. Krishna and the writer of this paper explored thoroughly in 1939 the region where the inscriptions exist and did find some evidences for that city's existence though no remains of old structures or buildings were encountered in the excavations. Probably, they have all been destroyed by the ravages of time, as they were constructed out of wood.

Brahmagiri is a granite outcrop rising some 600 ft., above the plains in the Molakālmūru Taluk of the Chitradurga District. There are extensive signs of ancient occupation in the form of pottery. A furlong to the south-east of the boulder containing the Asokan edict up the hill slope there is a small 'brick chaitya', a sadly ruined structure but, nevertheless, the only existing monument of Iśila. The Brahmagiri excavations by the Archæological Survey of Mysore in 1939, and the Archæological Survey of India in 1947 respectively, have shown in the upper layers objects belonging to the Sātavāhana and Maurya periods. Sir Mortimer Wheeler excavated some of the megalithic burials at Brahmagiri and dated them to the period of Asoka. It is significant to remember, in this connection, that the megalithic monuments locally are called as 'Mauryara' or 'Morera mane' by the people, thus associating them with the Mauryas.

The megalithic culture at Brahmagiri was succeeded by a culture which extensively used a type of pottery which has a russet background with kaolin decoration. The excavations at Chandravalli, Chitradurga District, have shown that this pottery was in use during the later Sātavāhana period. The crude, lead coins of the Sātavāhanas were found in the same layers where this pottery occurred. The discovery of the silver coins of Augustus and Tiberius together with this type of pottery and lead coins would fix up the date of the use of this pottery at Chandravalli. Wheeler would assign a date somewhat after 200 A.D., for the Sātavāhana occupation of Chandravalli.

MAURYAN AND SATAVAHANA SETTLEMENTS IN KARNATAKA

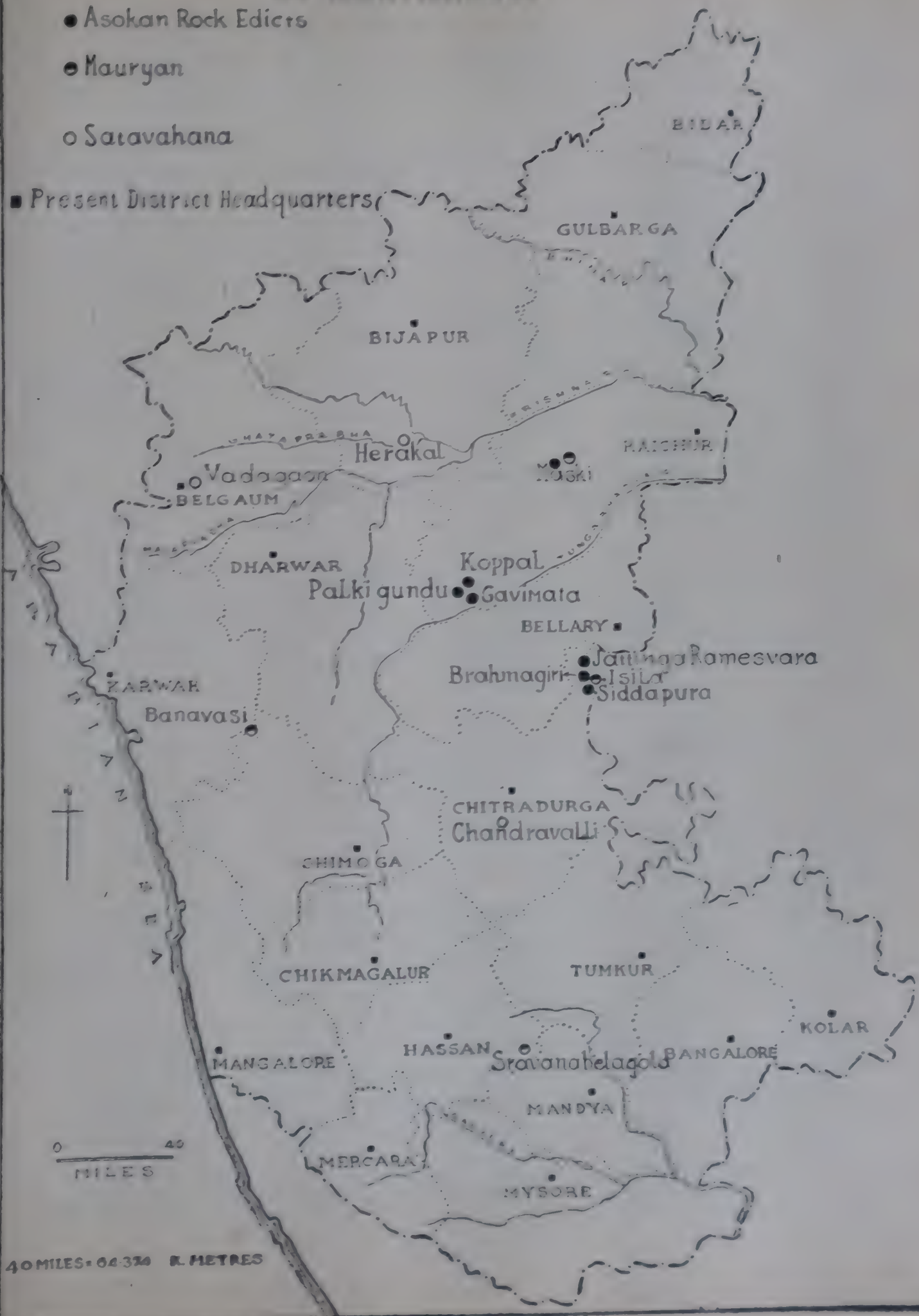


Figure 7

Maski in the Lingsugūr Taluk, Raichur District, later to become famous as the capital of Jayasimha Jagadēkamalla I, 1015-42 A.D. ('Rajadhani priya Mosangi') must have been another provincial town of the Asokan period. Like Isīla it is also devoid of structures.

We may now trace the history of the Sātavāhana settlements elsewhere in Karnataka. An inscription of 1717 A.D. in Chikmagalur (*E.C.* VI, Kadur) echoes that Mysore was in the Sātavāhana country. Their rule over the Mysore territory is proved by the Prakrit inscriptions at Malavalli which record a grant by Hāritiputta Sātakarṇi. The Naga stone at Banavāsi has an inscription which refers to a grant made by the same king and his daughter Nāgaśri. Mention must be made of the Tālgunḍa Pillar inscription which refers to a Sātakarṇi who offered worship to the Linga at that place.

The names of the kings of this dynasty are associated with the names of their mothers. Thus we have Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, Vasishtiputra Pulamāyi and Hāritiputra Sātakarṇi. So far as the Mysore area is concerned, we have to consider the names of rulers found on the coins of lead at Chandravalli, such as Sadakana Kalalāya Mahārathi, Mudānanda, Chūṭu-Kudānanda, either as vice-roys, or alternatively, as a branch of the Sātavāhanas of Paiṭhan, or Praṭishthāna, on the Godavari.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavations at Chandravalli in 1947 yielded 55 coins * of lead and potin. Out of them 45 are legible and definitely attributable to the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories. Three coins belong to the Sātavāhanas: one of Pulamāyi and two of Yajna Sātakarṇi. Fifteen belong to the feudatories. The latter coins came from early layers. Their palæography, as compared with those of Pulamāyi and Yajna, is earlier, and comparable to the Sānchi inscriptions of Sadakana, dated to 50 B.C. by N. G. Majumdar. The issues of Sadakana Kalalāya Mahārathi are represented by nine coins of a known variety and one of an unknown variety. More interesting than these are coins yielding the names of two chiefs hitherto unknown, viz., Sadakana Chūṭu Kanha Mahārathi and Sadakana Kanasa Mahārathiputa. They came from layers 7-10. The Chūṭu Kalānanda (Kulānanda) coin came from the sixth layer and is assigned to the post-Mahārathi period by Wheeler.

The Sātavāhanas and their feudatories, as shown at Chandravalli, issued uninscribed types with a humped bull and the crescent on a hill, respectively, on the obverse and reverse, invariably of a smaller size and weight, for use as smaller denominations to supplement their larger currency.

Chandravalli, like the other Sātavāhana sites outside Karnataka, namely, Konḍāpur in Andhra Pradesh and Brahmapuri near Kolhapur, has yielded bricks, tiles, variously designed bangle pieces of pleasing colours in glass, shell and paste and beautiful beads of cornelian, agate, and rock-crystal which Dr. Krishna did not unfortunately publish. The typical Sātavāhana pottery with its russet back-

* The rouletted ware, first recognised at Arikamedu in 1945, belonging to the early decades of 1st century A.D. was imported. As it occurs in Brahmagiri and Chandravalli, it must have been in use in the Satavahana period.

ground and variegated designs in kaolin includes vases, cups, plates and bowls, and must have been as common as the porcelain ware of the Mughal and modern periods. These objects reveal to us the colourful life of society during the period of the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories.

Three centuries of imperial expansion and consolidation were crowned by achievements not only in the literary but also in the economic field. City life was developed to an amazing degree. Old towns were expanded and new ones sprang up. Of the great inland market towns, Pratishṭhāna (Paiṭhan), Tagara (Ter), Junnar, Karaha Kaṭaka (Karāḍ), Nasik, Govardhana (near Nasik), Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Dharaṇikōṭa) and Vaijayanti (Banavāsi), the last alone concerns us.

The peace and progress of the Deccan under the Sātavāhanas promoted a brisk foreign trade with the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire. It may be recalled that the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus (A.D. 45) gave a great impetus to sea trade. The western coast was studded, as a result of this, with ports: Bharukachchha (Barygaza of the *Periplus*, identified with Broach), Sopāraka (modern Sopāra, 8 miles from Bombay), Kalyan (Calliena of the *Periplus*), Aegidii (Goa) and Chersonesus, identified with Karwar. From Karwar went cargoes of Muslins, pepper and cardamom. From this great port of the Sātavāhanas in Karnataka a number of lead coins of Chūṭukulānanda have been recovered.

Other important Sātavāhana settlements in Karnataka were Herakal, near Bagalkot and Vadagaon * near Belgaum. Numerous objects like bangle pieces, beads, tiles and pottery typical of the Sātavāhana period were collected by Dr. Panchamukhi, and are now in the Kannada Research Institute Museum, Dharwar.

* Some historians identify Satahani-hara or Satahani-ratta in the Bellary District. There is a possibility for the discovery of Satavahana sites in this area, if this identification is correct.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY OF KARNATAKA UNDER THE SATAVAHANAS

The Sātavāhanas, the Andhras, the Andhrabhṛityas, or the Sātakarṇis, as they are variously called, were a dynasty of kings ruling over the Deccan from 121 B.C. to 174 A.D. Simuka and Krishna, the first two kings of this dynasty, were the contemporaries of Asoka. After the disruption of the Mauryan Empire consequent on the death of Asoka, the Sātavāhanas became the masters of the Deccan and they were thus the successors to the Mauryas, with their capital at Paiṭhana or Pratishṭhāna on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District. The country to the south of the Vindhya up to the river Krishna and bounded by the seas on the east and west, which formed a part of the empire of Asoka, fell to the share of the Sātavāhanas. The present Bellary District was known as Sātavāhani-hara and formed a part of the Andhra kingdom according to the Myakadoni inscription (Bellary District) of Pulumāyi and according to the Hire Hadagali Plates, Banavāsi, or Vaijayanti, with the country around it, was a part of the Sātavāhana Empire whose 'Rājan' was the Hāritiputta Vinhukaḍa Chūṭu Kulānanda Sātakarṇi, perhaps a scion of the original dynasty. Some coins discovered at Chandravalli near Chitradurga in 1888, reveal the existence of another branch of the Sātakarṇis. The Mahārathi Sadakana Kalalāya was a viceroy of the Andhras at Chandravalli: one coin bearing the legend Rano Mudānandasa and another Rano Chūṭu Kulānandasa indicate that the region around Chandravalli was administered by some feudatories of the Andhras. Again, the Kolhapur coins have brought to light the names of the three princes, viz., Rāja Vaśishṭhiputra Villivāyakura, Rāja Māthariputra Sivalakura and Rāja Gautamiputra Villivāyakura. It is not clear whether these were merely local Governors or Viceroys of the Andhras. Whether they were members connected with the main dynasty is also uncertain. The southern frontier of the Sātavāhana kingdom was a line running through Kolhapur, Banavāsi and the Chitradurga areas. This was also roughly the southern boundary of the empire of Asoka. The Kannada country to the north of this line was known as the Kuntala country. The thirteenth king, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* list, was called Kuntala Svāti, who has been referred to as Kuntala Sātakarṇi by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras*. According to Dr. Fleet, the Kuntala country included "on the south Banavāsi in North Kanara, Balligāme and Harihara in the Shimoga District and Hampi (or Vijayanagara) in the Bellary District; to the north of these places Hānagal, Lakshmēśvar, Lakkunḍi and Gadag in the Dharwar District; further to the north, Belgaum, Soundatti, Manoli and Koṇṇur in the Belgaum District, and Paṭṭadakal and Aihole in the Bijapur District; and still more to the north, Terdal in the Sangli State, Bijapur itself and doubtless Kalyāṇi". By about the 12th century the Kuntala country became a synonym for Karnataka. It is clear from the above that the Kannada country above and immediately below the Tungabhadra formed a part of the dominion of the Sātavāhanas.

The materials available for a study of the religious and social conditions of the period are very meagre. The number of inscriptions available for this dynasty consisting of about 30 kings ruling for a period of about four and a half centuries is less than thirty. These form the main source of information for the political as well as the social history of the period. Professor Gurthy Venkata Rao, the latest scholar to write on the Sātavāhanas, says: "The cultural history of the period is no better documented than its political history. In fact, there is even less evidence here, for when we come to the study of the economic and social conditions, even the flickering and uncertain light of the puranic texts is lacking. Inscriptions, coins, and monuments are so few and far between that they hardly serve to furnish any details regarding the various aspects of the life of the people."

Indian society and her institutions generally do not exhibit any rapid or revolutionary changes. Such changes as have occurred are as a result of slow evolution from within. What obtained during the Mauryan times continued to exist with minor local adjustments during the Sātavāhana times also. The organisation of public administration was based on the teachings of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The conduct of the several institutions followed the precepts of the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra*. Aryan politics and social ideas and structure gradually and peacefully gained ground in the Deccan. In fact, its cultural history may be said to be a story of the progressive Aryanisation with absorption of local elements, which has continued through many centuries. This applies to the Kuntala part of the Sātavāhana Empire also. Though the Sātavāhana records which have come to light in this part of the country are very few in number, it may be assumed that the religious and social conditions obtaining in the western and eastern parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom were more or less prevalent in the Kuntala part also.

VEDIC RELIGION :

As a reaction to the popularity and patronage that Buddhism enjoyed during the Asokan period, a revival of the Vedic religion, or Brahminism, took place under the Sātavāhanas. Many kings of this dynasty were staunch followers of the Vedic religion but they patronised Buddhism and Jainism also, thus showing their breadth of outlook in matters of religion. [The Nānaghat inscription of Nāganika, Queen of Sātakarṇi II (184-125 B. C.) says that the king performed a number of sacrifices, about twenty in number, including the *Agnyadhēya*, *Rājasūya*, *Aptōryāma*, and that *Gavāmāyana*, *Aśvamēdha*, were performed twice. The sacrificial fee was sumptuous; it included a number of villages, milch cows, elephants, horses, silver pots and ornaments, chariots, money in cash (called *karshapaṇas*) and dresses. The number of cows given as fee was the highest at 11,000 and the number of *karshapaṇas* was 24,400. The same inscription, after an invocation to Dharma, praises Indra, Samkarshaṇa, and Vāsudēva, the descendants of Chandra, the Lōkapālas, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubēra and Vasava, thus showing that some of the Vedic gods like Indra and the epic Krishna, and his family were the objects of worship in the times of Sātakarṇi II, the Lord of Dakshināpatha.] A number of

personal names like Indradēva, Agnimitra, Mitradēva and Indrāgnidatta show that the Vedic gods whose names were adopted by men were held in high reverence. [Names like Gōpāla, Vishnusvāmin, Vishnudatta and Vishnupālita indicate the prevalence of Bhāgavata Dharma.] The *Gāthā-saptaśati* of Hala, a Sātavāhana king, opens with an adoration to Paśupati and his consort Gowri. The individual names like Śivadatta, Śivakadila, Kumāra and Skanda found in inscriptions show the existence of Śaivism during the Sātavāhana period. Temples to Gowri are mentioned and ash-covered, skull-bearing women ascetics called kāpālins are alluded to in the works of the period. The Maḷavaḷḷi pillar inscription of King Hāritīputta Vinhukada Chūṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi mentions a gift of some land to Kondamana of the Kounḍinya Gōtra as a brahmadēya gift for the enjoyment of the God of Malapali. These indicate that the Vedic religion was flourishing under the Sātavāhanas.

BUDDHISM :

Buddhism was, however, the most popular religion in the Deccan during the Sātavāhana regime. It received great homage and patronage from the kings, their officers, viceroys and other dignitaries and from the common people belonging to different professions and sections of society. It was during the Sātavāhana period that almost all the early caves of the Deccan were excavated and were dedicated to Buddhism. The caves were of two classes: one variety of it was called 'Chetiya-ghara', or temple which consisted of vaulted roofs and horse-shoe shaped windows above the entrance: the second kind was called 'layana' or 'lena', which was the place of residence for the Bikkhus or Buddhist monks. The 'layana' was a hall around which were a number of cells, each of which contained a stone bunk for the bikkhu to sleep upon. Each 'layana' dug out of solid rock was a cave to which was attached one or two rock-cut cisterns called 'podhi' for storing water. The 'layana' was a dwelling place of the Buddhist mendicants during the rainy season. It entailed much labour and expense to scoop out of solid rock these 'Chetiya-gharas' and 'layanas', and the general public, consisting of persons of all classes, willingly bore the expense. The public also made generous provision for the repair of these structures and for the maintenance of the resident bikkhus. Villages were made over for these purposes and every bikkhu was furnished with new robes, called 'chivaras', and a coin apiece. The expenses for these items were met by the annual interest which accrued on large sums of money invested in trade guilds in neighbouring towns. There were many sects among the Buddhist monks, and each was assigned a particular cave. The mother of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi allotted Cave No. 3 at Nāsik to the Bhadrāyanceya sect. To the Mahāsaṅghika sect belonged the cave at Karle and the Dharmōttareya sect owned at least one cave at Junnar. The monks freely moved about from place to place, and travelled by sea also, as is indicated by the caves existing on the side of the creeks at Chiplun, Mahad and Kuda. Women devotees vied with one another in making gifts to the Chetiyas, Vihāras and the Buddhist Sanghas. According to an analysis made by Dr. K. Gopalachari, of the nearly 145 epigraphs from

Amarāvati 72, out of 30 at Kuda 13, and out of the 29 from Nāsik 16 either record gifts by ladies or gifts in which ladies are associated. In the eastern Deccan also there were many Buddhist sects as revealed by the Amarāvati lithic records; the Chetika, the Andhaka, the Pubbasela, the Avara sela, the Ayira Utaipubhaha were some of the sects. “The stūpas small and big, the sacred Tree with the empty throne, the Footprints (*Pāduka*) of the great Teacher on a stool in front of the throne, the Trisūla emblem, the Dhammachakka on a pillar with an empty throne before it, the relics of the Buddha, and of the great teachers, the Swastikapattas, the Buddha or Nāgarāja with the snake hoods above the head, life-size statues of the Buddha and the Buddha preaching” were the objects of worship among the Buddhists. A verse in the *Gāthā-saptaśati* (4-8) describes a Bikkhu Sangha prostrating in obeisance at the feet of the Buddha. The Banavāsi inscription (Luder’s list 1186) mentions the gift of a Nāga, a tank (*taḍāga*) and a Vihāra by the Mahābhōji, the daughter of a Mahārāja. The earliest Buddhist relics of Western Deccan are in Kolhāpur and a stūpa there when excavated yielded a stone box, and a relic casket on whose lid an inscription in Mauryan characters is incised. It is evident that Buddhism was in a most flourishing condition in the Deccan under the Sātavahānas and that the Kuntala country, forming a part of their dominions, shared in that prosperity.

JAINISM :

There is not much evidence to indicate that Jainism enjoyed the same popularity and patronage under the Sātavāhanas as Buddhism and Brahminism did. Jaina epigraphs belonging to the Andhra period in the Deccan are very few. Jainism was flourishing in the countries round about the Andhra Empire in Mālava and Kalinga. The Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravēla, the king of Kalinga, opens with an invocation to the Arhantas and all Siddhas. He is reputed to have revived the meditation on the feet of Jina perhaps in a place called Pithuḍa, that had not been practised for a hundred and thirteen years. He brought back a Jaina image from the Nanda sovereign of Magadha who had taken it away from Pithuḍa long back. On the hills called Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa, there are many caves which were dug out for the residence of Jaina monks. Like the Buddhist caves these were known as ‘layana’ or ‘lena’.* The practice of constructing ‘layanas’ continued till a very late date. Chandragupta along with Bhadrabāhu is said to have migrated to Śrāvastī and left a colony of Jainas there; according to some Jaina stories this Chandragupta was Samprati Chandragupta ruling at Ujjain and a grandson of Asoka. A number of Jaina works in Prakrit and Sanskrit, probably belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, are available; their authors Bhūtabali, Pushpadanta, Umaśvati, Vattakēra, Samantabhadra,

* (..It is interesting to note that this word, ‘layana’, after undergoing some phonetic and probably semantic change has entered into the vocabulary of the Kannada language as *nayana*: It occurs thrice in the prose passage after verse 88 of Chapter II in the work called *Punyaśrava* by Nagaraja (1331 A.D.)

Sivakōṭi, Yati Vrishabha and others were reputed teachers of the Digambara school of Jainism prevalent in the Deccan and South India. Some of these teachers like Kundakunda and Samantabhadra were in the Kannada country ; according to Pandit Nathulal Premji, Vattakēra was a native of the town now called Beṭagēri in the Dharwar District.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS :

Aryan society under the Sātavāhanas continued to be divided into the traditional four classes of Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra, doing their customary duties and enjoying their respective privileges. The bulk of the people followed several professions of trade and agriculture. The names of a number of professions occur in the inscriptions of the period : dhannika (corn-dealer), mālakāra (garland-maker), kōlika (weaver), tilapisaka (oil-pressers), kāsakāra (brazier), kamāra (iron-worker), chammakāra (leather-worker), gadhika (perfumer), suvaṇakāra (goldsmith), maṇikāra (jeweller), miṭhika (stone-polisher), selavadhaki (stone-mason), vadhaki (carpenter), odayantrika (maker of hydraulic engines), dasaka (fisherman). Many of them were the laity of Buddhism and made many offerings and endowments to the Bikkhu Sangha and the Vihāras. All these names are of Sanskrit origin.

The official section of society consisted of several levels of authority. The Mahārathi and Mahābhōja were, perhaps, feudatory chieftains who owned the lands over which they ruled in hereditary succession. Women also held such high positions. The donor of the Banavāsi inscription was a Mahābhōji, daughter of a Mahārāja. The same epigraph mentions the minister (amācha) who was of a lower rank. The Mahāsēnāpati seems to have enjoyed the same status as that of a Mahārathi over perhaps a smaller stretch of territory.

The Myākadoni inscription mentions a Mahāsēnāpati, Khaṇḍanaka, who had his jurisdiction in the Sātavāhani-hara ; the Mahāsēnāpati was a chief of an 'ahara', a territorial division. The same inscription mentions one Kumāradatta under whom was the village Vepuraka ; he is called gāmika (gumika). The other official functionaries were the Mahātāraka (great chamberlain), the Bhāṇḍāgārika (store-keeper), the Hērānika (treasurer), the Mahāmātra (officer in charge of Buddhist monks), the Nibandhakāra (officer of registration of documents), the Pratihāras and Dūtakas who transmitted royal orders. Of these 'hērānika' is an interesting word : it is found as 'eraṇiga' in Kannada literature and inscriptions in the sense of a goldsmith.

There were many guilds or 'srenis' belonging to each professional class. In a Nāsik inscription 'kōlikanikāya' or śrēṇi (weavers' guild) is mentioned : in another epigraph in the same place the name 'kulakarika śrēṇi' (potters' guild) occurs ; in a Junnar record, the 'dhannika śrēṇi' (guild of corn-dealers) is indicated ; in another document the 'vasākara śrēṇi' (guild of bamboo workers) and the 'Kāsākāra śrēṇi' (guild of braziers) are mentioned. These guilds occupied an important place in the economic life of the country. The money endowed by the

people for the Buddhist and other religious institutions was accepted by these guilds as long-term deposits and the interest was being paid to the organisation for specific expenses mentioned in the deeds. It is said of these guilds : “The guilds must have been long standing and their operation characterised by honesty and fair dealing; for, otherwise, men would scarcely have made perpetual endowments with them. The deposits served as capital for the traders and encouraged them to engage in commercial enterprises.”

In the northern parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom there were many Yavana (Greek), Saka and Parthian settlers. They embraced the Buddhist or the Hindu religion and adopted its manners and customs; they called themselves by the names of Indian gods and goddesses; they merged themselves into Hindu society. This shows that the rigidity of the later caste system did not obtain in these days.

The joint family system appears to have been in vogue in some sections of society. Many inscriptions from Amarāvati record the gifts of persons in association with their wives, daughters, relatives, sons, brothers, grandsons and grand-daughters, as the case may be. Women enjoyed greater economic freedom than during later times; some of them owned big property. The costly gifts that they made to the Buddhist temples, the construction by them of ‘chettiyagharas’, and the donations that they made towards the preparation of finely sculptured rail-pillars, gate-ways and stūpa-slabs testify to the opulent conditions in which some women lived.

Men and women decorated themselves in a variety of ways. Women wore gold ear-rings, bracelets, bangles, and anklets and necklaces of many kinds made of pearls and gold-flowers, and coral beads and precious stones. Men also wore ornaments of gold; a twisted cloth served as a head-dress or turban. Both men and women dressed scantily. The sculptures at Amarāvati and other places throw a great deal of light on the dress of the people and the ways in which women used to tie their hair into several kinds of lovely knots.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE :

All the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas that have come to light so far are in the Prakrit language, which seems to have been the official language of the empire. Their inscriptions do not show any word or place name or personal name which can be definitely demonstrated to be Kannada or Telugu.

Evidences pointing to the existence of Kannada and Telugu languages for literary purposes before the fourth century A.D., are very scanty. All the place names and personal names occurring in the Sātavāhana inscriptions must be analysed and examined from this point of view; it is a work which has not yet been done. The word ‘Villivāyakūra’ of the Kolhāpur coins is, according to V. A. Smith, ‘probably either Telugu or Kanarese’: to the same category the name Pulumāyi may be added; Ptolemy (C. 150 A.D.), mentions a place name Pounnāṭe, famous for the beryl (vaiḍūrya) it produced; this is a corruption of the Kannada word Punnāṭa mentioned in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūra-

śarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty. The present Heggadaḍēvanakōṭe was then known as Punnāṭa. The word may be analysed into punala plus nāṭa, meaning the land of streams and rivers; the Tamil poem *Kaḷāvaḷi* of about the 6th century A. D., mentions a Chōla Chengaṇṇan as the Lord of Punalnāḍu (*I.A.*, XIII, p. 258-265). It can be shown that the place name Iśila occurring in the first line of the Brahmagiri edict of Asoka, wherein his 'mahāmātas' resided, is a Prakritization of the Kannada word *eśil* whose Tamil cognate is *eyil* meaning fort or fortified town; the name Eyilnāḍu (the land or forts and fortified towns) occurs in two Tamil inscriptions of the Kolar district of the Mysore State. (1) These instances testify to the existence of Kannada in 250 B. C., and later on during the Sātavāhana times also.

Prakrit literature was in a flourishing condition under the Sātavāhanas. The *Gāthā-saptaśati*, compiled by Hala, has come down to our times. This is an anthology of about 700 Prakrit verses culled from the works of a number of Prakrit poets. It has won the admiration and praise of generations of scholars and poets. This shows that there was a vast literature in Prakrit of the Mahārāshṭri type. The *Brihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, a work written in the Paiśachi Prakrit, was a production of the Sātavāhana period. In popularity and literary excellence it is classified along with the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Though the original work is now lost, the contents of it are preserved in the Sanskrit works of the poets Sōmadēva, Kshēmēndra, and Buddhasvāmin. The story of Udayana, which was a part of the work, is also available in Tamil. Sarvavarman, the author of the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* in Sanskrit, was a protege of a Sātavāhana king. It forms a distinct school of Sanskrit grammar and sets the model for the grammars of some of the cultivated Dravidian languages. A certain Nāgārjuna, who was a contemporary of a Sātavāhana king, was the author of a few works in Sanskrit. There can be no doubt that the Sātavāhanas were great patrons of literature and art. Some of the paintings at Ajanta, the Nāga image at Banavāsi, the Buddhist stūpas at Tagāranagara, the Tārā Bhagavati image at Balligāme, the ruined stūpa near Kolhāpur, all these are perhaps the only surviving relics of Sātavāhana art and architecture in the Kannada country.

(1) *Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, Chikballapur 20: dated Saka 1224 or 1302 A.D.

Elavur — nadu, Eyil — nadu, Tagadai — nadu etc.

Ibid. Kolar 111: dated 1027 A.D. on the outer wall of the Kolaramma Temple, Kolar.
Eyinattu = Eyil + nattu.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL HISTORY THE KADAMBAS

AFTER the Sātavāhanas the Kadambas of Banavāsi are of great importance in the early history of Karnataka and of South India. They played a prominent part from the fourth century A. D., to the middle of the sixth century. Some of the characteristic features of Karnataka culture in the realms of religion, art and literature owe a good deal to their patronage.

Banavāsi, on the western border of Mysore (Sorab Taluk), is of great antiquity. It is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as Vanavāsa. In the Buddhist works, it is said that Asoka sent Buddhist missionaries to Vanavāsa, and Aparānta on the west coast. Similarly, Buddhist influence was felt in the east of South India also. In the Prakrit inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries A.D., at Nāgārjunakonda, it is mentioned that pilgrims from Vanavāsa visited the Buddhist monasteries erected by the Ikshvāku rulers. Ptolemy in his *Geography* (2nd century A. D.) mentions Byzantion, which was the Greek name for Vaijayanti, another name for Banavāsi. Jinasēna in his *Mahapurāṇa* describes it as Vaijayanti Mahadvāra, conquered by Bharata. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, in his account of the itinerary of South India, mentions it as Kon-ki-napulo or Konkaṇapura, the city of Konkaṇ. He refers to the royal palace and many Buddhist monasteries in the place, though the main line of the Kadamba dynasty had ended a century earlier.

There are many legends in some later inscriptions and literature about the mythical origin of the Kadambas. For example, it is said that the epic hero Aśvatthāman prayed to Śiva and there was a shower of Kadamba flowers from which sprang a hero called Mukkaṇṇa Kaḍamba, or the three-eyed Kadamba, the ancestor of the Kadambas. But the real history of the Kadambas is given in the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of Kākusthavarman. On the west coast there had existed for a long time a family of orthodox Brahmins of the Mānavya Gōtra called Hāritīputras. Because of the Kadamba tree which grew near their house, the family acquired the name Kadamba. The Kadamba tree is associated with the worship of Lalita, who is called 'Kadamba Vanavāsini' (dwelling in the Vanavāsa or forest of Kadamba trees). So also god Śiva worshipped by the later Kadambas is called Madhukēśvara, or the deity of the 'Molua tree'. The Kadamba tree may have been the family's sacred totem. In early Tamil literature there is reference to a Tamilian king who defeated the Kadamba pirates on the west coast, and, after cutting down the Kadamba tree, made a war-drum out of

its trunk. It would be far fetched to derive the historical Kadambas from the Kurumbas or Kalabhras as suggested by some scholars.

After many generations had passed, there was born in this family of Brahmins, one Mayūraśarman. He had undergone a rigorous discipline according to the Dharma Śāstras and was strictly following the duties of his caste. Once, along with his teacher, Veeraśarman, he went to the Ghaṭika or University at Kānchi, the capital of the Pallavas. Mayūraśarman deeply resented the treatment accorded to him by certain officers in the Pallava Capital, and therefore he fled from Kānchi. Though of Brahminical origin he took to Kshatriya duties and even performed later the Aśwamēdha sacrifice. The hand that had until then been 'accustomed to the handling of Kuśa grass only took to the sword to chastise the arrogant Kshatriyas. He retreated to the inaccessible forest of Sreeparvata (near Kurnool) and he gathered round himself an armed band. Gradually, he levied tribute from the Bāṇas and other subordinates of the Pallavas. The enraged Pallavas sent an army against him. But Mayūraśarman 'swooped down like a falcon' on the Pallavas and dispersed them. The Pallavas then realised that peace was preferable to war, and with their own hands crowned Mayuraśarman as the ruler of the territory from the west coast to the Prehara (Malaprabha). At this period, the Pallavas were the overlords of the country from Prehara to the western sea. This territory was handed over by them to Mayūraśarman according to the Taḷagunda inscription. The Pallavas seem to have ruled in the Karnataka country before the advent of the Kadambas and the early Chālukyas.

An inscription at Chandravaḷḷi, near Chitradurga, mentions Mayūraśarmam (345-360 A. D.) as having constructed a tank there. According to one reading and interpretation of the inscription, Mayūraśarman is said to have conquered Śakasthana, Pariyatra, Maukhari in North India, and Sēṇḍraka Punnāṭa, and Pallava in South India, and Ṭrikūṭa, and Abhīras on the west coast. It is extremely doubtful whether he conquered provinces in North India. Nor are these victories mentioned in the later Kadamba inscriptions.

Mayūraśarman was succeeded by his son Konguṇivarman and his grandson Bhageeratha, each of whom ruled for 25 years.

The Kadambas now adopted the Kshatriya title of Varman. The names of Bhageeratha, Raghu and Kākustha show the influence of the *Ramayana* Kākusthavarman (425-450), brother of Raghu, was one of the most illustrious rulers in the fifth century. The Taḷagunda inscription says that he was a brave warrior as well as a great poet. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Gupta and other royal families. It is probable that Kumāragupta I, the son of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, was a son-in-law of Kākustha. The Āḷupa ruler of the west coast and Mādhava II of the Gangas of Taḷkad were also his sons-in-law. Once Kākustha went on a hunting expedition and arrived at Sthānakundur or Tāḷagunda (in the Shimoga District). It was a great centre of learning and the presiding deity of the place, Mahādeva called Praṇavēśvara, had been worshipped by the Sātavāhanas and other ancient kings. Kākustha constructed a tank, now

called Paṇavanakere, or the tank of Praṇāveśvara. His eldest son ordered that an inscription (about 450 A. D.) composed by the poet Kubja, should be engraved on a pillar and installed in the place.

Kākusthavarman in his old age seems to have abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Śāntivarman. But Śāntivarman is not mentioned in the Halmiḍi inscription (about 450 A. D.), which says that when Kākusthavarman was ruling, his grandson Mrigēśavarman, the son of Śāntivarman, was the governor of a district. It is highly probable that Śāntivarman, though crowned by his father, died after the Tāḷagunda inscription was engraved.

Kākustha had two younger sons, Kumāravarman (Māndhātā) and Krishnavarman. Krishnavarman was the Governor of Uchchangi and had allied himself with the Pallavas against his eldest brother and his son Mrigēśa. Therefore Kākustha seems to have resumed kingship until Mrigēśa was old enough to succeed at Banavāsi. The Kadamba kingdom was split between the Banavāsi branch, supported by the Gangas of Talakāḍ, and the Uchchangi branch supported by the Pallavas and the Gangas of the Parivi branch. The Pallavas took advantage of the feuds in the royal families of the Kadambas and the Gangas. Mrigēśavarman is said to have defeated the Pallavas and the Gangas. Kadamba Vishnuvarman of the Uchchangi branch was crowned by Pallava Śāntivarman. His son Simhavarman was also assisted by the Pallavas. Kadamba Ravivarman (500-538 A.D.), son of Mrigēśavarman, consolidated the Kadamba kingdom by defeating a Pallava Chaṇḍaṇḍa. He put an end to the Uchchangi branch of the Kadambas. He seems to have extended the Kadamba kingdom up to the Narmada river and Ajanta. Soon after his death, Pulikēśi I, his son Keertivarman I and his son Pulikēśi II successively defeated the Kadambas. The last king was Krishnavarman II (550-65 A. D.), the scion of a junior branch of the dynasty. But minor branches of the Kadambas, at Goa, Hānagal and other places, served as the feudatories of the later Karnataka dynasties down to the days of Vijayanagar.

The contribution of the Kadambas to Karnataka and Indian culture is of much significance. After the Sātavāhanas, the territory ruled by the Kadambas enjoyed political unity for nearly three centuries. The Kadambas were devout followers of the Vedic religion. The great Vedic tradition cherished by the founder Mayūraśarman was scrupulously maintained by them. One of their titles implied that they could recite and expound the Vedas. Both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism equally enjoyed their support. The Halmiḍi inscription has a beautiful invocation to Achyuta and to the Sudarśana Chakra which was like the fire of destruction to the evil-doers but a Sudarśana (or beautiful to behold) to the devotees. *Jayati śree Parishvanga Shārṅgamyānatirachyutah Dānāvakṣhṇō yugāntāgnihi Śiṣṭnānāntu Sudarśanah* (Victorious is Achyuta who is embraced by Śree but has the bow Sharṅga bent (ready for use), and is like the fire of destruction occurring at the end of the Yugas to the *dānavās* (demons) but is pleasing (is a defensive discus) to good people ”.)

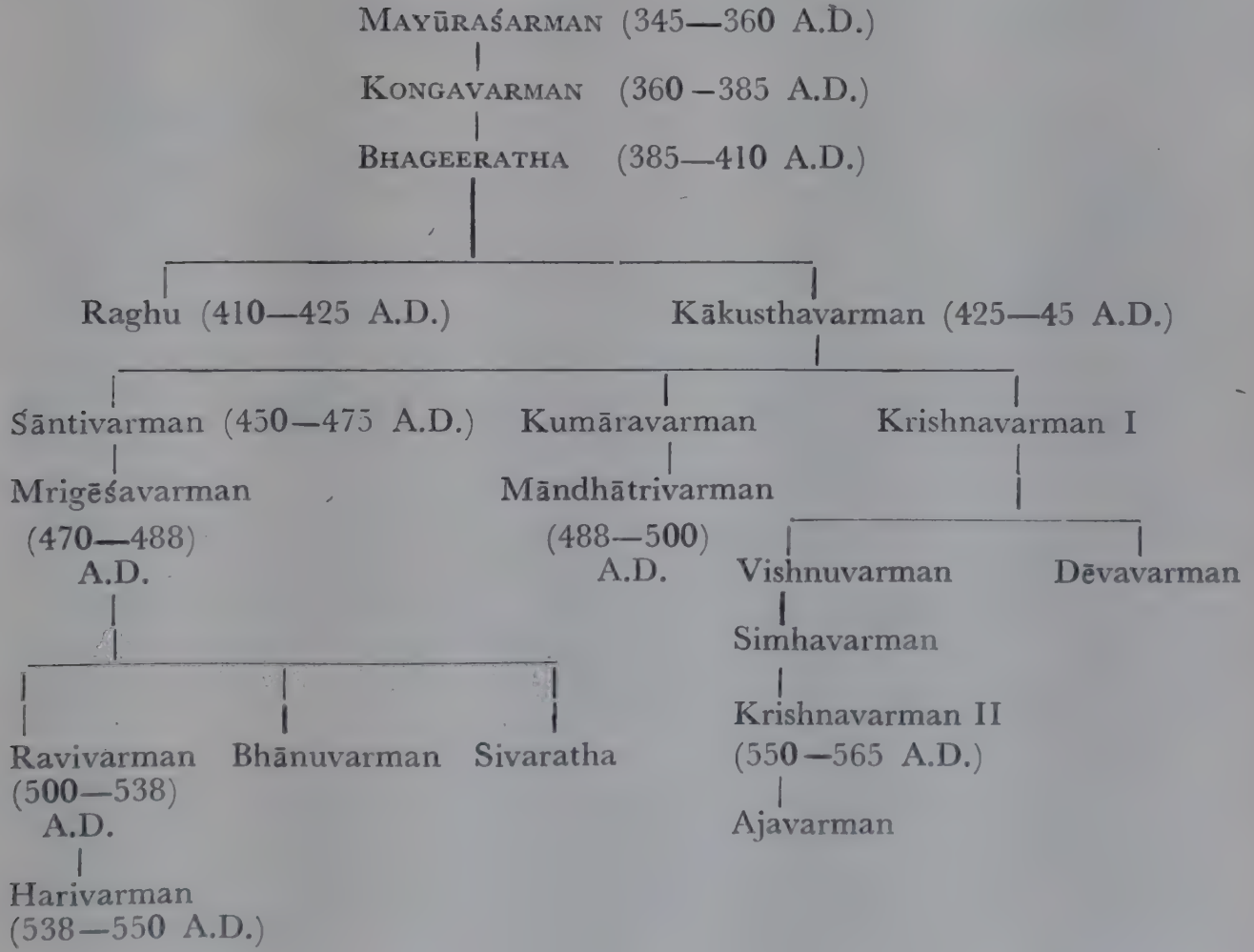
Jainism and Buddhism were also encouraged. Many grants were given to Jaina temples and to scholars at Hānagal, Puligere, etc. Pūjyapada, Niravadya Paṇḍita and other Jaina saints have been mentioned in the Kadamba grants.

Buddhism was also flourishing in the Kadamba kingdom, which included Ajanta and Banavāsi, two of the famous centres of Buddhism. Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century describes Konkaṇapura or Banavāsi as having about 100 Sanghārāmas with 10,000 priests of both Mahāyāna and Heenayāna. He refers to a monastery with a precious crown of Sarvārtha Siddha. Another monastery contained a sandalwood image of Maitrēya supposed to have miraculous powers. There were stūpas erected by Asoka containing the relics of Buddha and of saints like Arhat Śrutavimśatikōṭi.

Prākṛit also had the status of an official language during the early Kadamba times. But the Sanskrit language had been adopted by the Kadambas and was used in inscriptions by the time of Kākusthavarman. Mayūravarman's Chandra-vaṃṣi inscription is in Prākṛit but the Tāḷagunda inscription composed by the poet Kubja is in the champu style in Sanskrit. According to *Kuntalēśvara Daṭṭya*, Kālidāsa is said to have visited the court of the Kuntala king. Though this is taken by some scholars to refer to the Vākāṭaka court, it may be stated that Kuntala was also a part of Karnataka, and it can reasonably be inferred that Kālidāsa may have visited Banavāsi.

In architecture and sculpture, the Kadambas contributed several distinct features which laid the foundation of the later Chālukya-Hoysala style, called 'Vēsara' in the text-books on *Śilpa Śāstra*.

GENEALOGY OF THE KADAMBAS



THE GANGAS OF TALAKAD

(350 A.D. — 1050 A.D.)

The rise and fall of the dynasty of the Gangas constitute an important chapter of early Karnataka history. Looking back on the periods mentioned in legends and traditions, as well as the inscriptions of Nagārjunakonḍa, it may be inferred that the Ikshvāku dynasty ruled between the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era over portions of South India. The founders of the Ganga dynasty claimed to be descended from the Ikshvāku-vamśa and there may be some justification for this claim. The high lineage and character of the Ikshvāku dynasty are evident from the solicitude of the Chālukyas and the Gangas to negotiate matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvāku royal family.

The Kadamba-Vākāṭaka expansion, on the one hand, and the Salankāyanas, on the other, the and meteoric descent of Samudragupta on the south] subverting existing principalities, not only extinguished the Ikshvāku rule but created also a favourable opportunity for the powerful kings of the period to contemplate territorial aggrandisement. Daḍiga and Mādhava, who claimed to belong to the Ikshvāku dynasty, arrived at Perur and there met Jaina Āchārya Simhanandi, who interested himself in the history of these princes, gave them instructions and obtained for them a boon from the goddess Padmāvati confirmed by the gift of a sword, and the promise of a kingdom. Mādhava, it is said, struck with his sword a stone pillar, which fell in two pieces. Simhanandi recognised this as a good omen and made a crown from the petals of the karṇikāra blossoms and placed it on the heads of the brothers, and gave them his peacock fan as a banner. He impressed upon them the following counsel: "If you fail in what you promise, if you violate the Jaina *S'asana*, if you take the wife of others, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh, if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you flee in battle, your race will be no more."

The kingdom thus founded with the help of Simhanandi was named Gangavāḍi 96 thousand country. Its boundaries were, in the north, Marandale; in the south, the Kongu country; in the east, Tonḍaimaṇḍalam; in the west, the ocean in the direction of Chēra. The capital at the time of the foundation of the kingdom was Kuvalāla (modern Kolar). In later times, it was Talavanapura or Talakāḍ. The royal residence was fixed at Mankunda (to the west of Channapatna, Bangalore District) in the 7th century, and later at Mānyapura (Manne in the Bangalore District). The Madagajēndra was the Lānchhana or Crest (a lordly elephant in rut) and their banner was Pinchadhwaja, that is, the banner of peacock feathers. There seems to have been a considerable Jaina element in the population of Gangavāḍi. Simhanandi, who was the Āchārya of the Jaina community at that time, insisted that as a *sine qua non* for the people's acceptance of the faith, Daḍiga and Mādhava should lead the way and embrace Jainism.

THE GANGAS OF TALAKAD

The history and chronology of the early dynasty are highly controversial. There is no indubitable evidence to prove the continuous succession of the list of kings enumerated in the Copper Plates of the period. Epigraphical and monu-

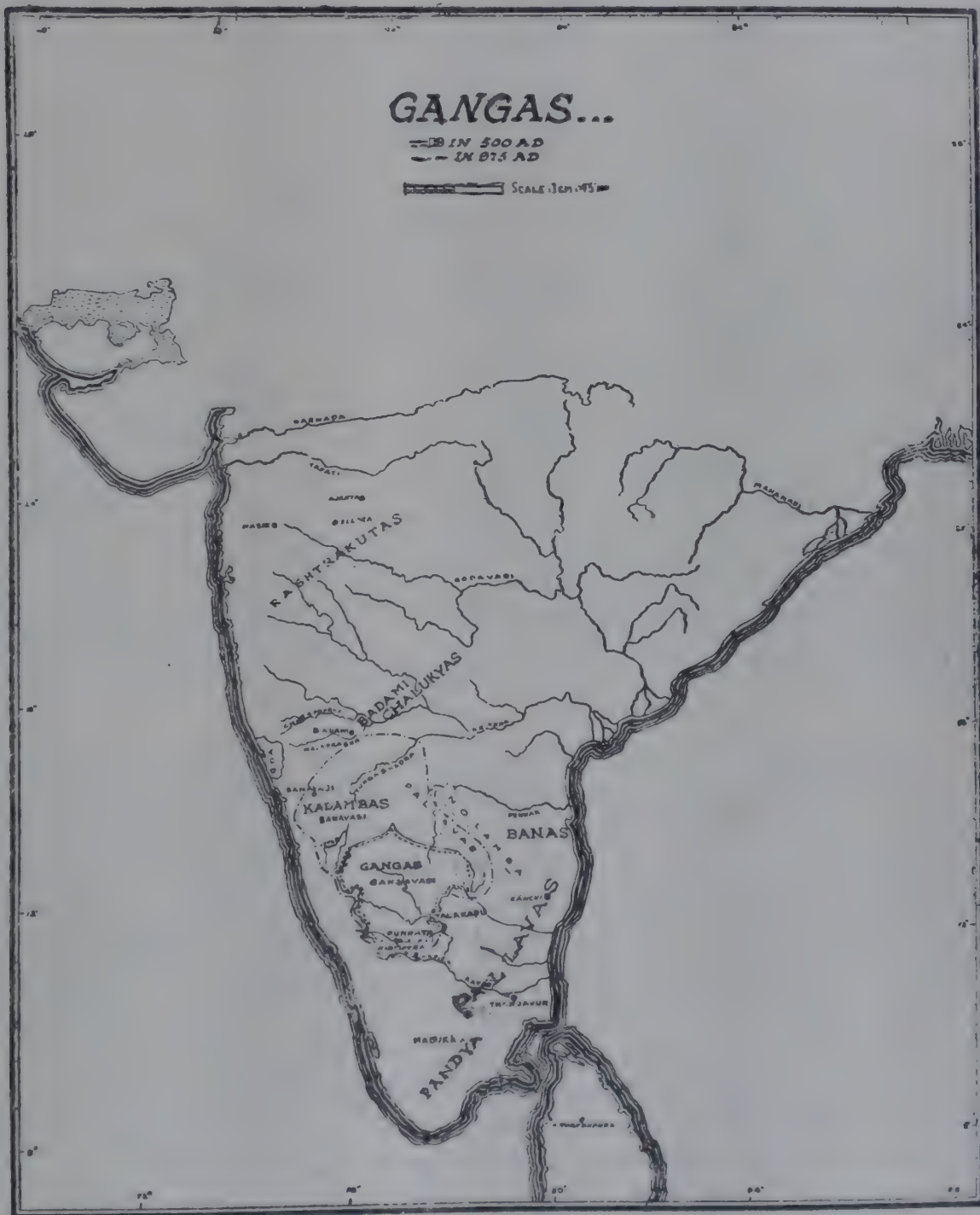


Figure 8

mental testimony, however, points to the existence of two main branches of the Gangas, namely the Gangas of Talakād, and the Gangas of Kalinga.

Dādiga, the founder of the dynasty, was also known as Konguṇivarma or Konkoṇivarman. The two brothers had to encounter the opposition of Bāṇa, or

Mahābali kings, east of the Pālār river. Another expedition was led against the Konkaṇ coast. Dāḍiga's son, Kiriya Mādhava, succeeded his father and assumed royal powers with the avowed object of promoting the happiness of the people. The Gangas attempted to follow the good traditions of old Hindu Kings: "Samyak prajāpālana mātṛādhigatārājya-prayōjanasya" (The protection obtained by all people is the measure of the usefulness of a kingdom) as set forth in their inscriptions. They seem to have been proficient in *Neetiśāstra*, in the Upanishads and in the sacred wisdom of the past. Though some of them professed Jainism, all were protectors of the religions prevailing in the land. After 435 A.D., Mādhava was followed by Harivarma, Vishnugōpa, and (Taḍangāla) Mādhava III, in order, till 500 A.D. The fifth and sixth centuries witnessed the attempt on the part of the Pallavas to perpetuate their authority in Kuntala and Kadamba-nāḍ, and keep these principalities in political subordination. There was a struggle for the maintenance of the over-lordship of Kuntala between the Pallavas and the Kadambas after 476 A.D. The Pallavas strengthened their influence under Simhavarma and Skandavarman Pallava, contemporaries of Kadamba Mrigēśa, Mandhātri and Ravivarman. The marriage of Taḍangāla Mādhava with a Kadamba princess and his installation on the throne by Skandavarman III provide strong evidence of the influence of Pallava power in Kuntala and Gangavāḍi during that period. These princes seem to have shown a distinct predilection for the worship of Vishnu, as seen in their eulogistic references to Vishnugōpa and others as *S'akratulya-parākrama Nārāyaṇa-charaṇānudhyāta*. (Having prowess like Indra, and ever contemplating on the feet of Nārāyaṇa).

The Kadamba prince, Krishnavarma II, gave his sister in marriage to Taḍangāla Mādhava with a view to strengthen his influence and resist the encroachments of the Pallava rulers. Avineeta, one of the most illustrious sovereigns of the Ganga dynasty, was born of this alliance. He married the daughter of Skandavarman of Punnnāṭa (South Mysore), with the capital at Kittur, on the bank of the river Kapini. Avineeta ruled for over 50 years (430-482 A.D.), and was spoken of as a prodigy of valour, unrivalled in managing elephants and in horsemanship and archery, and is described as a prince of unstinted liberality. He is described in inscriptions and Copper Plates as devoted to the protection of the country and maintaining Varṇāśramadharma. While he made grants to Jaina temples and fostered Jainism under the inspiration of his religious preceptor, Vijayakeerti, he was also devoted to the worship of Hara, for Plates mention him as *Haracharaṇāravinda praṇipāta*. (Falling down and offering obeisance to the lotus feet of Hara).

His son, Durvineeta, ruled during the latter half of the 6th century, and for a long period (582-622 A.D.). He was one of the most remarkable sovereigns of the early Ganga dynasty. This was a period which witnessed a widespread religious movement which sought to alter the rigidity of orthodoxy to a liberal catholicism of spirit. The political unity of the country which was broken up

into small principalities also offered opportunities for powerful and ambitious persons to develop schemes for empire-building. There was a long and bitter struggle of the Pallavas with the Kaṭabhras in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam: the Pallava overlordship over the Gangas and the Kadambas was asserted, and about this time a new branch of the Pallava dynasty was founded by Simhavishnu in the Pallava kingdom. The accession of this dynasty coincided with the rise of the Chālukyas and the beginning of hostilities between them.

The Pallavas pressed northwards, while the Chālukyas spread southwards to recover such areas as were exposed to attack from the southern powers. The Chālukyas and the Pallavas were thus both engaged in a policy of expansion and mutual hostility. Durvineeta allied himself with the Chālukyan prince, Vijayāditya, by giving him his daughter in marriage. With his aid Durvineeta destroyed the conspiracy of his step-brother who opposed his claims to the throne. The Pallavas supported the claim of Durvineeta's step-brother and fought the Chālukyas in the region of Kuntala. This war was long and unpredictable, when Jayasimha Vallabha Keertivarman, son of Vijayāditya, ascended the throne. Durvineeta vanquished Kāduveṭṭi of Kānchi who, in the earlier period, had carried on extensive and ruthless invasions into Chālukyan territory. The struggle with the Pallavas was carried on by Pulikēśin and his successors. Keertivarman, Mangaleeśa and his nephew Pulikēśin II. Durvineeta, perhaps a contemporary of all these early Chālukyan kings, aimed at the expansion of dominion in the south by the recovery of Kongunāḍ. His policy of aggression was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war at the close of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century in the Chālukyan dominions between Mangalēśa and Pulikēśin II. Mangaleeśa sent his nephew Pulikēśin into exile. But by his indomitable energy and political sagacity, Pulikēśin obtained the support of the Gangas and the Āḷupas, and through their support contested the throne with Mangaleeśa, who lost his life in one of these battles for succession.

Durvineeta captured Andari, Alatur (Coimbatore District) and other places, which considerably enhanced his prestige. He conquered Punnāṭa and established his rightful claim to rule over the territory, as his mother Jyēshṭha was the heiress to the kingdom of Punnāṭa as the only daughter of Skandavarman, the ruler of that kingdom.

Durvineeta was not only a great soldier and conqueror but also a great scholar and patron of learning. He was adorned with the titles, among others, of 'Avineeta Sthira Prajvala', 'Aneeta', 'Vineeta' and 'Arinripa Nirvineeta', and he is described in the inscriptions as an abode of matchless strength, prowess, glory, learning and magnanimity. In the Manne grant of Rājamalla I, he is described as Yudhishṭira in virtuous conduct and an expert in the theory and practice of politics. The *Avanti-Sundari-Kathāsāra* mentions in its introductory chapters that Bhāravi, the celebrated Sanskrit poet, stayed for some time in the court of Durvineeta, and he was a contemporary of the East Chālukyan King Vishnuvardhana I, and Simhavishnu, the Pallava king of Kānchi. The story, which is by Daṇḍin, establishes the contemporaneity of Simhavishnu, Vishnuvardhana and

Durvineeta and the poet Bhāravi. Durvineeta appears to have written a commentary on the 15th Śarga (canto) of Bhāravi's Sanskrit poem *Kirātārjuneeya*. Pūjyapāda, the celebrated Jaina grammarian, was his tutor. Some inscriptions make Durvineeta himself the author of *Sabdāvatāra*. Durvineeta is said to have made a Sanskrit version of *Brihalkathā* written in the Paisāchi dialect. He wrote in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, and is mentioned in Nripatunga's *Kavirājamārga* as one of the distinguished Kannada writers. He is, thus, one of the greatest of south Indian monarchs of the early part of the 7th century, or the last years of the 6th century.

Durvineeta was succeeded by his son Mushkarā, sometimes also known as Kāntāvineeta. He married a daughter of Sindhu Rāja and extended the Ganga kingdom in the direction of Bellary and Dharwar. Srivikrama, his son by the Sindhu princess, ruled for a short period and in turn was succeeded by Bhūvikrama and Sivamāra. During the long rule of Bhūvikrama (627-670 A. D.), the Kadambas made encroachments upon Ganga territory, and the Chālukyas, who were invading the south, subdued the Kadambas and came in contact with the Gangas. Bhūvikrama was the contemporary of Pulikēśin II and his rule witnessed Pallava-Chālukya conflicts which were to continue unceasingly for over a century and a half.

Pulikēśin in the earlier stages of the struggle encountered Mahēndravarma Pallāva and defeated him. Bhūvikrama appears to have played an important part in this campaign. The expedition that Pulikēśin led in the last years of his reign was repulsed with heavy losses by Narasimhavarman, who led a counter invasion into the Chālukyan territory, defeated Pulikēśin in a series of battles at Maṇimangala, Parivala, Surmara, and captured Vātāpi and killed Pulikēśin in battle. Gangavāḍi was harassed by the invading armies of the Pallavas, though very little is known about the share of Bhūvikrama in this conflict and the attempts he made to checkmate Pallava aggression. Continued hostility against the Pallavas was the avowed policy of the Ganga kings as it was of the Chālukyas; and Bhūvikrama appears to have fought several battles with Narasimhapōtavarma, the Pallava King, at Vilinda and other places and acquired the title of 'Śrivallabha' and 'Dugga'.

Sivamāra (670-726 A. D.), brother of Bhūvikrama, was the next ruler of the Gangas. His reign witnessed a Pallava invasion, but Sivamāra energetically maintained his position. Though Chālukyan records describe Vinayāditya as the overlord of the Gangas, the Gangas never admitted the claim. Modest in behaviour, Sivamāra was famous as 'Avani Mahēndra', 'Śiṣṭhapriyah' and 'Navakāma'.

One of the most distinguished rulers of this dynasty was Sreepurusha, grandson of Sivamāra. The country attained a height of prosperity which it had never reached before. He had ruled before he came to the throne under the personal name of Muttarasa, as 'Prithivi Kongāṇi', over Kerekunda 300, Eḷenagarnāḍ, 70, Avanyanāḍ 300, Ponkunda 12, different provinces to the east of Gangavāḍi and contiguous with the kingdom of the Bāṇas who were hostile to the Gangas. From his succession in 726 A. D., till his death about 789 A. D., he

had to confront the gradual and inevitable encroachments of the Raṭṭas and of the Pallavas. The Chālukyas had already developed power in the south till the fringes of their country became co-terminous with those of the Gangas. Likewise, Nandivarman Pallava had launched upon a career of ceaseless conquests, and had attempted to strengthen the north-western frontier of his kingdom which abutted on the Chālukyan territory. Śreepurusha came in conflict with Nandivarman Pallava for the overlordship of the Kongu territory in the south.

The Pāṇḍyas were waging constant wars with Nandivarman for the overlordship of Kongu territory and for reinstating the legitimate claimant, Chitramaya, on the Kongu throne. The establishment of the alien power in Kongunāḍ on the fringes of Gangavāḍi, which was regarded by the Chālukyas as their feudatory state, provoked another Chālukyan invasion. While Nandivarman was establishing peace in Kongunāḍ, Chālukya Vikramāditya II invaded Kānchi and, after a temporary military occupation, returned triumphant to his own country. To avenge this insult done to the Pallavas, Nandivarman conciliated the Gangas and the Pāṇḍyas. As a leader of a powerful confederacy of all the southern powers, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon Chālukya Keertivarman II. A feudatory of Keertivarman, Dantidurga, gained considerable influence by a matrimonial alliance with Nandivarman Pallava. Rājasimha Māravarman Pāṇḍya gained sudden ascendancy in Pallava territory, and in order to consolidate his newly acquired power and to frustrate the designs, Nandivarman contemplated a matrimonial alliance with the Ganga dynasty. It is probable that Śreepurusha's daughter by the Māḷava princess known as Konarka was given in marriage to the Pāṇḍyan prince, Jaṭila Parāntaka, who was the son and successor of Rājasimha on the Pāṇḍyan throne.

The Chālukya-Pallava struggle, the Pāṇḍya-Pallava conflict and the Pallava-Rāshtrakūṭa wars of aggression during this period involved the Gangas and other minor feudatories in a series of unending wars. Nandivarman seems to have launched an attack into the Ganga country and to have taken away the neck-ornament which contained a gem called 'Ugrōdaya'. Siyagalla, son of Śreepurusha, and general and governor of Keśumaṇṇunāḍ, distinguished himself in the wars and defeated the Pallavas at Vilande. Śreepurusha, likewise, slew the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi and took away from him the titles 'Permānaḍi' and 'Bheema Kōpa'. He had to encounter during the latter half of his reign the aggressions of the Rāshtrakūṭas, who pressed towards the south by the middle of the eighth century and made themselves masters of the Deccan.

The chief objective of the Rāshtrakūṭas was the establishment of their supremacy over the territories which were formerly held by the Chālukyas. From 760 A. D., till the close of his reign, Śreepurusha had to combat the aggressive wars of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The apprehension of danger from the Rāshtrakūṭas might have been the motive for transference of the capital from Mānkunda to Mānyapura (or Manne, Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore District). Fierce wars were fought between Śreepurusha and Krishna I Rāshtrakūṭa, otherwise known as Kannarasa Ballaha. The Talegaon Plates of Krishna issued from Manne

indicate that Rāshtrakūta hegemony had been established over Gangavāḍi. The last years of Sreepurusha's reign must have been dark owing to the changing fortunes which Gangavāḍi was undergoing as a result of the long-drawn and incessant wars with the Pallavas, the Rāshtrakūtas and the Chālukyas.

Sreepurusha was a great authority on elephants and he wrote a treatise called *Gajāsāstra*. He was learned and a great patron of learning. In the last years of his life he assumed the imperial title 'Kongāṇi Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara Sreepurusha'. He had several sons by two queens Vineyeṭṭin-Immaḍi and Vijaya Mahādēvi of the Chālukyan family. Sivamāra, the eldest son of the king, was governing Kadambur and Kuṇingalnāḍ at the time of his father's death. Vijayāditya, the son of Vijayamahādēvi, was the governor of Keragōḍunāḍu and Asandināḍ. Duggamāra was the Viceroy of Kuvaḷālanāḍ, Beḷatūrnāḍ and Pulavakināḍ. Siyagalla, the youngest son of Sreepurusha, did not survive his father to contest the throne with his brothers.

Sivamāra, the eldest son of Sreepurusha, who came to the throne in 788 A. D., had to contend with his younger brother Duggamāra. Singapōta, the Noḷamba king and a feudatory of Sivamāra brought his forces against Duggamāra and quelled the rebellion. Sivamāra's reign was marked by many reverses of fortune and the kingdom came to be subjected to calamities which even threatened the extinction of the dynasty altogether. The troubles arose from the Rāshtrakūtas in whose kingdom there was a violent internecine struggle between Gōvinda and Dhruva. The latter over-powered his elder brother and resorted to chastisement of all his southern neighbours who had openly espoused the cause of his brother in securing the throne. Sivamāra, the most impetuous among them, was seized and confined in a Rāshtrakūta prison. As a result of the conflict between Gōvinda, (later Gōvinda III) the son of Dhruva, chosen by him as Yuvarāja, and Kambha, Dhruva's eldest son, in their claims for paramount sovereignty of the Raṭṭas in the Deccan, Kambha was given Gangavāḍi as a conciliatory measure; and Kambha (Raṇāvalōka Kambiah) ruled Gangavāḍi as a Viceroy, till the death of his father. When his younger brother Gōvinda ascended the Rāshtrakūta throne after his father's death in 794 A. D., Kambiah formed a formidable confederacy of twelve kings to gain the throne, to which he had a legitimate claim, and rebelled against his brother.

Dictated by reasons of policy, Gōvinda III released Sivamāra from prison and sent him back to his own country, probably with the intention of creating a rival against his brother who was governing Gangavāḍi, which was the patrimony of the released prince. Foreseeing that a fratricidal struggle was imminent, Sivamāra assumed imperial titles soon after his release, and joined the side of Kambha. Sivamāra, made a victorious attack on the Rāshtrakūta army composed also of Chālukya and Haihaya troops who had encamped at Mudugundūr, Mandya Taluk, but was unable to hold long against his formidable adversary. For this act of insubordination, he was taken prisoner again. Gōvinda III, a great soldier and a skilful general, won over all his brother's adherents by a policy of conciliation and easily suppressed this rebellion and generously restored the sovereignty of Ganga-

vāḍi to Sivamāra, both Govinda and the Pallava King Nandivarma placing the diadem on his brow with their own hands. Sivamāra continued to be a loyal feudatory to the Rāshtrakūṭa king.

The wheel of fortune brought good luck once again to Sivamāra. Gōvinda III (792-814 A.D.) was in need of allies to help him to consolidate his newly acquired position and wished to put down the Eastern Chālukyas.

After his restoration, Sivamāra's attention was engrossed in hostility against Bālavarman who had lately alienated himself from Chālukyan authority. He then successfully waged a long and sanguinary war till 808 A.D., in combination with Gōvinda, his over-lord, against the Eastern Chālukya sovereign, Narēndra Mriga Rāja Vijayāditya II, who is described in Plates and inscriptions as having fought 108 battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rāshtrakūṭas for a period of over 12 years.

It was during this period of incessant warfare, Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda transferred his capital from Achalāpura, Ellora and Mayūrkhanda to Mānyakhēṭa, a place of great strategical importance, in order that he might successfully encounter the Eastern Chālukyas. A formidable confederacy was formed sometime later of Ganga, Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kānchi princes against Gōvinda while he was fighting in northern India. Consequently, immediately after his return, Gōvinda made great preparations for the invasion of Gangavāḍi in 808 A.D., appeared on its plains, halted for a time at Śreebhavana (identified as Kavledurga, Chitradurga District), and later inflicted a heavy defeat on the confederate army, in which several members of the Ganga army and the royal family perished. The Sangam Plates of Amōghavarsha are silent about Sivamāra's part in this momentous campaign of Gōvinda. The last years of Sivamāra's reign appear to have been utterly dark, but all inscriptions relate in somewhat realistic fashion that his anger in battles drove hostile kings in a moment into the mouth of Yama, horrid to behold, filled with burning entrails, blood and flesh, and as such he was appropriately styled 'Bheema Kōpa'. His energy manifested itself not only in plans of war and conquest but also in literary and cultural pursuits. He built a Jaina temple at Kummadavada, a place of his confinement during his exile, and built also several basadis at Śrāvaṇabeḷagoḷa and other places. Inscriptions extol him as the bulwark of Jaina dharma and speak of his lavish gifts to the numerous Brahmin temples and other institutions. He was unquestionably one of the ablest kings of the period. Inscriptions record that nature had endowed him with a beautiful form 'surpassing that of Cupid' (Manmatha), a marvellous memory, a keen and penetrating intellect and enormous capacity for assimilating all kinds of knowledge. The grants of Mārasimha describe him as a profoundly learned scholar with a passion for culture and a gift for poetry and as being equally at home in logic, philosophy, grammar and other sciences, and also skilled in all matters connected with the stage and the drama. The records note that the most practised rhetoricians found it difficult to rival the brilliance of his imagination. His *Gajaśataka* in Kannada, of which he is said to have been the author, is considered to be a composition of considerable literary merit. He was also the

author of a work called *Sētubandhana*. Not only was he an expert in the art of elephant training but he was also an authority on the management of horses and in the science of archery. He was reputed to have mastered the difficult *Phanisūtamata* and the *Yōgaśātra* of Patanjali after a long and profound study.

The Ganga kingdom seems to have been partitioned after Śivamāra's death, between Śivamāra's son Mārasimha and Vijayāditya, the brother of Śivamāra with a view to secure stability. Mārasimha Yerayappa, with the title of 'Lōka Trinētrā', claimed to represent the Ganga rule during his father's detention as a prisoner. But the great vicissitudes in the fortunes of the royal family during Śivamāra's sovereignty, might have necessitated virtual partition of the kingdom between Mārasimha and Vijayāditya's son, Rājamalla. Dinḍiga, one of the younger brothers of Mārasimha, ruled with the pompous title of 'Prithivipati' or 'Pilduvipati'. He was also called Hastimalla (a fighter against elephants). He was a great patron of Jainism. Afterwards, having joined the Pallavas, he fought against the Pāṇḍyas. The Pallava king, Aparājita, checkmated the growing aggression of the Pāṇḍyan king. Āditya Chōḷa, who assisted the Pallava king against the Pāṇḍyas, got a part of the Pallava dominions as a reward. The last ruler Prithivipati II played a part in the Pallava struggle. He gained the support of the Chōḷa king, Veeranārāyaṇa, the great Parāntaka I. Later, the kingdom was invaded by Nolamba Polaveera, which might have led Prithivipati to ally himself with Ganga Rājamalla III and accept him subsequently as his overlord.

Rājamalla, son of Vijayāditya, succeeded in 818 A.D. He had to wage wars against the Rāshtrakūṭas. The conditions in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom, the disloyalty of ministers, the insubordination of feudal chiefs and their declaration of independence, attempts to bring about the disintegration of Rāshtrakūṭa suzerainty by powerful neighbouring princes, all these paved the way for him to recover the territory lost by Śivamāra. Rājamalla freed the kingdom from Rāshtrakūṭa rule.

Rājamalla was a brave and intelligent ruler, and of righteous conduct. His son and successor, Neetimārga (837-870 A.D.), continued the policy of his father in retrieving the lost glory of Gangavāḍi and bringing all lost dominions once again under the Ganga banner. Successfully he fought the wars with the Bāṇas. He also inflicted a heavy and crushing defeat on the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler. Amōghavarsha, giving up his animosity in favour of an alliance, gave his daughter to Būtuga, the Ganga Yuvarāja. Neetimārga professed the Jaina faith. He was a great statesman and administrator and was liberal in his patronage of art and literature.

Rājamalla Satyavākya II, the son of Neetimārga, as soon as he came to the throne (870 A.D.), had to contend with the Chālukyas of Vengi (the Eastern Chālukyas). Būtuga, the Yuvarāja, and his brother also played an important part in these wars. He also extended his influence in the Kongu territory. The Kuḍlūr and Keregōḍu Rangapura Plates describe him as a harasser of the Pallava

family by his prowess. He defeated the invincible Rājarāja, probably a Chōḷa prince. He carried on wars against the Pāṇḍyan king Śreemāra, in conjunction with the Pallavas, the Chōḷas, the Kaṭṭingās and the Māgadhas, but suffered great losses. Afterwards he assisted his nephew and son of the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Sankha, Nripatunga Varman, against Śreemāra.

After the death of Būtuga in the field of battle, Ereganga or Ereyappa, his son by the Rāshtrakūṭa princess, became Yuvarāja (887 A.D.) and was associated with his uncle Satyavākya in the governance of the kingdom.

Neetimārga II Ereyappa ascended the throne in about 907 A.D., and began a career of conquest and consolidation. But the Gangas in spite of the great efforts to maintain their independence, under the leadership of Neetimārga and Rājamalla, had virtually become the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas by Amōghavarsha's matrimonial policy.

Another great adversary of Ereyappa was Mahēndra, the son of Noḷambādhirāja Polālchōra and Jayabbe, the Ganga princess, who asserted his independence and challenged Ganga overlordship. He destroyed the Bāṇas and extended his kingdom and annexed territory as far as Dharmapuri and Kānchi. Neetimārga ultimately defeated and killed Mahēndra and earned the title 'Mahēndrāntaka'. Incidentally, a veergal (hero-stone) of this period mentions 'Bengaluru' (about 890 A. D.), and establishes the antiquity of Bangalore.

Neetimārga II, like his father, was a great warrior. The Kūḍlūr Plates of Mārasimha speak of him as a great soldier, fearless in battle, a Bharata in the arts of singing and dancing, and an authority on grammar and politics. He was assisted by a band of noble and devoted ministers. Narasimhadēva, one of Neetimārga II's sons, was equally noted for his valour and administrative ability. But his reign was brief and he was succeeded by his younger brother, Rājamalla III, who came to the throne in 920 A. D., and ruled till 937 A. D. During his reign the war with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas was continued.

Rājamalla II was succeeded by Būtuga II. Būtuga's career, full of strenuous activity extending over a period of twenty years, is almost unique in the annals of Gangavāḍi. He was successor to and a brother of Rājamalla II and is celebrated in history as Ganga Gāngeya and Nanniya Ganga. He pursued a consistently friendly policy with the Rāshtrakūṭas cemented by dynastic marriages. He helped Krishna III, the Rāshtrakūṭa king, and assisted in the repudiation of Lalliya, a usurper, and in the reorganisation of the empire. Būtuga assisted by Krishna III followed up this victory by the occupation of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, and took Kānchi, Tanjore and Nalkōṭe under his possession.

Like his illustrious predecessors, Būtuga also followed the policy of liberal administration and was well-versed in Jaina philosophy. His successor on the throne was his son Mārasimha, celebrated in the history of Gangavāḍi, as Guṭṭiya Ganga and Noḷambāntaka. His reign appears to have been literally crowded with military engagements, sieges and invasions. Subsequently, he was employed by Krishna III to command an expedition to Gujarat to protect the Kalachuris from

an attack by the Gūjaras. After this success Mārasimha came to be known as 'Gūjarādhirāja'. Inscriptions state that Mārasimha also defeated Vajjala, the youngest brother of Pāṭāḷamalla, and that he captured all the possessions including jewels and elephants of the ruler of the Banavāsi country. These facts testify to Mārasimha's loyalty and devotion as a feudatory and as a great bulwark of the Rāshtrakūṭa hegemony of the Deccan. Mārasimha declared war and defeated Rājāditya, the Chōḷa prince, and took from him the hill fortress Uchchangi. He fought many battles and suppressed the truculence of several petty chieftains. The conditions that followed after the death of Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III in 966 A. D. were very unfavourable for the maintenance for the integrity of Rāshtrakūṭa power. Out of this great empire which Krishna had sedulously built up with the powerful aid of Būtuga and Mārasimha, several principalities, not knit together by any principle of unity or cohesion, came into existence and asserted their independence. It was only for a period of eight years after Krishna's death that his successor, with the indefatigable support of Mārasimha, could maintain his paramountcy. Afterwards the Paramāras and the Chēdis in the north developed their power. The Śilāhāras of Konkaṇ, the Raṭṭas of Soundatti, and the Yādavas established their independence. This weak succession of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty provided favourable opportunity for the ambitious designs of Taila II, a scion of the old Chālukyan stock. The disintegration of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions, consequently, was a source of serious embarrassment to Mārasimha as he had always depended for the development of his power on Rāshtrakūṭa alliance.

The Noḷamba descendants of the great Mahēndra I fought against Mārasimha but he destroyed the Noḷamba army and earned the distinctive title of 'Noḷambakulāntaka'.

But his work did not endure. In his scheme, consolidation did not keep pace with conquest and that is why the mighty fabric he had built up crumbled to pieces in an incredibly short time in the hands of weak successors.

One Pāñchālādēva, a governor of a circle of villages, asserted independence on the death of Mārasimha in 974 A. D., and declared himself as king. But Chāvunḍarāya, the Ganga minister, defeated all the rivals and removed obstacles in the way of Rājamalla IV ascending the throne.

Chāvunḍarāya distinguished himself by his great and honest service to the State with a devotion which has no parallel in the history of the Ganga dynasty. He frustrated the designs of the usurpers after the death of Mārasimha. He waged unending wars against hostile neighbours, chiefs, and feudatories. Though a great warrior and statesman, he loved scholarship and was well-versed in logic, grammar, mathematics, medicine and literature. He was a devout Jaina, and wrote the *Chāvunḍarāya Purāṇa*. He set up the colossal image of Gommaṭeśvara at Śrāvaṇabelagoḷa in 983 A. D.

After the death of Rājamalla IV, his brother, Rakkasa Ganga, ascended the throne in 985 A. D. The first few years of his reign were peaceful when he devoted his time to performing works of merit. He ruled from 985 to 1024 A.D., first as an independent sovereign, and later on as a feudatory of the Chōḷas, acknowledging

their suzerainty ; for with the death of Chāvundarāya departed the cohesion and power of the Ganga kingdom.

The Ganga sovereign had to contend after 990 A. D., with formidable powers, as the Chōḷas and the Chālukyas began to aim at territorial aggrandisement. Unlike the Pallavas and the Rāshtrakūṭas who established a normal overlordship, the Chōḷas contemplated the entire subjugation of Gangavāḍi. Rajēndra Chōḷa, in 1004, A. D. succeeded in capturing Talakāḍ and extinguishing Ganga sovereignty.

Despite this systematic attempt at the annihilation of Ganga power, the Gangas did not disappear from history. Later on, they entered into matrimonial alliances with the Chālukyas. They were in authority in the Kolar District during Chōḷa occupation. One of the Ganga Rājas assumed independence and established a small principality at Śivasamudram, but later on it was submerged in the kingdom of Śreeranga Rāja of Talakāḍ.



MINOR DYNASTIES

THE BANAS

The Bāṇas, also known as Mahāvalis, were an ancient family who ruled over the 'seven and a half lakh' country west of Āndhramanḍala to the east of Mysore. Several of their inscriptions are found in this region, especially in Mulbāgal Taluk (Kolar District). Their kingdom was evidently to the east and north of the Pālār river. Starting as a political power in the early centuries of the Christian era, they continued to play a considerable part in political history during the period of their long and chequered career till about the 10th century. They were feudatories of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, and changed their masters (1) as often as the political exigencies demanded. They swore allegiance successively to the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ and the Pallavas of Kānchi. They were conquered by the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I (907-963 A.D.), and subsequently a branch of the Bāṇas migrated to the north and established a kingdom in the Andhra country and outside the northern boundary of the Chōḷa Empire. Another branch accepted the overlordship of the Chōḷas and served them as distinguished officers of government. With the decline of the Chōḷa power and the revival of the Pāṇdyas they transferred their allegiance to them. Sometime later the Bāṇas were the feudatories of the early Vijayanagar rulers. Though the Bāṇas had a comparatively long history they never rose to the position of overlordship at any time in the country.

The Bāṇas trace their descent from Mahābali, (2) (son of Virōchana and grandson of Prahlāda) whom Vishnu, in His incarnation as Vāmana, pushed down into Pātāla (the netherworld) according to the well-known Puranic story.

The oldest Mahāvali inscription dated 339 A.D., is found at Mudanūr (Mulbāgal Taluk); but there are references to the Bāṇa dynasty in the old Tamil classics, *Ṣilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*. Inscriptions found in the Kolar District contain references to a place described as Vānapuram or Bānapuram, situated in Perumbānappāḍi, or the great Bāṇa country. (3) There are statements that the early Kadamba outlaw of Sreeparvata levied tribute from the great Bāṇa; that the first Ganga king conquered the Bāṇa country; that the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I, ruling in the seventh century, subdued Rājamalla of the Mahāvali family; and that the Chōḷa king Veeranārāyaṇa uprooted the Bāṇas about the end of the ninth century, and that they were restored soon after to the throne by Hastimalla Ganga. (4)

From the occurrence of their inscriptions and their contacts with many of their contemporary political powers, it appears that during the period of their early history, the Bāṇas were a small tribe of people living in a small area in the southern reaches of the Deccan, viz., the region of Pudali, Pudalnāḍ Vishaya or Mahāvishaya, which comprised Chintāmaṇi, Sreenivāsāpur, Mulbāgal and Kolar Taluks, Marukara Vishaya (5) (Gubbi Taluk) and Kaivāra Vishaya (6) (Siddalaghatta

and Chintāmani Taluks). Their territory extended in the east as far as the Sreeparvata Hills (Kurnool District) and in the south-east as far as the western part of the Chittoor District. As the kingdom of the Bāṇas was inaccessible on account of the Eastern Ghats and the plateau of Mysore which was full of forests and barren rocks, there is no mention of the Bāṇa country in the *Indica* of Megasthenes or in the Edicts of Asoka. Perumbanappāḍi in the Tamil inscriptions is the Tamil equivalent of the term 'Brihad Bāṇa' mentioned in the Taḷgunda inscription of Kadamba king Kākusthavarman. (7) It was also known as Vaḍugavalli 1200: 'Vaḍugavalli mēṛku' meaning the same thing as 'Uttara-Paschimatah' (8) in Sanskrit. All of them are taken to mean 'the land to the west of the Andhra road of the country called 'Āndhrapatha'. (9)

The Bāṇas were first the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas and the early Pallavas. But with the expansion of the Chālukyan power in the south in the seventh century, the Bāṇas were forced to move further down. Pariyapuri, or Parigipura, is said to have been the original capital of the Bāṇas. The place has been identified with Parigi in the Anantapur Taluk. (10) The power of the Bāṇas extended as far as the South Arcot District as borne out by a Jaina work *Lōka-vibhāga* dealing with Jaina cosmography and copied by Muni Sarvanandi of the village Pātalika as the 'Bāṇa Rāshṭra'. This village has been identified with Pātalipura in the South Arcot District, which according to the *Periyapurāṇam* was the seat of a large Jaina monastery in the seventh century. (11)

At later stage Mayūraśarman levied tribute from Brihad Bāṇa and other rulers. To checkmate the growing power of the Kadambas, the Pallava rulers persuaded Konguṇivarman Ganga (390-424 A.D.) to conquer the territory of the Bāṇas. The Gangas were then feudatories of the Pallavas as borne out by the Ganga inscriptions. (12)

Konguṇivarman, as an ally of the Pallava ruler, invaded Bāṇa territory, subdued the Bāṇas and occupied Kuntalapuram. The Kūḍlūr Plates, the Maḷavalli Plates, and the Devarahalli Plates refer to the dislodgement of the Bāṇas from Kolar and its occupation by the Gangas. (13)

The Bāṇas are heard of again in the early seventh century when Pulikēśin II (608-642 A.D.) during his great and extensive conquests conquered the Vengi country and contacted the Bāṇas on his evenful expeditions to the Pallava dominions and Kānchi. Anantapur District records state that one Satyāśraya Prithivivallabha Ereyittiyāḍigal defeated Raṇavikrama in the battles of Elupaṭṭu and Simmige, subjugated Bāṇarāja Vishaya and collected the tax in gold from all the villages in the area. (14) The Bāṇas appear to have become the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi after the restoration of the kingdom to them. In an inscription of Chālukya Śrīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja, the family of Per-bāṇa (or Brihad Bāṇa) is mentioned. In an inscription of his grandson Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, Prithivivallabha Vikramāditya I is said to have made a grant of land while one Bāṇarāja was ruling over the Turumara Vishaya, (15) identified with Gooty and Jammalamāḍagu of the Anantapur District. The Bāṇarāja mentioned in the inscription seems to have been the same as Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bānarāja,

son of Balikula Tilaka Bāṇarāja, mentioned in another inscription of Vijayāditya. The Bāṇas acknowledged the overlordship of the Chālukyas and were proud to proclaim themselves as 'Taruṇa Vasantam' and 'Sāmanta Kēsari.'

A few inscriptions of the Anantapur District mention the fidelity of the Bāṇas and their having subjugated the unruly and rebellious lord of Turumara Vishaya during the reigns of Chālukya Satyāśraya Vijayāditya (696-733 A. D.). The Bāṇas extended their sway over Cuddapah, then known as Rēnadu, and brought the Telugu Chōḷas under their control. For over three centuries, several chieftains of the Bāṇas family like Dhavalayarasa of Mahābali race, Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara Chikkarasa of Hambulige of Mahābali Bāṇa family, are mentioned in records as making grants of land to Brahmins.

GANGA-BANA RELATIONSHIPS :

In an inscription at Śrāvaṇabelagoḷa, (16) a king called Dinḍigarāja is said to have been present at the time of the death of a Jaina guru of the Kaṭavapura Hills (of Śrāvaṇabelagoḷa). The inscription does not contain any date but on palæographical grounds it has been assigned to the middle of the seventh century. During the days of the Ganga king Śreepurusha (726-78 A. D.) a chieftain called Dinḍigarur, who was a descendant of the Bāṇa race and was ruling over the Kalabappunāḍu, made a Brahmādēya gift. He was the same Dinḍigarāja Dinḍi or Dinḍigēndra of the Udayēndiram inscription of Ganga Prithivīpati II. According to the same inscription, one Iriga, one of the sons of King Dinḍi, was saved by the Ganga king Prithivīpati I from the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha. (17)

The Bāṇas were subordinate to the Gangas even during the reign of Śivamāra (679-725 A. D.). During the reign of Mādhava Muttarasa, Śreepurusha was in charge of the eastern provinces of the Ganga kingdom before his accession to the throne in Eḷenagarnāḍ 70, Avanyanāḍ 300 and Ponkunda 12, an area co-terminous with the kingdom of the Bāṇas in the basin of river Pālār. Muttarasa led a campaign against the hostile Bāṇas and with the help of Paramagal Prithivī Nirgunḍarāja and others, defeated the Bāṇas in pitched battles at Koyalther (Punganūr) and Tanḍekal and Manayatur. (18) Śreepurusha participated in this campaign and also in the great expedition which the Chālukya king of Vātāpi, Keertivarman II, led against the Pallavas of Kānchi. He invaded Nekkunḍ occupied by Bāṇarasa. This is confirmed by a veergal (hero-stone) found at Nekkunḍi in the Chintāmaṇi Taluk, which commemorates a gift to a fallen hero on the part of the Bāṇa king. (19) The Chālukyas were overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭās, and Krishna I (760-775 A. D.) who laid the foundation of the new kingdom, invaded the Ganga kingdom in 768 A. D., and occupied the Ganga capital. Taking advantage of this confusion, the Bāṇas soon changed their masters and joined Pallava Nandivarman I Pallavamalla (730-795 A. D.) who invaded Gangavāḍi and defeated Śreepurusha at Vilanda and forced him to surrender all his wealth and the Pallava necklace with the Ugrōdaya gem which had been seized earlier by the Ganga king Bhūvikrama. (20) For the help he rendered to

Nandivarman the Bāṇa ruler was granted Gangavāḍi 6000, which was till then under the rule of Ganga Duggamāra Ereyappa. (21)

The Bāṇas accepted the overlordship of the Pallavas, and Jayanandivarman Bāṇa was the historical founder of the Bāṇa line of kings that ruled over Perumbanappāḍi in the latter half of the 8th century. The founder was also called Nandivarman in keeping with the mediæval feudal practice of associating the name of the overlord with one's own.

Till we come to Jayanandivarman we have little evidence of Bāṇa rule by an unbroken line of kings. He was succeeded by Vijayāditya (796-835 A.D.). His contemporary on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne was Gōvinda III (785-813 A.D.) who overran the Ganga kingdom and brought it directly under his control. When Amōghavarsha succeeded to the throne in 814 A. D., the Ganga prince Rāchamalla I, secured the independence of his kingdom from Rāshtrakūṭa control and, after his father's death, became the ruler. With the re-establishment of Ganga rule independent of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Bāṇas transferred their allegiance to the Pallavas. Bāṇa Vijayāditya was an able ruler and a great warrior.

His reign witnessed the division of the principality of the Deccan and the South into two hostile groups and the formation of new alignments. Ganga Sivamāra's son Prithivipati I established a collateral branch of the Ganga family with Talakāḍ as the capital in the south-eastern part of Karnataka and acknowledged the overlordship of the Pallavas. The Nolambas were rising into prominence and they ruled over parts of the Kolar and Anantapur Districts with Niḍugal and Henjēru as their capitals. The Nolamba chieftain Nolambādhirāja Poḷāichōra was a son-in-law of Ganga Rāchamalla I. The Vaidumbas who were hostile to the Chōḷas of the Telugu country ruled over Madanapalli and Chittoor Districts with Vaidūmbarōlu as their capital. Ganga Prithivipati, the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas were allies ranged against Ganga Rāchamalla in the civil war that followed the division of the Ganga kingdom. Several important but indecisive battles at Mandetta (Madle) Madum aḍugu, Manne and Mangala were fought between Rāchamalla and Prithivipati. They culminated in the most decisive battle at Soremani (22) where Prithivipati, the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas were completely vanquished by Rāchamalla's general. Important inscriptions make mention of Soremani, which is identified with Chōḷaman in the Penukonḍa Taluk, and at the entrance of Nolambavāḍi. The Manne Plates issued by Rāchamalla in 828 A.D., mention the destruction of enemies by Rāchamalla and of his successes in several other battles. (23)

On the death of Vijayāditya in 838 A.D., Malladēva, known as Jagadēkamalla, came to the throne and ruled for a period of fifteen years. It was during his time there was an attempt to invade the Pallava kingdom; and one Aggalarasa, the ruler of Tēkalnāḍu, was despatched to arrest the march. Rāchamalla's policy of opposition against the Bāṇas and the Pallavas was continued by his successor Ereganga Nectimārga who, supported by Nolamba Poḷāichōra, the ruler of the Ganga Six thousand country, defeated and captured Bāṇarasa's country and marched against the Pallavas and captured a small part of their territory near Tiruvallam. (24)

The Noḷamba ruler too commemorated his victory by the construction of the Bhōganandeeśvara temple at Nandi, which in point of architecture closely resembles the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchipuram.

Though the Bāṇas lost a large part of their territory during the rule of Malladēva as a result of their hostility against the main line of the Gangas, they continued to maintain friendly relations with their collateral branch at Talakāḍ as borne out by certain inscriptions mentioning Bāṇa Vidyādhara as the son-in-law of Prithivīpati, the son of Sivamāra.

Vikramāditya Jayamēru of the Guḍimallam Plates came to the throne in 850 A. D., and ruled till 895 A. D. He bore such pompous titles as 'Bāṇa Vidyādhara' and 'Bāṇa Kandarpa' and, like his father and grandfather, continued to be the feudatory of the two Pallavas Nandivarman III (844-66 A.D.) and Nripa-tungavarman (866-885 A. D.). He waged wars against the Gangas for the recovery of his Ganga Six thousand country. He fought against the Noḷambas and captured Peranagar from the Noḷambas who were then masters of a small part of the Pallava country. He recovered most of the lost dominions, though war had to be waged against the Noḷambas and the Gangas for the maintenance of his independence all through his long reign.

In the Chikkabaḷḷapūr Plates of the Ganga king Jayateja of about 810 A.D., there is mention made of a Bāṇa Vidyādhara and also of the son Doḍḍa Narādhīpa by his queen Ratnāvali. His other wife Kundavvi was the daughter of Prithivīpati. Perhaps this Doḍḍa Narādhīpa was Prabhumēru. (25) In the Nandi Plates of Gōvinda III, Doḍḍa's mother Ratnāvali is called Māṇikabbe. The Śiva temple at Nandi is described as hers, which confirms the great antiquity of the temple. Her father's name is given as Indrapparasa, probably identical with Indra, the brother of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the founder of the Gujarat branch. There is also a reference to Mahā Bāṇarāja named Śree-parvana at whose request Gōvinda III made a grant in 806 A.D., for the Śiva temple built by Ratnāvali. This Bāṇa king was Bāṇa Vidyādhara, the consort of Ratnāvali. (26) A record at Būdikōṭe refers to Bāṇarasa who was the ruler of the Ganga 6000, and to a conflict between him and the Ganga king Rāchamalla Permāḍi who began to rule in 817 A.D. (27)

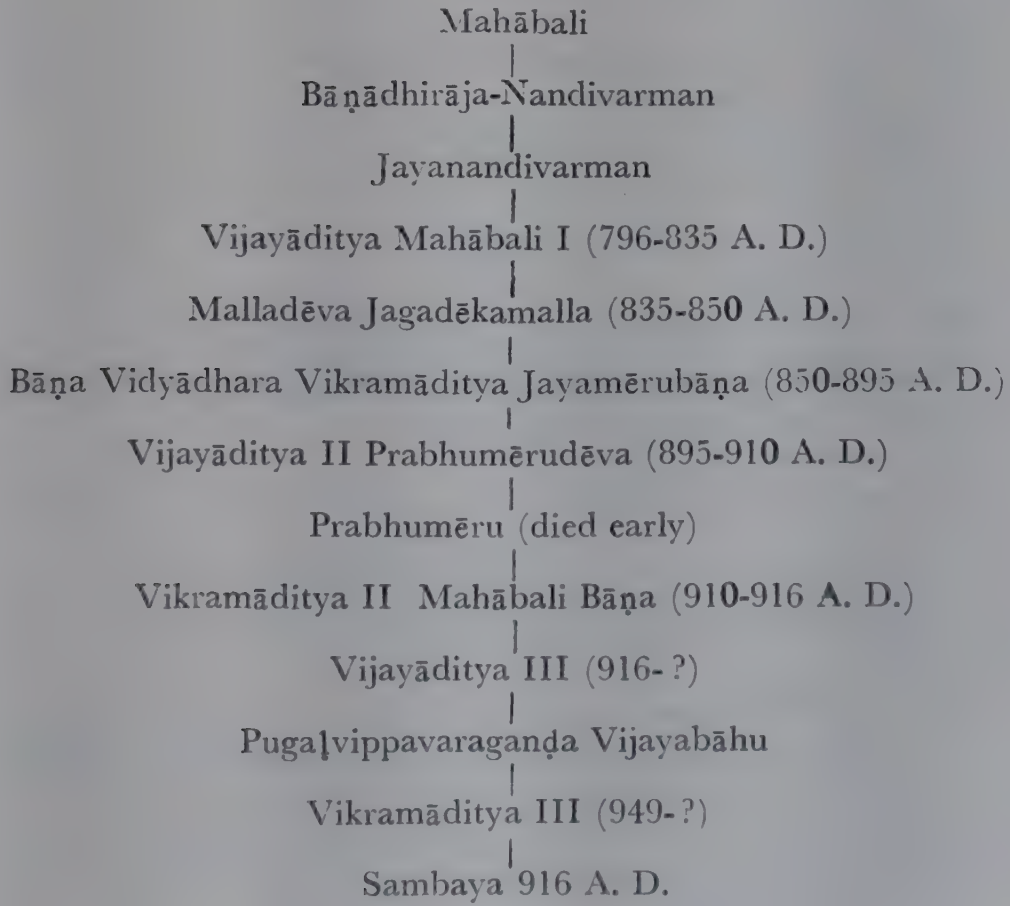
It was during the reign of Jayamēru that dynastic wars and invasions of the Bāṇa country by the Noḷambas began for the capture of Puḷinda and other places. The Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III marched against the Bāṇas and defeated Jayamēru in pitched battles and forced him to accept Rāshtrakūṭa overlordship. The Pallavas who were at war with the Paṇḍyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas lost much of their dominions and were in a state of decline. The disintegration of the Pallava dominions assisted Vijayāditya II Prabhumēru and the son of Bāṇa Vidyādhara to assert his independence from the Pallavas. His reign of fifteen years witnessed unending wars with the Noḷambas and the Gangas. His son Vikramāditya II, who succeeded to the throne in 910 A. D., had a difficult time contending against old enemies and the new Chōḷa power which was rising in the south under the leadership of Vecra Nārāyaṇa Parāntaka (907-935 A.D.) The Bāṇas

and the Rāshtrakūṭas were united against the Chōḷas and this encouraged Parāntaka, assisted by the Ganga Prithivīpati, to invade the Bāṇa kingdom. The Shōlinghur inscription of Parāntaka and the Uddayendittam Plates of Prithivīpati mention the defeat of the Bāṇas by Parāntaka, and Ganga Prithivīpati who distinguished himself in the battle of Vallāla fought in 913 A. D. was conferred the title 'Bāṇādhirāja's (lord of the Bāṇas), and 'Sembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa. Both Rēshtrakūṭa Krishna II and the Bāṇas were defeated at the battle of Vallāla and this significant event brought the Chōḷas and the Gangas into a very close alliance and enhanced the prestige of Ganga rulers. Prithivīpati who became the ruler of the Bāṇa kingdom too assumed new titles like 'Krishnadhvajah Paravipurādhipati', and 'Nandinātha'.

The Bāṇas did not recover after this defeat and though Bāṇa Vikramāditya and his son Vijayāditya III bore such titles as 'Birudu Pugaḷvippavara gaṇḍa' ('Punisher of vainglorious kings') they could not reconquer their ancestral kingdom. The best-known ruler of this dynasty was Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III described in his Udayēndiram Plates as the dear friend of Krishnarāya III ('Krishnarājapriya'). The growing power and policy of territorial aggrandisement of Parāntaka induced the Bāṇa ruler to give up his old ally and seek the protection of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor. Ganga Būtuga, who married Rēvaka, the sister of the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna, became also a close ally of Krishna, and this new confederacy checkmated the northerly expansion of the Chōḷas. In 949 A. D. Krishna III led an expedition into the Chōḷa country and when Rājāditya resisted his advance into the south, a severe battle at Takkōlam was fought when Ganga Būtuga killed Rājāditya. The reward for this act of bravery was the gift to Būtuga of Banavāsi twelve thousand and Beḷvoaḷa three hundred. Krishna became the lord of Kānchipuram and Tanjavur and for a time shattered the hold of the Chōḷas over Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. For the help rendered by the Bāṇas in their campaign, Krishna restored Bāṇa Vijayabāhu Veera Raṇāditya III to his ancestral home Perumbanappāḍi. There was a shift in policy a few years later when Vikramāditya was won by the offer of a Chōḷa princess to a prince of the Bāṇa family, for a record mentions a daughter of Arikula Kēsari Arinjigai Pirattoyar being married to a Bāṇa prince. With all their new alignments, the Bāṇas could not regain their hold on their ancestral kingdom, and from the available evidence, Vikramāditya III appears to be the last ruler of the Bāṇa dynasty ruling over the eastern part of the Karnataka country.

The Bāṇa kingdom is mentioned along with others in South India in the twelfth century in Vaidyanātha's *Pratāpa Rudrēya*. (28) Trivikrama Dēva, the author of the Prākṛit Grammar, *Trivikrama Vnitta*, probably of the fifteenth century, claims to be a descendant of the Bāṇa family. (29) Inscriptions at Srivilliputtur in the Tinnevely District show that two kings named Sundratol and Muttarasa Tirumala, who obtained possession of the Pāṇḍyan throne in 1453 and in 1476, call themselves as Mahābali Bāṇādhirāja. (30)

GENEALOGY OF THE BĀṆA DYNASTY



FOOT NOTES

1. *South Indian Inscription*, III, 90.
2. Captain Carvi : *Seven Pagodas* 13.
3. *E.C.*, Srinivasapur 5, 6.
4. *I. A.*, XIII, 6-187.
5. *M.A.R.*, 1916. Part II, Para 33.
6. *M.A.R.*, 1914. Para 67-69.
7. *E.I.*, VIII, Pp. 24-36 ; *E.C.*, VIII, Sk. 76.
8. *S.I.I.*, III, P. 90-91 ; *E.I.*, XIII, P. 8.
9. *E.C.*, X Mb. 157.
10. Sewell *Hist. of Antiquities I*, P. 22.
11. *E.I.*, XIV, P. 324.
12. Penugonda Grant 12, 1913-14 ; *J.R.A.S.* 1915, Pp. 471-85.
13. Kolar Grant Mys. Arch. Report 1930 ; *E.C.*, IX-Db. 67.
E.C., IV Ng. 85. *I.A.*, V, Pp. 136-138 ; *I.A.*, II-V, 156.
14. *S.I.I.*, 343 of 1920 ; IX-I No. 46.
15. 338 of 1920 ; 1921 Para 2.
16. *Sravanabelagola Ins.*, II Intro. P. 68.
17. *S.I.I.*, II, P. 382.
18. *E.C.I.* Hk 86. X. Bp. 13. *M.A.R.* 1925 Insc-31. *E.C.*, IV, No. 85.
19. *E.C.*, X, 100 & 200 Bowrinpet 13 ; *M.A.R.*, 1916-17.
20. *E.C.*, XIII T. 23. III Md. V3 ; *S.I.I.* II, p. 517.
21. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 80.
22. *S.I.I.*, IX. *E.I.* XXIV, P. 192.
23. *M.A.R.*, 1910 ; Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XII, P. 193-219.
24. *E.C.*, IX, Mb. 228.
25. *E.I.*, III. 74 *E.C.*, IX Srinivasapur 5, Chintamani 107 ; Nandi Plates of Govinda III.
26. *M.A.R.* 1913-1914.
27. *E.C.*, X, Bowringpet 86.
28. *E.I.*, V, P. 162 ; *I.A.*, XIII, P. 190 ; *E.I.*, IV, P. 224.
29. *I.A.*, XIII, 18.
30. *I.A.*, XV., 173.

THE PALLAVAS AND KARNATAKA

The Pallavas, probably of foreign origin, are supposed to have been affiliated to the Pahlavas or Śaka Parthians. During the rule of the Sātavāhanas the Śaka-Kshatrapas penetrated into the Deccan region along the west coast of India. The Hirehaḍagalli, Maidāvōlu, and other early Prākṛit grants place the Pallavas in Sātaḥanihara, or Sātavāhana Rāshṭra (Bellary and Dharwar Districts of Karnataka). Their alliance with the Chūṭus and Nāgas of Banavāsi enabled them to expand eastwards. Chūṭu Pallava is said to be the ancestor of Veera Kūrcha. Even as early as the time of Kadamba Mayūraśarman, the Pallavas were the overlords of the country from Prēhāra or Malāpahāri to the western ocean. This territory was handed over by them to Mayūraśarman according to the Tāḷagunda inscription. Hence the Pallavas were originally in the Karnataka country and by capturing the Ghaṭika of Kānchi migrated to the east and north into the Andhra country round Śreeparvata (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa).

The Pallavas of the Prākṛit charters were constantly interfering in the dynastic quarrels of the Kadambas and Gangas. Kadamba Mayūraśarman is said to have been crowned by the Pallavas who preferred to make peace with him by giving him the overlordship of the western territory. The Chandravaḷḷi inscription mentions Mayūraśarman's victory over the Pallavas or Pallavapuri (Kānchi). Kadamba Raghu fought with the Pallavas. Kākusthavarman is said to have fought with the Kaḷabhras. The Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters succeeded after a Kaḷabhra interregnum. Probably, Kākusthavarman helped Simhavishnu of Kānchi to gain the throne.

The Pallavas took advantage of the feuds in the royal families of the Kadambas and Gangas. The Uchchangi branch of the Kadambas and the Parivi branch of the Gangas were supported by the Pallavas of the Simhavishnu line. Mrigeśavarman is said to have defeated the Pallavas and the Gangas. His queen Prabhāvatī belonged to the Kēkaya family. Śivanandivarman of the Kēkaya family committed suicide after being defeated by the Pallava Naṇakkāsa. Kadamba Vishnuvarma of the Uchchangi branch was crowned by Pallava Śāntivarman. His son Simhavarman was also assisted by the Pallavas. Kadamba Ravivarman, son of Mrigeśavarman, united the Kadamba kingdom by defeating a Pallava Chanḍadaṇḍa.

The Pallavas actively interfered with the Gangas also by supporting the Perūr branch. Pallava Simhavarman crowned Ayyavarman, and Skandavarman Pallava crowned Āyyavarman's son Mādhava of the Penukoṇḍa and Niṭṭūr grants. These Pallavas can be identified with Simhavarman, the elder brother of Yuva-mahārāja Vishnugōpa, and his son Skandavarman (in about 450 A. D.)

The sixth century witnessed the decline of the Kadambas and the rise of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Gangas of Tālakeḍ and the Rāshṭrakūṭas in Karnataka, and of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters in the Tamil country. In the Cuddapah District, the village Muḍivēmu was in the possession of the Pallavas

Vijayāditya of the Chālukya family was the son-in-law of Ganga Durvineeta. He fought with Pallava Trinētra and died in the battle-field. His wife, who was pregnant, was sheltered by Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of Muḍivēmu. There the posthumous son named Vishnuvardhana was born and trained up. Ranna, the Kannada poet, says that Vishnuvardhana was the title of Jayasimha. Ganga Durvineeta helped his daughter's son, Jayasimha Vishnuvardhana to establish the Chālukya kingdom by defeating the Kāḍuveṭṭi (meaning 'the clearer of the forest' or Pallava).

The Gangas of Talakāḍ were the enemies of the Pallavas even though the mother of Ganga Avineeta seems to have been a Pallava princess. Durvineeta's connection with the Pallavas is indicated in the legend about the poet Bhāravi. Bhāravi according to *Avanti Sundarikathā* of Daṇḍin is said to have come south with Vishnuvardhana (probably Chālukya Jayasimha Vishnuvardhana) on a hunting trip and visited Durvineeta. Ganga inscriptions say that Durvineeta wrote a commentary on the 15th chapter of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjuneeya*. Simhavarma or Simhavishnu of Kānchi invited Bhāravi from the Ganga court to Kānchi. (*Sources of Karnataka History*, I, p. 33; *Trivandrum Skt. Series* 172, 1954), Durvineeta could not have been the contemporary of Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Pulikēśin II. Bhāravi must have lived earlier in the time of Durvineeta and Chālukya Jayasimha I.

The struggle for mastery of the Deccan between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi lasting for nearly two centuries seems to have commenced in the last years of Simhavishnu of Kānchi. Pallava Simhavishnu perhaps put an end to the Kaḷabhra interregnum and conquered up to Ceylon in the South. In about 609 A. D., he seems to have despatched his son Mahēndravarman into the Kannada country. In North India Harsha Śilāditya of Kanauj was struggling to establish himself and probably penetrated into the Deccan up to the Chitradurga District of Karnataka, where he was opposed by the Chālukyas and Pallavas. The Gaddemane inscription says that when Śilāditya came to battle, Mahēndra (evidently the Pallava) fled in fear. Satyānka (a Chālukya title) and the Bēḍas fought with Śilāditya (S. Srikanta Sastri, *J.R.A.S.*, July 1926. *M.A.R.*, 1923, *Sa.* 64, *E.C. VIII*). At this critical time, Chālukya Mangaleesa seems to have gone against the Kalachuris, and Pulikēśin II was in exile according to the Aihole inscription.

Pulikēśin II after his northern conquests defeated Harsha and pushed him beyond the Narmada. Then turning eastwards he overran Kaḷinga, Andhra etc., and attacked the Pallava capital Kānchi. Mahēndra was probably killed and Pulikēśin defeated Chōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya subordinate to the Chōḷas. In the battles of Pariyāla, Maṇimangala and Sūramāra the Pallavas claim victory. The next trial of strength came in the time of Narasimhavarman Vātāpikonḍa. The expedition of Śruttonḍa is placed somewhat later. Narasimha invaded Karnataka and probably killed Pulikēśin II in battle. He was in possession of Bādāmi for a few years. Pulikēśin's sons Ādityavarma and Vikramāditya retreated to the south. Vikramāditya with the help of his own sword and war-horse

Chitrakanṭha defeated the Chēra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya, drove out the Pallava from Bādāmi and re-established himself.

The Pallava Mahēndra II and Paramēśvaravarman I fought with Chālukya Vinayāditya who claims to have levied tribute from Kāvēra, Parāsika, Simhaḷa and Trairājya Pallava. Vinayāditya's son, Vijayāditya II, took part in the wars even from boyhood. The Pallavas were the 'natural enemies' (*Prakṛtyamitra*) of the Chālukyas. Vikramāditya II in the time of Pallava Nandivarman made a sudden attack on Tunḍaka Vishaya (Pallava territory). He captured the Pallava's insignia, 'Kanakamukha Samudraghōsha vāditra', etc., entered Kānchi without destroying it and endowed the temple of Narasimhavarman. The last Chālukya, Keertivarman II, carried on the war with Nandivarman. The Pallava hid in a forest but his forces were destroyed. Keertivarman II assumed the title of Sārva-bhauma.

The Bādāmi Chālukya line ended with the rise of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, and, similarly, the main Pallava line ended with the rise of Chōḷa Vijayāditya. The Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga says that Dantidurga defeated the Vallabha (Chālukya) and also Kānchi (Pallava), Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya in the south. Pallava Nandivarman III seems to have helped Saigotta Śivamāra, the Ganga of Talakāḍ. (Ālūr grant of Mārasimha). Amōghavarsha Nripatunga gave his daughter Śamkha in marriage to Pallava Nandivarman in about 850 A. D. Nothing more is heard of the imperial Pallavas in connection with Karnataka.

A minor branch of the Pallavas called Noḷamba Pallavas ruled in Karnataka. They claimed to be descendants of Lalāṭanayana or Trilōchana Pallava, lords of Kānchi, and had the Khaṭvānga flag. Their capital was at Hēmavati (S. Srikanta Sastri, *S'raddhānjali*, p. 277). Their insignia was the couchant Bull or Nandi. The line began probably in 700 A. D., and finally merged with the Hoysalas and Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

THE NOLAMBA PALLAVAS

One of the great feudatory families that played a prominent part in the history of Karnataka for a period of three centuries (*circa* 750 to 1055 A. D.) is that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. This family had important relations with other rulers in South India like the Bāṇas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Gangas, the Chālukyas, and the Vaidumbas. They started their career under the Western Gangas of Talakāḍ, as governors of the territory called Nolambaḷige 1,000, which comprised portions of Anantapur (Andhra Pradesh), Chitradurga and Tumkur Districts (Mysore State). Nolambaḷige 1,000 means the district of Nolambaḷige consisting of 1,000 villages and hamlets. This tract was probably bounded on the east by the river Pennār and on the west by the river Hagari. In course of time they acquired more territory until it became a 32,000 District in the beginning of the tenth century. This province of Nolambaḷige 32,000 covered the District of Tumkur and Chitradurga and portions of Bellary, Anantapur, Kōlar and Bangalore.

The Nolambas emerged as rulers on the disruption of Pallava rule in that region. Their rule extended far into the Salem District as evidenced by inscriptions at Dharmapuri. Henjēru (or Penjēru) or Hēmāvati, on the northern border of the Śīra Taluk, in the present Anantapur District, was their first capital.

The Nolambas claimed to be Pallavas. The genealogy of the line is given in the Hēmāvati Pillar inscription.

It starts with Trinayana, and mentions Mangala or Nolambādhirāja as the first king. Then Simhapōta, Chāru Ponnēra, Poḷāḷchōra, Mahēndra, Nanniga Ayyappadēva Aṇṇiga and Dileepa are mentioned in succession.

Trinayana Pallava, the founder of the family, has been identified with the king of the same name, who was defeated by the early Chālukya king Vijayāditya (early 8th century). Simhapōta or Singapōta was subordinate to the Ganga king Śivamāra Saigotta, who sent him against Duggimāra, his younger brother, when the latter tried to become independent. On Śivamāra being taken prisoner by the Rāshtrakūṭas and his country being occupied by them, Simhapōta's son and grandson passed under the protection of the Rāshtrakūṭas. They set up rule over Nolambaḷige 1,000 (Gangasāśīra) and other provinces. Mr. Rice suggests that this must have been the nucleus of the Nolambavāḍi province. Then came Chāru Ponnēra who was succeeded by Poḷāḷchōra.

Rājamalla Satyavākya I, (*circa* 820 A. D.) the Ganga king, married, on his restoration to his possessions, Simhapōta's granddaughter and gave his own daughter Jayabbe, the younger sister of Nectimārga, in marriage to Nolambādhirāja Poḷāḷchōra. Poḷāḷchōra is described as ruling over the Ganga 6,000 under the Ganga king Nectimārga. His alternative name or surname was Nolambādhirāja. His son by the Ganga princess was Mahēndra or Beera Mahēndra or Mahēndravarma. He is described as ruling over the Ganga 6,000 as his father did, under the Gangas. (*E. C.*, X, Bowringpet 64). In an inscription at Āvaṇi in the Kōlar District, he is stated to be the son born (*puṭṭida magam*) of

Divalabbarasi, of Kaṭambavamśa, the senior queen (*agra-mahishi*) of Poḷaḷchōra. Mahēndra appears to have also been known as Noḷambādhirāja and Noḷamba Nārāyaṇa. He had apparently a younger brother, Noḷambādhirāja Noḷipayya ruling in 897 A. D., who had a son Ankayya. Mahēndra was a great conqueror. Several inscriptions indicate the progress he made towards making himself a sovereign ruler. He is said to have destroyed the Mahābali family (*i.e.*, the Bāṇas). This brought him the title of 'Mahābalikula-vidhvamsanam'. According to one of the Virūpākshipuram Pillar inscriptions, Mahēndra is described as the sole lord of the Gangamaṇḍala which consisted of 96,000. Pulindanāḍu, or Punganūr, was invaded and conquered by Mahēndra during the reign of the Bāṇa king Bāṇavidyādhara (861-895 A.D.), and thus Mahēndra, the conqueror of Pulinda received the title 'the destroyer of the Bāṇa race'. 'Mahēndra's sway extended as far as Dharmapuri in the Salem District, and the village Adhaimānkōṭṭai in that vicinity was called Mahēndramangalam in the time of the Hoysalas, according to inscriptions. A Śiva temple was similarly known as Mayindiśuram Uḍaiyar. The Noḷambas, like the Pallavas, were great builders of temples, the Mallikarjuna Temple at Kambaḍuru (Anantapur District) and the Bhōganandēśvara Temple at Nandi being noteworthy examples.

The Ganga Yuvarāja, Būtuga fought with Mahēndra, and eventually Būtuga's son Ereyappa killed him in a battle and obtained the title 'Mahēndrāntaka'.

Mahēndra had married a Kadamba princess, Divāmbike, as also a Ganga princess Gōmabbe. He son Ayyappa, known also as Nanniga, was born to Gōmabbe. He fell in a battle with the Eastern Chālukya king, Chālukya Bheema II between 934 and 945 A.D. He married the Ganga princess Pollabbarasi by whom he had a son Aṇṇiga, who succeeded him, having first been a governor under him. He was also known as Aṇṇayya or Beera-Noḷamba. He was at war with the Gangas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. Aṇṇiga, however, was defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna, or Kanna III, in 940 A.D. A veergal at Hiregundagal, Tumkur District, commemorates his death. He ruled over a large territory acquired by his grandfather Mahēndra.

Aṇṇiga married the 'Chāluḷi' princess Attiyabbarasi, and to them, we are told, was born 'the jewel of the Pallava family,' whose name was Iruḷa. From the recorded date, it may be inferred that Iruḷa should have been a predecessor of Dileeparasa, said to be the last of the line. What became of Iruḷa and how long he ruled are not known. He was apparently succeeded by his nephew, Dileepa or Irivanoḷamba in 943 A.D. He was also known as Noḷapayya or Noḷipayya. He ruled over the Vaidumbas and the Mahāvalis. Tribhuvana-kartara-dēva, the Śaiva guru of Āvaṇi lived in his time and was probably his guru and called also Kaliyuga Rudra. The latter lived till 961 A. D. Dileepa fought a battle against the Ganga king Būtuga, or his son Mārasimha. An inscription of the 20th year of his coronation on the sluice of the tank at Bāṇahalli, Hoskote Taluk, records its construction by some local 'gāvunḍas'. He also fought against the Chōḷas, under the banner of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III, who had

occupied the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam part of the Chōḷa kingdom. According to an inscription at Madakaśira, Anantapur District, dated in 948 A.D., he fought the battle of Ipili against Gajāṅkuśa-chōḷa, (identified with Rājāditya, the son of Parāntaka I). Some of the best archers of the time are said to have served under him as desired by the Ballaha king (identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III).

The succession after Dileepa is not quite clear. According to the Kara-shanapalli stone inscription, Dileepa was succeeded by his son Nanni-Noḷamba; then by his grandson Poḷāḷchōra; and great grandson Veera Mahēndra Noḷambādhirāja. This is confirmed by other inscriptions found both in and outside the State. Nanni-Noḷamba had assumed the crown by 969 A.D. The Kambadūru inscription calls him 'Chaladankakāra' and 'Pallava Rāma'. Of Poḷāḷchōra, Dileepa's grandson, we have little information beyond what is contained in an inscription dated 965 A.D., at Kambadūru where he is called the Lord of Kānchi and grandson of the ruling king. Poḷāḷchōra's son Veera Mahēndra is said to have conquered the Chōḷa country, *i.e.*, the Northern portion of it round about Kānchipuram called Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Veera Mahēndra was the last ruler of the dynasty, for several inscriptions in the Kōlar District mention that by 974 A.D., the Noḷambapallavas had been overrun by the Ganga king Mārasimha who earned the title 'Noḷambakulāntaka'.

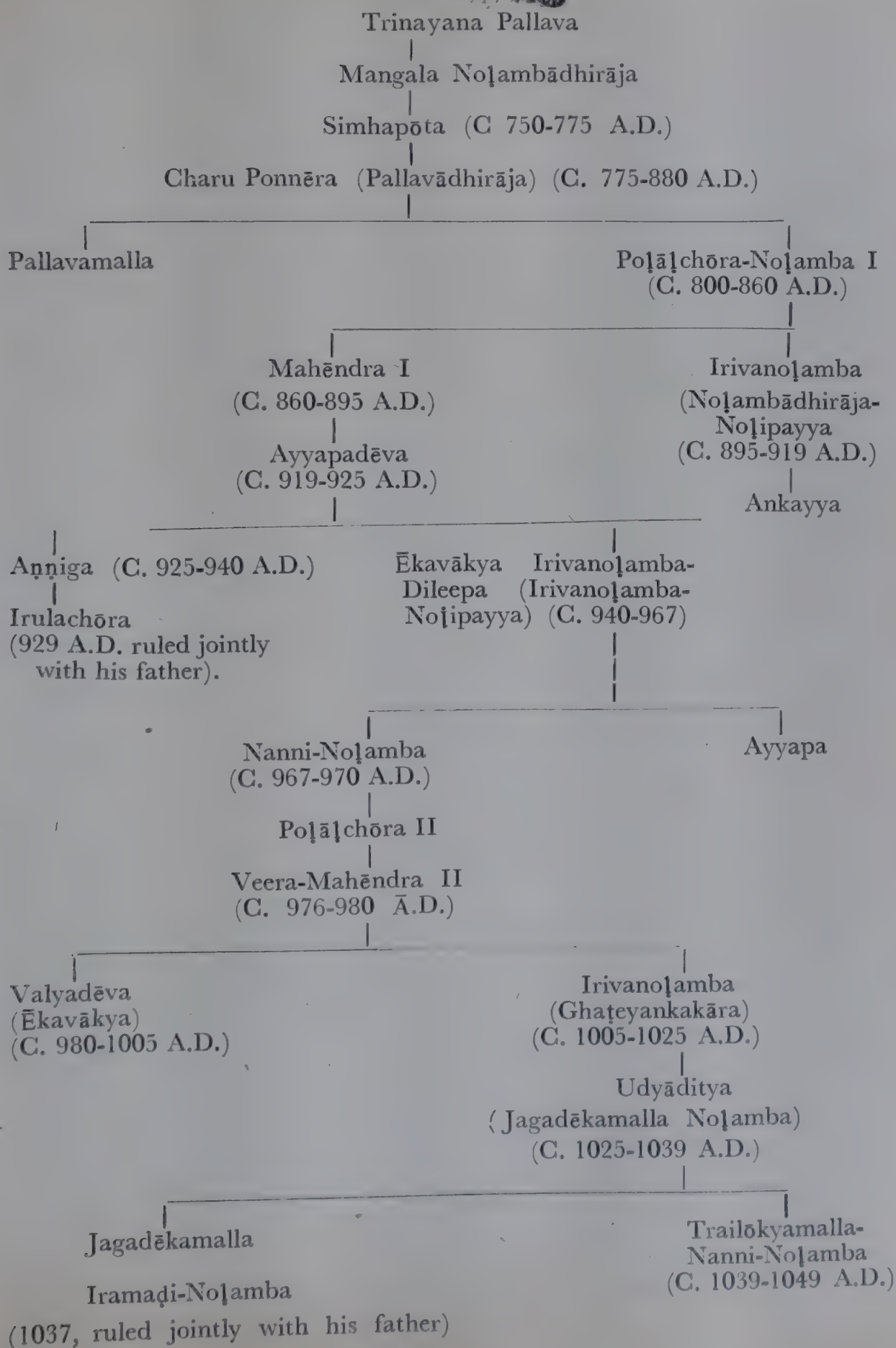
Not long after the Ganga conquest, the Chōḷas appear on the scene at Bijayatimangala (modern Bētamangala in Bangarapet Taluk, Kōlar District), after vanquishing Noḷambarasa's army.

About this period, the Noḷambas changed their masters and went over to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, making Kampili in the Bellary District their capital. We hear of Jagadēkamalla Noḷamba-Pallava ruling from here in 1022 A.D., of Udayāditya (Noḷamba-Pallava Permāṇaḍi) in 1035 A.D., Noḷamba-Pallava Permāṇaḍi in 1037 A.D., and of Nanni-Noḷamba Pallava in 1042 A.D. They assumed the titles of their Chālukyan overlords.

The Noḷamba chiefs of the main line were thus ruling over some territory or other under the Chālukyas. But in A. D. 1057, we suddenly see Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 under the direct control of the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya VI. Again in Śaka 986 (A. D. 1064) Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya, brother of Vikramāditya VI, was the governor of Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 under his father Sōmēśvara I. In Śaka 990 (A.D. 1068) another brother of Vikramāditya VI, namely, Jayasinga-dēva who bears all the Noḷamba titles, is found governing the same territory under Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II). It is thus evident that from Śaka 978 (A.D. 1057) onwards Noḷambavāḍi passed on directly to the Chālukya rulers. They appointed scions of the royal family as Viceroys of Noḷambavāḍi with Kampili as the capital.

The Chōḷa invasion of the Chālukya kingdom ending in the defeat of the Chālukya forces at Kūḍalasangam (1064 A.D.) and the sacking of Kampili thereafter, led to the capital of the viceroyalty being changed and nominating the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi as governors of the Noḷambavāḍi Province. The Noḷamba lineage fades away from history after the twelfth century.

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE NOLAMBA PALLAVAS



PUNNATA

Punnāṭa is a very ancient kingdom, situated in the south of Mysore. This region is no other than the Punnāṭa, to which the Jainas migrated from the north in the 3rd century B.C., led by Bhadrabāhu. It is said that Bhadrabāhu directed his disciples to go to Punnāṭa from Śrāvaṇabelagoḷa, (according to the *Bṛihat Kalhākośa* 931 A.D.). Ptolemy also mentions this land 'Pounnāṭa', where beryls are found. Punnāṭa is mentioned in the inscriptions of king Ganga Avineeta as a 6000 province, with its capital at Keertipura, (the modern Kittur on the Kapini river in the Heggadādēvanakōṭe Taluk). Ganga Avineeta married the daughter of Skandavarma, the Punnāṭa king, and their son was the famous Durvineeta. Punnāṭa was annexed to the Ganga kngdom in about 500 A. D.

We have only an undated inscription of Punnāṭa kings, which gives a list of their names : Rāshṭravarma, his son Nāgadatta, his son Bhujaga who married the daughter of Śreenāgavarma, their son Skandavarma, and his son Ravidatta. These are the names which are mentioned in the above list.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

We have considered so far the history of the dynasties of kings, major and minor, that ruled over regions in Karnataka in the early times. We have also seen in the section dealing with the traditions and legends of Karnataka, how Vedic culture had an abiding influence on the rulers, most of whom sought to trace their origin from some respected Rishi of Vedic times. It is obvious that leaders of society, the kings and learned men, became imbued with the ideas and ways of life in keeping with Vedic tradition so far as religion and its practice were concerned. There is abundant evidence that, along with some practices belonging to indigenous faiths, there was prevalence of the religions which were already in vogue in North India, like Saivism and Vaishnavism which had stemmed out of the Vedic faith, as well as Jainism and Buddhism which were not Vedic in origin. All these came to South India well before the Christian era. It is noteworthy that the Karnataka country gave a hospitable reception to the Jainas when they migrated to the South, and Śravāṇabeḷagoḷa became one of the strongholds of the faith. Several royal families, as we have seen already, adopted the faith as their own. It is still a living religion in Karnataka with a not inconsiderable following. As for Buddhism, we have ample evidence of its spread in Karnataka, and its vogue till about the 12th century, when it seems to have faded out from Karnataka as from the rest of India.

We shall now consider the historic growth and the tenets of each of these faiths.

SAIVISM

Saivism is a very ancient cult. It is difficult to trace its origin. Some of the theories propounded by scholars regarding its origin, that it was pre-Vedic and un-Aryan are unacceptable, as they rest on hypothetical and imaginary grounds, and lack definite proof.

The inference that the Vedic god Rudra is a malevolent deity (Muir) and the cause of every evil (Weber) is not correct, because the references to Rudra in the *Rig-Veda* do not bear it out. He has a twofold function. One is to bestow prosperity on His devotees and the other is to remove their suffering. He is conceived as a positively benevolent Deity when He confers wealth and welfare, and a wrathful god when He chastises evil-doers.

Sir John Marshall's interpretation of the Mohenjodaro seals having a figure with three heads and animals round about as representing 'Paśupati' is not convincing. It may not be the figure of Paśupati as imagined. A final

opinion about the religion of the people and the interpretation of the seals of Mohenjodaro can be expressed only after the script on the seals is deciphered. Till then the theories based on them are hypothetical and imaginary.

The worship of Linga as a symbol of Śiva is also much misunderstood. Its (identification with the word Śiśnā-phallus) occurring twice in the *Rig-Veda* (VII, 21.5; X 99.3) is not correct. It cannot be associated with the cult of phallus worship which was in existence in countries outside India such as Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece. The discovery of phallic cult objects here and there bearing evidence of the worship of the phallus among the pre-historic tribes has led to the assumption that the Śivalinga was phallic in its origins. The prevalence of orgiastic rites in some forms of ancient cults has perhaps influenced some students of Śaivism in accepting the phallic interpretation of Śivalinga. But in its origin the 'Linga' might have been no more than just a symbol of Śiva. The worship of Linga as a symbol when it once started possibly gave rise to a confusion in the popular mind between this cult and that of phallus worship. Legends may have been invented identifying both the cults. The sectarian spirit prevalent among followers of the different cults led to their decrying the object of worship of the other. Some passages occurring in the *Mahabharata* and some of the *Purāṇas*, which are not many and were perhaps added later, lend colour to the phallic interpretation of Śivalingas, but such passages can be explained as suggested here. 'Of all the representations of the deity which India has imagined', observes Barth, 'these (Lingas) are perhaps the least offensive to look at. Anyhow, they are the least materialistic'. (Barth: *Religions of India*, P. 262).

Sir Charles Eliot holds that the Linga worship was accepted as part of Hinduism about the time of the compilation of the *Mahabharata*, and observes, "The old theory that it was borrowed from aboriginal, and especially Dravidian, tribes is now discredited. In the first place, the instances cited of phallic worship among aboriginal tribes are not particularly numerous or striking. Secondly, Linga worship, though prevalent in the south, is not confined to it, but flourishes in all parts of India, even in Assam and Nepal. Thirdly, it is not connected with only low castes, with orgies, with obscene and blood-thirsty rites or with anything which can be called un-Aryan. It forms part of the private devotion of the most orthodox Brahmins and, despite the significance of the emblem, the worship offered to it is perfectly decorous. The evidence thus suggests that this cult grew up among the Brahminical Hindus in the early centuries of our era. The idea that there was something divine in virility and generation already existed. The choice of the symbol, a stone pillar, may have been influenced by two circumstances. Firstly, the Buddhist veneration of *stūpas*, especially miniature *stūpas*, must have made familiar the idea that a cone or a column is a religious emblem, and, secondly, the Linga may be compared to the carved pillars or stone staff erected in honour of Vishnu. Some Lingas are carved and bear three or four faces, thus entirely losing any phallic appearance. The wide extension of this cult, though its origin seems late, is remarkable." Sir Charles Eliot :—*Hinduism and*

Buddhism, Volume II, Pp. 143-144). The very idea that the Linga was originally phallic is repugnant to any Śaiva. His conception of the Linga is entirely different. In *Katha* (VI-8) and *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* (III-9), the cosmic Purusha is described as a Linga, the cause of causes.

In the literature of the Śaivas, the Linga is described as a column of light. The Purāṇic story that Brahma and Vishnu tried and failed to find the top and bottom of the Jyotirlinga supports this view. The Veeraśaiva saints understood it in this sense. To them the Linga is the visible symbol of the supreme Śiva, the Para Brahma, the lustre of all lustres, the joy of the eternal bliss, knowledge, etc. They believe it to be a great light of the innermost heart which is brought out and shaped into form by the guru. The Linga is also described as a column of fire in many passages of the *Vachanaśāstra*. There the Linga is stated to be a mass of blazing light (Akhaṇḍa Tējas), the Para Brahman, the Supreme Being from which the Universe has come out and into which it is absorbed. It seems that the Veeraśaiva śaraṇās believed that the origin of the Linga can be traced to *Skambha* of the *Atharva-Veda* (X-7-8).

From the above discussion it appears that the origin of Śaivism is shrouded in a mist. For definite data we may go to the Vedic period which has been accepted by all scholars as the earliest period in the history of India, and to the *Rig-Veda*. The Vedic gods, according to Dr. Macdonell, are largely personifications of the powers of nature. Some of the phenomena of external nature are pleasing, vivifying and benignant; others are terrible, dispiriting and destructive. The Aryans found in the dawn the lovely goddess Ushas; in the sun pursuing her, her lover, Surya; in the rising sun Mitra, a friendly god, and in the sun who stretches his arms filling the heaven and earth, Savitṛ. The dreadful and destructive phenomena are usually the storms that uproot trees and even demolish houses accompanied by the thunderbolt which strikes down men and beasts in a moment, and the epidemics that rage and carry off numbers of people. In these phenomena the old Aryans saw Rudra, who went about howling with the stormy winds (*Maruts*) who were his sons (*Rudreeyas*). But human beings do not believe in a purely malignant power reigning in the universe. The dreadful phenomena are attributed to the wrath of a god who, however, can be appeased by prayer, praise and offerings. Then the god becomes Śiva, or the benignant. This appears to be the natural process by which a belief in such a god as Rudra-Śiva became established in India in ancient times.

We may trace the development of the idea of this god until he became the Supreme Creator, Ruler and Pervader of the universe, a knowledge of whom contributed to eternal bliss.

Rudra in the *Rig-Veda* does not occupy a very high position as Indra, Agni or Varuṇa. Three entire hymns (*I-114*; *II-33*; *VII-46*) and some *mantras* in the hymns attributed to other deities contain references to Him. His personality is clearly brought out. His hands, His arms and His limbs are mentioned. He has beautiful lips and wears braided hair. His colour is brown; His form is dazzling;

for he shines like the radiant sun ; he is like gold. He is arrayed with golden ornaments and wears a glorious necklace (*nishkā*). He drives in a car. He holds a thunderbolt in His hands and discharges His lightning shaft from the sky, but He is usually said to be armed with a bow and arrow which are strong and swift. He is the father of Maruts and is said to have produced them from the shining udder of the cow (*prishni*). He is fierce and destructive like a terrible beast and is called a Bull (*vrishabha*) as well as the ruddy 'Boar' of heaven. He is the strongest of the strong, swift, immeasurable and unsurpassed in might. He is young and unageing, a lord (*Īśāna*), and father of the world. By His rule and universal domain, He is aware of the doings of men and of gods. He is bountiful (*meeḍhvamasa*), easily invoked and is auspicious (*Śiva*).

" Rudra discharges shafts which cover heaven and earth (*VII-46.3*). He possesses weapons which slay cows and men (*I-114.10*). The destructive agency of lightning may be seen here. He is praised to keep His shafts and weapons away from men. He protects two-footed and four-footed beings (*I-114.2*). He is *Paśupa*, protector of cattle. (*I-114.9*). Prayers are offered to Rudra to keep diseases away from children (*VII-46.2*) and from all the villages (*I-114*). He is praised as possessing healing remedies (*I-43.4*). He is the best physician of physicians (*II-33.4*). He possesses a thousand remedies. The Vedic singer invokes Rudra as : " Oh Rudra, do not out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee with our offerings (*I-114.8*) ".

From all that is mentioned of Rudra in the *Rig-Veda* it is clear that though the hymns addressed to Him are few and though he is considered as a minor deity, there is sufficient indication to invest Him with supreme power.

In the *Yajur-Veda* the conceptions of Rudra appears in a much more developed form. *Śatarudriya* (V Chapter, 16), presents Rudra in a benignant form (*Śiva tanuh*).

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa* it is stated that Prajāpati gave eight names to Rudra. Of these eight, the four, viz., Rudra, Sarva, Ugra, and Aśani indicate destructive energy, and the remaining four, viz., Bhāva, Paśupati, Mahādēva and Īśana present the pleasing aspect. In addition to these Hara, Mahādēva, Śiva, Bheema and Śankara, these five names attributed to Him are also found in the *Grihyasūtras*. *Parāśara Grihyasūtra* contains the names of Indrāṇi, Rudraṇi, Śarvāṇi, and Bhavāṇi who are wives of Indra, Rudra, Sarva and Bhāva respectively (*Pg. III. 8*). At the time of the *Grihyasūtras*, Rudra was a terrible god who had to be appeased. He was the god that held sway over regions away from home, over fields, wilderness, cemeteries, mountains, old trees and rivers. It was the god Rudra who was to be invoked for protection whenever any one faced a thing which created awe and terror. To this feeling of ancient Indians the omnipresent supreme lordhood of the universe attributed to Rudra to the exclusion of other Vedic gods, in later times, may be traced.

In the *Śvētāśvatarōpanishad*, Rudra is described as the Supreme Lord. " There is only one Rudra and they do not recognise another, who rules these

worlds by His ruling powers, who is the inmost soul of all men, who merges into himself everything on the final day, and creating all beings, protects them. Nobody sees Him with the eye. Those who see His dwelling in the heart, through the heart and the internal consciousness, became immortal (IV-20); not the sun nor the moon, nor the stars, nor the lightning, illuminates Him; when He shines everything else shines after Him and by His light all things are rendered visible (IV-14)'' The author of the *S'vetāśvalara* surrenders himself to the god who shines forth in one's own intelligence, who first created Brahmādēva and who sent forth the Vedas, the god who has no parts (indivisible), who does not suffer change, who is all peace, who has no defects and is unpolluted, who is the bridge for crossing over to immortality and who is like fire that has burnt all fuel (VI-18 & 19).

The *S'vetāśvatarōpanishad* contains verses from the *Rig-Veda* and *Yajur-Veda Samhitas*. Similarly, *Mundaka* and *Kaṭha* use verses from these *Samhitas* and others in describing the nature of the Supreme God identified with Śiva, of the individual soul and of the inanimate world, and the relation between them. The *S'vetāśvalara* is accepted as the earliest work which contains the germs of Bhakti which speedily developed and introduced the cult of a personal god. In the *Kēnōpanishad*, one of the early Upanishads, the name of Umā Haimavati, wife of Śiva, is mentioned. She disclosed the nature of the Spirit of Agni, Vāyu and Indra. It appears that sometime before the *Kēnōpanishad* was composed she was regarded as the daughter of Himavat and wife of Rudra-Śiva.

In the *Atharvaśira Upanishad*, Rudra is described as one without a second, Īśāna, Bhagavat. Mahādēva, Mahēśvara, etc, He alone creates, protects and absorbs everything. He is the one and only God. There is no other God. To know Him one should observe the vow called 'Pāśupatavrata'. The *Atharvaśira Upanishad* is a later work and belongs to the Pāśupata sect. The 'Pāśupatavrata' is a vow prescribed for the devotee of Paśupati to effect a deliverance from the trammels of life ('Paśupāsa-vimōksha').

In the epic period, the Śaiva cult assumed a shape which appears to be wider than in the Vedic and Sūtra period. In the *Ramayana*, the name of Rudra is not met with but in his place we find Śiva as Supreme God. He is called Mahādēva, Mahēśvara, Śankara, Trayambaka, etc. Rudra had a terrible aspect but Śiva is known as mild and beneficent (Śambhu.) There is a change not only in the name of the deity but also in the cult. Sri Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana* and an incarnation of Vishnu, worshipped 'Śiva-Linga' before he crossed the sea to attack Lanka, the city of Rāvaṇa. Even today this Linga is worshipped by all Hindus as one of the twelve sacred Jyotirlingas.

The Śivayōga described in the Upanishad assumes a clear shape and has touched the highest mark in the *Ramayana*. Śiva is the great yogin (mahāyogi); to please Him one has to resort to penance (tapas); Bhageeratha (*Bālakāṇḍa*, 42. 22-23) did this. In the *Mahabharata*, the Śiva cult is still further developed. It is presented in a more pleasing aspect. Therein the worship of Śiva is seen in two ways, one philosophical and another popular; but we find a synthesis between the two.

When Siva worship is viewed popularly, He is the Supreme God and He is to be worshipped at all times, present, past and future (*Karṇa Parva*, 24,62). He is without limit (aseema) beyond the power of thinking (achintya), and unapproachable (anadhigamya) (*Anusāsana Parva*, 23-27). He is known as Īsāna, Mahēśvara, Mahādēva, Bhagavān and Siva. Brahma and Vishnu, who are His portions (amśa) and other gods seek His protection (saraṇa) (*Anu-22*, 144-145). Devotion (bhakti) to him is His worship.

In the Purāṇas, the cult of Siva is considerably developed. In the Śaiva Purāṇas, Siva is described as the Supreme Deity endowed with the powers of creation, preservation and destruction (*Vāyu*, 66-108; *Linga I*, 1.1). He is the only God and all other gods are His creations. Post-vedic Śaivism is seen in a more developed form in the Purāṇas. All that is implied in the Vedic and the epic literature about Siva is fully expressed in the Purāṇas.

Siva is the Para-Brahma or Parama-Purusha, the highest Deity. He is the cause of the universe. The Vedas are not able to sing His glory (*Saura*, 7.10) 38.1, 33.90; *Linga*, 21.16; *Agni*, 88.7). He is the Atman, is omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient, and lives in the heart of all creatures. (*Vāyu*, 30.283-88). He is the self-existent, manifests himself in various forms, is the essence (tattva) and is the only one god.

In the purāṇic period, in addition to this highest conception of Siva, He is worshipped in various forms such as Harihara, half-Siva and half-Vishnu. Ardha-nāreśvara (half-man and half-woman), Mahēśvara (Brahma, Vishnu and Siva contained in one), or Trimooṛti. He is worshipped also in the form of Linga. Various types of Lingas are described in the Purāṇas. Some are small and are called 'Chala-lingas'. They can be taken to any place for worship. Some are big and are called 'Achala-lingas' and are fixed in the temples. The Lingas are round or like a pillar or a conch-shell in shape. The material of which Lingas are made is a lump of earth, wood, stone, crystal, metal, copper, brass, silver, gold or jewels. (*Agni*, 54.1). Siva is worshipped in human form also. He has two arms, four arms, and many arms, as is seen in the figure of Naṭarāja. He is a great yogi and is the deity to be contemplated upon in 'dhyānā, 'yōgā samādhi' and tapaścharya'.

The references to Siva in the Bauddha literature show that Śaivism was in a developed form then and that it was an important religion. In the *Tripitikas*, *Jātakas* and *Dirgha-nikāya*, Siva is mentioned. Aśvaghōsha in his *Buddha-charita* refers to Siva as Vrishadhvaja (X. 3, and Bhāva I.93), and to Pārvaṭi as mother of Skanda (I.66).

Pāṇini, the great grammarian, was a devotee of Siva and supplied definite information about Siva in his *Ashṭādhyāyī*. The sūtras on which his grammar is based are attributed to Siva and are called 'Mahēśvara sūtras', which are believed to have been revealed to him by Mahēśvara by sounding His drum ten times. The names of Siva, such as Bhāva, Rudra, Śarva, are found in the body of his sūtras. At that time there was a belief that the power of speech (vāk) emanated from Siva. Scholars assign to Pāṇini a date not later than the 4th century B.C. The

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, assigned to 3rd B.C., contains references to Siva (III-22; II-90). These references show that before the Christian era, Saivism was fully developed. A peep also into early literature proves the fact that Saivism was a popular religion, and was spread throughout India. Sūdraka, the author of a drama, *Clay Cart (Mricchakaṭika)* refers to Siva, Śakti, and Skanda. The famous Sanskrit poets like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra and Bhavabhūti describe Siva and His deeds in their works and are accepted by Saivas as great devotees of Siva.

Archæology, epigraphy and numismatics provide much evidence to prove the existence and importance of the Saiva cult at least from the 1st century B.C. Sir A. Stein identifies the small earthen figures found in Waziristan with the figures of Dēvi and Vrishabha, which, in his opinion, go back to the Mohenjodaro period. (*The Memoir of Archæological Survey of India No. 37, Plates 9 and 10*). A copper coin assigned to 3 B.C., has on it a figure of a bull (*Catalogue of Indian Coins*) *British Museum Intrn.*, P. 18, Pl. I, No. 20.23). A similar figure of a bull is also found on the coins of the successors of Alexander assigned to the 2nd century B.C. (*Coins of Alexander's successors in the East*. Cunningham Pl. VIII No. 12, Pl. IX No. 4). The legends on the coins are in the Brāhmi script and in the Sanskrit language. From this it can be inferred that these Greeks became Indianised and adopted Saivism as their faith. A silver coin going back to the 3rd century B.C., has on it a figure of Skanda or Kārtikēya which indicates that the worship of the war-god Kārtikēya was current during those days. Patanjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, also states that Skanda was a deity worshipped in those days.

On a coin of Gondophernes there is a standing figure of Siva with two hands holding a trident (*triśūla*) in one. (*Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Br. Museum-Class I Group 3, Plate XII, Ind. p. 75, Pl. 2 etc.). Two gold coins of the Kushān king Wema Kadphesis are noteworthy. On one the figure of Siva has a trident in one hand, and a gourd (*kamaṇḍala*) in the other. On the other coin a bull (*vrishabha*) is standing by the side of Siva (*Lahore Museum Catalogue of Coins* (Whitehead): Plate XXII, No. 31.33; *Calcutta Museum Catalogue of Coins* (Smith): P. 68, No. 1.12). The figure of Siva in these two coins has two arms. The legend on the coins is read as 'Mahēśvara'. On gold and copper coins belonging to Kanishka, the figure of Siva has four hands holding *triśūla*, *ḍamaru*, *kamaṇḍala* and *pāśa* and has a halo in four circles. (*Lahore Museum Catalogue of Coins* (Whitehead): Plates XVII, No. 65; XVIII 106.108; *Calcutta Museum Catalogue of Coins* (Smith), P. 74, Nos. 64-77). The Greek legend 'Ohpol' found on these coins is interpreted to mean 'Īśa'. In one of Kanishka's coins there is a figure of a deer by the side of Siva who has two hands holding *triśūla* and *kamaṇḍala* (*Lahore Museum Catalogue of Coins*: Plate XVIII, No. 110-114). The coins of Huvishka and Vāsudēva II, the successors of Kanishka, have figures of Siva in various forms, such as Chandramauḷi, Pinākapāṇi, and Virūpāksha. All this shows that even the foreign kings, who were known as Yavanas, adopted Saivism as their faith, and the worship of Siva in human form was common among the people as early as the 2nd century B.C.

On a coin which is assigned to the early period there is a figure of a Linga fixed on a pedestal (peeṭha) (*Cat. Ind. Coins Br. Mu. of Ancient India*-Class I Group 3, Plate XII, Intrn. P. 75. pl. II, 2 etc). A Linga found at Gudimallam is assigned to 3rd century B. C. by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*Indian Iconography* : Vol. II, P. 63-66). Many Lingas going back to very early periods are discovered and have been preserved in museums. A Linga having a figure and inscription on it is in the Mathura Museum and is assigned to the 2nd century A.D. Bharaśivas, connected with Vākāṭakas by marriage, claim that they obtained the kingdom by the favour of Śiva whose emblem, the Linga, they carried on their shoulder (Chammak plates of Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II. Gupta Inscription). This shows the prevalence of Linga worship all over India from the 3rd Century B. C. onwards.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN KARNATAKA :

It thus becomes evident that the worship of Śiva was popular in India both in the form of Linga and image even before the Christian era. Along with Śiva, Skanda, Śakti, Vṛishabha, Gaṇapati (leader of hosts) were also worshipped. Śaivism received patronage from the Guptas, Bharaśivas, Vākāṭkas, Traikūṭas, the early dynasties which ruled large portions of northern and western India from the 2nd century A.D. to the 5th century A.D.

In the south, according to tradition, Śaivism was existing since pre-historic times. The paurāṇika story of Rāvaṇa, who, in order to facilitate his mother's Linga worship, brought the Prāṇa-Linga of Śiva, but could not carry it farther than Gōkarṇa, where it was established as the Mahābalēśvara Linga, proves the antiquity and popularity of Śaivism in the south. The early dynasties which ruled Karnataka, known also as the Kuṇṭala-dēśa, were the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas and the Kadambas. From the *Bṛihatkaṭhā*, the Sanskrit translation of which is available in *Bṛihatkaṭhā Saritsāgara*, it is seen that Śaivism was predominant and popular during the Sātavāhana period. Some of the Pallava rulers of Kānchi were followers of Śaivism as is evident from the early Śaiva temples built there. A drama called *Mattavilāsa* written by the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān, contains a satire on Kāpālikas and Bauddhas. It is suggested that a Śaiva saint known as Śiruttōṇḍar, or Paraṇjōti, was a contemporary of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman, son of Mahēndravarmān, who was a contemporary of the Bādāmi Chālukya king Pulikēśi II. The epigraphists admit that the saint Śiruttōṇḍar took part in the battle of Bādāmi fought in 642 A.D., between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. The early Kadambas, who belong to one of the early dynasties of Karnataka, trace their origin to Trinētra or Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, identified with Mayūrasarman of the Tālagunda inscription. The tradition is that the founder of the family was born from the sweat of Śiva fallen under a Kadamba tree after destroying the three cities. The Tālagunda inscription begins with the invocation 'Bow to Śiva' (Namah Śivāya). The Chālukyas of Bādāmi patronised Śaivism. One of the early caves of Bādāmi contains figures of Naṭarāja, Harihara

and Ardha-Nāreesvara, and Mahishāsūramardini. Bādāmi, Mahākūṭa and Paṭṭadakisuvoḷa contain ample evidence of the popularity of Śaivism.

We have seen above that the *Atharvaśira-Upanishad* belongs to the Pāśupata sect and describes the *Pāśūpata vrata* which relieves one from bondage. In the *Mahabharata* it is stated that the Pāśupata cult was preached by Rudra, that it was in accordance with Varṇāśramadharmā in certain respects and differed from it in certain other respects (*Mahabharata-Sāntiparva*, 185-124).

This Pāśupata dharma appears to be the source from which various Śaiva sects arose. Nyāya, Vaiśeṣhika and Yoga schools branched off from the original Pāśupata, the elements of which are to be found in the Śaiva *Upanishads* and the *Mahabharata*. Of all the Śaiva sects the one founded by Lakuliśa appears to be very old and has its own philosophy. The founder Bhaṭṭara Lakuliśa is mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (23,217-21), *Linga Purāṇa* (Part II.24-124-32) and *Sūtasamhita* (IV, 45-17). He was a contemporary of Śrī Krishna and lived at the end of the Dvāparayuga. He was an incarnation of Lord Rudra and appeared in Kāyā-varōhaṇa, identified with modern Karvan on the bank of the river Narmada in the Dabhol Taluka, Gujarat State. He had four disciples named Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitrēya. He taught them the Pāśupata system. These four had their own pupils who spread in the world the philosophy of the Pāśupata system. Lakuliśa is one of the 28 yōgachāryas, each one of whom had four disciples. He is described in detail in the *Karavana Māhātmya* and in a number of inscriptions, out of which one is dated 1287 A.D. and is now preserved in the Cintra Museum of Portugal and is published by Dr. Buhler (*E. I., Vol. I, P. 271*). Another is in the temple of Nātha near Ēkalingāji temple, 14 miles to the north of Udayapura, dated 971 A.D. The Lakuliśa cult was a very influential and popular Śaiva cult in Karnataka and ample epigraphic evidences, from the 6th century to the 15th century A.D., are available about it. In Mahākūṭa there is a temple, dedicated to Lakuliśa which is assigned to an early period. The inscription of Mangaleśa, brother of the Bādāmi Chālukya king Keertivarma, dated 602 A.D., describes Mahākūṭa as a holy place. On the temples which were constructed in this place as early as the 7th or the 8th century A.D., figures of Lakuliśa are carved. On the walls of the Paṭṭadakal and Mallikārjuna temples built in the 8th century A. D. there are figures of Lakuliśa. In the Hombala inscription, the priest Bonteyadēva is described as an incarnation ('aparāvatāra' of Lakuliśa. In another inscription of Hēmavati, in the Śira Taluk, dated 943 A. D., Muninātha Chilluka was known as an incarnation of Lakuliśa. The priests of this sect are described in almost all inscriptions 'as the pillars of Lākula samaya' and 'students of Lakulā-gama'. It was a very powerful Śaiva sect and commanded respect from the people and the ruling class. Gifts to temples were given after washing the feet of the Āchāryas of this sect. They were highly educated and were experts in the Vedas, Vedāngas, Upanishads, Kāvya, Nāṭakas, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣhika, Mimāmsa, etc. In Karnataka, rulers of all dynasties from the Bādāmi Chālukyas to the Vijayanagara kings patronised the priests of this sect who were described in the inscriptions as Rājagurus or Rāya Rājagurus. Generally, they were heads of

maṭhas and were in charge of temples. Some of the priests of this sect are called Kālāmukha Āchāryas. It appears that the Kālāmukha sect was a branch of Lākula-Saivas. But they were misunderstood and were identified with Kāpālikas by Rāmānujāchārya in his *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* (II-1-37-42). Dr. Bhandarkar also misunderstood them and called them Kāpālikas. The Kapālikas and Kālāmukhas are entirely different. The Kāpālikas accept as their Supreme Deity Bhairava, a terrible form of Śiva. A glimpse of this sect is seen in the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahēndravarmān and *Mālati Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti. The Lakuliśa Saivas were called Māhēśvaras and had their own philosophy which is summarised in the *Pāśupata sūtras* composed by Bhaṭṭāraka Lakuliśa. A commentary on these *sūtras* written by Kaundinya, assigned to about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D., is available. Besides Kaundinya, there were a number of teachers of this sect, of whom Īśāna, Parāgavya, Kapilānda, Atri, Pingala, Pushpaka, Agastī, Santāna etc., were described as great teachers of this school. Another important book now available is *Gaṇakārika* written by Haradattāchārya and commented on by Bhāsarvajña who is assigned to 925 A. D. Sāyana-Mādhava has summarised the philosophy of this sect in his *Sarva Darśana Samgraha*.

PHILOSOPHY :

The Pāśupata school is theistic and accepts the existence of God, the Supreme Lord, who is called Paśupati, Lord of Paśus, another name of Śiva, the Supreme. Paśupati means master or lord of paśus, or individual souls entangled in worldly existence (saṃsāra) which is termed as 'pāśa,' rope of bondage. Pati, Paśu and Pāsa are three entities accepted by most of the Śaiva schools.

The Paśupatas of the Lakuliśa sect accept five categories (*padārthas*) which are as follows :

1. 'Kārya' : Effect or product. It may be compared to the Sāṅkhya 'Mahat' and the rest, produced from Pradhāna. It is explained in a different way. Kārya is not independent and is of three kinds, viz.,

1. 'Vidya', cognition 2 'Kalā', organ and 3 'Paśu', the individual soul.

The category Kārya includes all the Tattvas of the Sāṅkhyas and the evolution of both the mental and physical phenomena.

2. 'Kāraṇa' : The principal cause. It is described as the power which creates, destroys and shows favour to all. It is one, and yet on account of its various functions, it has many forms such as Lord (Pati), naturally powerful (Sādhya, etc.). The Lord has unbounded power of knowledge (dṛik) and action (kriya). He is the eternal Ruler. He possesses supreme sovereignty which is not incidental but natural.

3. 'Vidhi' : Precepts or commandments. It is the process which brings about righteousness. By observing the rules laid down in the *Pāśupata-Sāstra* one can achieve purity of both mind and body. There are elaborate rules regarding ahimsa, satya, daily religious practices, etc.

4. 'Yōga': The union. It is the means of uniting the individual soul with God through the chitta, intellect. The union with God can be achieved by the Yoga process, meditation and samādhi. It is preliminary to achieve salvation.

5. 'Dukhānta': The end of misery: final deliverance or cessation of misery and achieving supernatural powers. It is the apex of the Pāśupata system. Gāṇakārīka explains Duhkhānta as absolute cessation of all pains in a negative sense and as possession of supernatural power like that of Śiva in a positive sense. This supernatural power called 'Siddhi', achieving perfection or possessing miraculous powers, is one of the five ways of perfection (lābha) which are: jñāna, tapas, nityatva, sthiti and siddhi. The knowledge of truth is jñāna. The discipline in observing the practices of dharma such as bhasma, snāna, etc., is known as tapas. Constant devotion to the Deity is nityatva. Firm concentration of mind on Rudra free from impurities is 'sthiti'. Achieving perfection and the supernatural powers which automatically appear is 'siddhi.' In the Pāśupata system great importance is attached to religious discipline.

Kaunḍīnya gives a fuller picture of the moral discipline of the Pāśupatas. It is based on modes of self-restraint viz., ahimsa, brahmacharya, satya, asam-vyavahāra, śauca, āhārālāghava and apramada. The Pāśupata ahimsa (non-injury) is as comprehensive as that of the Jainas. The lighting of fire is forbidden to avoid hurting sentient beings. Water should be filtered before use. Edible vegetable stalks, growing bulbs and ripe seeds are forbidden for eating (*Pāśupata Sūtras* 5. 16). Ahimsa, according to Pāśupata, is to avoid injury to all forms of life by any process, mental, vocal or physical.

Kaunḍīnya in his commentary on the *Pāśupata Sūtras* says that ahimsa is superior to the gift of the golden mountain of Mēru or the entire earth or the ocean full of jewels. Haribhadrāsūri, a Jaina author of *Shaḍdarśana Samuchchaya*, who is assigned to 960 A.D., describes the teachers of the Śaiva school as follows:

"The teachers of this school carry a staff, wear a thick piece of cloth over the private parts, cover their body with a woollen blanket, wear matted hair, smear their body with ash, wear the sacred thread, eat insipid food, mostly live in forests, hold gourds in their arm-pits, subsist on bulbs, roots and fruits, and are devoted to hospitality. They are of two classes, viz., with wives, and without wives, that is, celibates. Those that are celibates are the best. They wear the consecrated Linga (Prāṇa Linga) on their arm or on their head or in their matted hair. Those that have achieved full control of all passions wander naked. In the morning after cleaning their teeth and washing their hands, feet and mouth, they apply ashes to their body meditating on Śiva. The lay worshippers with folded hands recite and repeat the formula 'I bow to Śiva' (*Namah Śivāya*)."

Eighteen incarnations of Śiva are mentioned.

It is unfortunate that the full literature of the Pāśupatas is not discovered and made available. The picture we get from critics of the Pāśupata school is often a distorted one.

There were other Saiva schools existing in Karnataka in the early centuries. Some of them became fully developed after the 8th century. Kashmir Saivism and the Saiva Siddhānta are also mentioned in the inscriptions available in Karnataka but all such inscriptions belong to later centuries.

VAISHNAVISM

We may now turn our attention to Vaishnavism which is the religion and philosophy in which Vishnu is looked upon as the highest deity and is the object of supreme worship. The word Vishnu is derived from a root which means to pervade. Vishnu is All-pervading. The path of devotion to Vishnu, or any of His manifestations or incarnations, is considered as the best means of spiritual fulfilment according to Vaishnavism.

The antiquity of Vaishnavism is amply evidenced by the sacred scriptures of India. Vishnu is a god that figures in the *Rig-Veda*, but not yet as the Supreme Deity. It is Indra that is invoked more than any other god in the Vedic hymns. But it is noteworthy that though there are only a few hymns addressed to Vishnu, he is described as a friend of Indra, with whom he shares the mastery of the world (1), and is his most helpful ally in defeating Vṛtrāsura (2). But the most significant references to Vishnu, which give intimation of his later development in the Brāhmaṇas, the Sūtras and the Epics, when he came to be looked upon as the Supreme Deity, are his striding over the universe with two steps, while his third step is known only to the sages; his upholding the Dharma; (3) his being called the Great One and the sustainer of the moral order (*Ṛta*) (4). His close association with Indra earned for him the appellation Upendra. How Indra and Vishnu brought two horses, when Vishnu measured the world with three steps, is described in another hymn (*R. V., III-12-27.*) (5). This provided the nucleus to the story of Vāmanāvatāra, the fifth incarnation, in which Vishnu in His incarnation as a small boy begged of Bali for the gift of three paces of land, and measured the entire heaven and earth with His two steps and placed the third one on the head of Bali himself, pressing him down to the nether-world. There is a variant to this story of Vishnu as a dwarf occurring in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (6). The gods and the demons (asuras) were looking out for a place to perform a sacrifice. The asuras grudgingly permitted the gods to occupy as much land as could be occupied by a dwarf. Vishnu became a dwarf and was made to lie down. He gradually grew in size until He covered the whole earth, and so the gods got possession of the entire earth for performing their sacrifices.

The three strides of Vishnu are referred to again and again in Vedic literature. The third step, called 'paramam padam' acquired a mystic signi-

ficance. There is a 'well of honey' in that place, and there the gods rejoice (7). This idea of the third step of Vishnu became a familiar expression in the Upanishadic period, as indicated by the reference made to it in the *Kaṭha Upanishad* (8), where the goal of the human being on his march to the highest realisation is called 'Tad Vishnōh Paramam Padam'. In later times, 'Vishnupāda' came to acquire the connotation of a haven in one's spiritual journey. The marks of Vishnu's two feet became objects of veneration, as in Gaya. They were carved generally on the tops of hills. This seems to have provided the example to Buddhists, who similarly venerated the two feet of Buddha, along with the Bōdhi tree and the Wheel of Law.

That the whole universe is pervaded by God is a concept that is met with in the Vedas, as in the well-known opening verse of the '*Īśāvāsyā Upanishad*'. This forms a part of the Yajur-Veda, and is, therefore, also called the '*Samhitōpanishad*'. Expression is given to the omnipresence of God in the phrase, '*Īśavāsyamidam sarvam yat kincha jagtyam jagat*'. (All this in the universe is the abode of God). And though religious and philosophical ideas were not worked out in Vedic hymns, as in the Upanishads, the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of a later period, the idea of a Divine Spirit pervading the universe, its being known by different names (8), and its being the upholder of the moral order (9), are well-known to the Vedas. That the Vedic hymns were the out-pourings of a primitive people over-awed by natural phenomena was the view of some of the early oriental scholars. This is now largely discredited. The *Rig-Bhāṣya* of Śrī Madhvāchārya clearly states that the Vedic mantras have a threefold meaning, physical, psychological and spiritual. The work of recent Indian scholars trained in the exact methods of historical research and the interpretations provided by savants and mystics like Dayānand Sarasvati and Śrī Aurobindo Ghosh have supported that view and shed new light on the import of Vedic hymns. Addressed to different deities, these hymns may appear polytheistic, or henotheistic (to use Max Muller's expression), but the later hymns sound a distinct note of monotheism, the worship of one God, called variously Viśva-Dēva, Viśwakarma, Brāhmaṇaspati, Prajāpati and Īśa in the Vedas. We have, in fact, a few hymns affirming the existence of One Reality transcending all name and form, and adumbrating the Brahman of the seers of the Upanishads (10).

As Sir R. G. Bhandarkar points out, Vishnu "in spite of his comparatively subordinate position in the *Rig-Veda*, he began to rise in importance in the time of the Brāhmaṇas, while during the epic and the purāṇic periods, he rose to the rank of the Supreme Spirit (11)."

The post-hymnal age was that of the Brāhmaṇas, when Vedic sacrifices were given the highest importance for the propitiation of gods for the securing of all the good things in life. Vishnu came to be identified with sacrifice and was known variously as Yajna, Yajnapurusha, Yajnēśvara, Yajnakratu, Yajnavāhana, Yajñabhōkṛ, etc (12). This indicates already a spiritual refinement of the concept of Yajna. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV-I-111) contains a legend about the 'dēvas' performing a sacrifice at Kurukshētra to attain prosperity. They said:

“Whoever among us through toil, austerity, faith, sacrifice and oblations first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us Vishnu attained that object and became the most eminent of us. Vishnu attained that object and became the most eminent of the gods. He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice, and he who is this sacrifice is Āditya (13).”

Here is an amalgamation of Vishnu worship with Sun-worship. The Sun becomes the visible symbol of Vishnu. Vishnu becomes the immanent dweller in the Sun. One of the distinctive features of Vaishnavism is the interpretation of Yajna as worship which does not involve the appeasing of the Deity by animal sacrifice. Vaishnavism set its face against all animal sacrifices to deities and claimed for itself the promotion of a Sāttvik mode of worship as against Rājasik and Tāmasik modes. Similarly, a strict monotheism, ‘ēka devōpāsana’, was held as a necessary objective in worship, which made ‘devatāntara parityāga’ (abandonment of other deities or gods) a condition precedent. The supremacy of Vishnu as Dēva dēva (God of gods) was proclaimed.

As the Vishnu cult developed, it incorporated the concept of Nārāyaṇa, interpreted as one who has His abode in the heart of Nara or man, and identified Him with Krishna Vāsudēva and this culminated in the Bhāgavata Dharma, whose mantra was ‘Om namō Bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya’. We get a detailed exposition of this Dharma in the Nārāyaṇeeya section of the Śānti Parva of the *Mahabharata*, of which the *Bhāgavadgeeta* is the finest flower. Nārāyaṇa, it may be noticed, is the rishi who is credited with the famous Purusha Sūkta hymn (R-V., X-90), which sets out the creation of the universe from the cosmic form of the Purusha. The word Nārāyaṇa, as already indicated, has been interpreted to mean the resting place of men and gods. He conceived the idea of a Pāncharātra sattra (a sacrifice continuing for five days) to obtain superiority over all beings and becoming all beings. He came to be looked upon as the Supreme Soul present in all things.

The word ‘Pāncharātra’ is thus supposed to be derived from the above sacrifice performed by Nārāyaṇa. There grew of a voluminous literature devoted to the exposition of the theology and philosophy of the Pāncharātra. Over 200 Samhitas and Tantras have been listed and they are said to run to over 1½ million verses (14). They deal with philosophy, mantraśāstra, māyā yōga, yōga, erection of temples, image making, domestic observances, varṇāśrama dharma, and utsava (public festivals) (15). According to this system, there is a fivefold manifestation of the Supreme Being: 1. Parā, 2. Vyūha, 3. Vibhava, 4. Antaryāmin and 5. Archā. ‘Parā’ is God’s transcendental Being. The ‘Vyūhas’ are Vāsudēva (Krishna), Samkarshaṇa (Balarāma), Pradyumna (Krishna’s son), and Aniruddha (Pradyumna’s son), standing respectively for God, the Soul, Manas and Ahankara (ego), in successive emanations. Vāsudēva alone possesses the six excellent qualities viz., jñāna (knowledge), śakti (ability), bala (strength), aiśvarya (lordship), veerya (virility) and tējas (splendour). These are the qualities said to be connoted by the term ‘Bhagavān’. The body of Vāsudēva, conceived as

a personal god, is made up of the totality of the guṇas, as well as His consort Lakshmi. In addition to Lakshmi, there are Bhūdēvi and Neelādēvi. The other Vyūhas, or emanations, proceeding from Vāsudēva contain only two of the above qualities in turn. The 'Vibhava' refers to the descent of God into the world as incarnations, some of which are complete, like that of Krishna, and some are partial, and some only for a temporary period. 'Antaryāmin' is the presence of God in the heart of man, an idea which one comes across in the *Upanishads* and in the *Geeta*. The 'Archā' is the presence of God in His images after due consecration. The sāligrāma (rounded black granite with the chakra impress in it) was looked upon as the most excellent Archā form, and was believed to be instinct with the presence of Vishnu. The 'Archā' is the most concrete and proximate visible presence of the Divine, while 'Parā' is the absolute transcendent form.

The *Mahabharata* furnishes some further details about the sage Nārāyaṇa in the Nārāyaṇeya section already referred to.

We may now consider Vāsudēva, (the son of Vasudēva), or Krishna, who came to be looked up on as Bhagavān, and became the centre of worship in the Bhāgavatha Dharma.

There is a mention of Krishna, the son of Dēvaki, in the *Chhāndōgya Upanishad* (III-7-6). He was a disciple of Ghōra Āngeerasa. Tapas (austerity) dāna (gift), ārjava (honesty), ahimsa (non-injury) and satyavachana (truth), are commended by him, and these echo the ideas of the *Bhagavadgeeta*, and include some of the great virtues mentioned by Krishna (XVI-1-2). Ghōra Āngeerasa gives no importance to vidhi (ritualistic) yajna, even as the *Bhagavadgeeta* does not (IV-33). These teachings point to a new outlook, and it is quite probable that the Krishna of this Upanishad was the great man whom the Sātvatas deified. As stated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar : "In many passages in the *Mahabharata* Krishna's divinity is denied; and Sanjaya and Bheeshma make strenuous efforts to establish it. What appears to be the fact is that the religion of Vāsudēva, in which divine honours were paid to him, was professed by the Satvatas... and its gradual extension to other tribes and peoples of the country is foreshadowed in these portions of the great epic. In the purāṇic times, however, the cult of Vāsudēva ceased to be militant and three streams of religious thought, namely, the one flowing from Vishnu, the Vedic god, at its source, another from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from Vāsudēva, the historical god, mingled together decisively, and thus formed the later Vaishnavism. There is, however, a fourth stream which in modern times has acquired an almost exclusive predominance, viz., the identification of Vāsudēva Krishna with the cowherd god (Gopala Krishna)" (16). To this may be added the stream of thought issuing out of the speculations of the *Upanishads*. This formed the foundation of the philosophical edifice built up by the Vaishnavite thinkers who substituted the Upanishadic 'Brahman' by Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudēva or Hari or any of the 24 names given to the Supreme Being, beginning with Kēśava the repetition of

which became an integral part of Vaishnava worship. That Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudēva and Vishnu came to be looked upon as alternate names is evidenced by the incantation : 'Nārāyaṇāya vidmahē Vāsudēvāya dheemahi śannō Vishnuh prachōdayāt' occurring in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (X-11).

The antiquity of Krishna or Vāsudēva worship is borne out by its mention in Pāṇini, ascribed by scholars to the 5th century B. C., if not earlier, where a sūtra refers to the formation of 'Vāsudēvaka', a worshipper of Vāsudēva (17). Megasthenes in the 4th century B.C. also refers to the worship of Herakles (Krishna) by the people in the Mathura region. We have, besides, inscriptional evidence in the Besnagar inscription of the 2nd century B.C., where Heliodorus, a Greek ambassador, called himself a Bhāgavata, and erected a Garuḍadhvaja, or a column with the image of Garuḍa on the top, in honour of Vāsudēva, the God of gods (18).

The worship of avatars like Rama and Krishna became integral parts of the Vaishnava faith, and though there were ten avatars usually listed in the purāṇas (and even 22, including Kapila, Dattātrēya, Rishabha, Vyāsa, etc., mentioned in the *Bhāgavata*, 1-3), only Varāha and Narasimha, besides Rama and Krishna, became objects of worship as seen by temples consecrated to them in South India. It is surmised by some scholars that when large numbers of Buddhists were taken back into the Hindu fold, as a result of the renaissance of the Vedic faith that took place in the Gupta period, and as a result of the preaching of Sankarāchārya, provision was made for Buddha as the ninth avatāra, though no temples seem to have been erected for him by orthodox Hindus. Vishnu, as Nārāyaṇa reposing on Ādiśeṣha in the Milky Ocean, with Lakshmi at His feet and Brahma born out of the lotus issuing out of His navel, became an object of worship as Sri Ranganātha. Sri Ranganātha was only another name for Nārāyaṇa.

The *Bhagavadgeeta*, the Nārāyaṇeya section of the Sāntiparva of the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Vishnupurāṇa* came to be regarded as sacred canon by the Vaishnavas, almost as much as the Śrutis (the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*) and the *Brahmasūtras*, while the Pāncharātra Samhitas were regarded as the authority for daily observances and rituals of worship. Temples were erected and worship assumed colourful forms, and attracted large congregations, providing opportunities for the common people to come into contact with expressions of art and culture based upon religious feeling. The celebrations in temples included soulful and sonorous recitations of sacred texts, music, dance, etc. Vaishnavism always dwelt on the unlimited glories of God and His creation and His many auspicious qualities, and these were given expression to in hymns and songs both in Sanskrit and the local languages.

It is necessary, in this connection, to refer to the *Vaikhānasa Sūtra* which is also Vaishnava and in which the devotee looks upon Nārāyaṇa as the supreme object of worship (Nārāyaṇa parāyaṇa). The legend about Vikhānasa, the founder of the sect, says that Vishnu commanded him to come down to earth to

regulate the worship in the archā (image) form. Though the creed has no considerable following, it is stated that there are more temples following this mode of worship than of the Pāncharātra in South India, including the famous Tirupati temple.

Srī or Lakshmi is an integral part of Narāyaṇa, and is never worshipped separately according to the Vaikhāṇasas. Though God's manifestation as Vibhūtis or *Antaryāmin* (In-dweller) to be realised by devotion and self-surrender, are doctrinally granted, the main emphasis of the Vaikhāṇasa is on the Lord's manifestation in the consecrated image. The separate worship of other deities or saints in the temple precincts is not provided for, though later, owing to the influence of Rāmānuja, images were set up even in Vaikhāṇasa temples for saints and offered worship, as at Tirupati. The branding of the body with the Vaishnava emblems like śankha (conch) and chakra (disc) which is in vogue among the Vaishnava sects as a mark of initiation into the faith is not recognised by the Vaikhāṇasas, nor do they provide for the recitation of the Tamil prabandhams during times of worship.

Thus it can be seen that Vishnu is a very complex concept of the Supreme All-pervading Deity in which the Vedic, the post-Vedic, the ritualistic, the spiritual and philosophical speculation and cultural urges of the Indian people are reconciled in a supreme harmony. This harmonious synthesis is nowhere reflected so well as in the *Bhagavadgeeta*.

The *Bhagavadgeeta*, along with the *Upanishads* and the *Brahmasūtras*, is the common possession of all sects professing the Vedic faith. It is, however, in a special way, the authority for the followers of the Vaishnava faith, with the Visvarūpa, the vision of the Lord presented in cosmic dimensions, occupying the central place in the poem.

The immanence of God is stressed in the *Geeta* as much as His transcendental majesty and power. Elaborate rituals performed for selfish ends are discountenanced; and the highest ethical virtues based on altruism are taught in the *Geeta*. While both good action and true knowledge are given their due importance, the stress laid on devotion to God and surrender to Him is unmistakable. Above all, its broad tolerance in matters of religious quest has made the *Bhagavadgeeta* popular among the spiritual aspirants not only of India but of the world.

As to when exactly Vaishnavism spread to South India we can only guess. We know from the edicts of Asoka found in the Kannada country and from the story of the advent of Bhadrabāhu to Śravaṇabelagoḷa that Jaina and the Buddhist faiths came down to Karnataka and South India a few centuries before the Christian era. Had the tenets and the practices of the Vedic faith come down earlier or did they come in the wake of Buddhism and Jainism? We have no evidence leading us to a definite conclusion on this matter. The earliest rulers of whom we have definite records by way of inscriptions are the Sātavāhanas, also called Āndhrabhṛtyas, who ruled over what is at present the Andhra and large

portions of Karnataka from the 2nd century B.C. They were protagonists of the Vedic faith. The Nānāghat inscription of Sātakaṛṇi II, assigned to the 2nd or 1st century B.C., indicates that the kings performed Vedic sacrifices like Aśvamēdha and Rājasūya; invocatory verses refer to Indra, Samkarshaṇa, Vāsudēva and other gods (19). The Kadamba rulers who followed them in the early centuries of the Christian era were also followers of the Vedic faith and believers in Varnāśrama Dharma, as seen in their names and the titles borne by them: Krishnavarma, Raghu, Kākusthavarma, Harivarma, which show their allegiance to the Vedic and Vaishnavite faith. Similarly, among the Ganga kings, who came a little later, and who were generally Jains and patrons of Jainism, we meet with one Krishnasarma. As for the Western Chālukyas who ruled from Bādāmi from the middle of the 6th century, we have fuller evidence of their religious leanings from the monuments and temples erected by them, which survive to the present day. The titles, 'Parama Bhāgavata' and 'Śrī Prithivī-vallabha' (the lord of Lakshmi and Bhūdēvi, a characteristically Vaishnava concept) occur among the titles assumed by them. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, who established their rule in the Andhra country from about the 7th century, Vishnuvardhana was a common name. Again, Vishnugōpa was the name of one of the early Pallava rulers in the 4th century. All these provide proofs of the prevalence of Vaishnavism, along with Saivism and other Vedic faiths, in the south and in Karnataka in the early centuries of the Christian era.

That the south provided a favourable field for the doctrine of devotion to flourish is a tradition to which the *Bhāgavata* gives expression: 'that in the countries where the rivers Tāmraparṇi, Kritimāla, (Vaigai), Payasvini (Pālār) and the most holy Kāveri and the great western Mahānadi flow, the peoples who drink their waters get pure in mind and mostly become devoted to the Almighty Lord Vāsudēva'.

FOOT NOTES

1. *R-V.*, VI-69 : VII-99.
2. *R-V.*, IV-18-11. *
3. *R-V.*, I-22-18-19.
4. *R-V.*, I-150-3.
5. *Bhagavata-Vamana Avatara* (Skandha, IX 18-21).
6. *Satapatha Brahmana*, 1-2-5.
7. *R-V.*, I-154-5.
8. *R-V.*, I-164-16.
Yajurveda, 32-1.
9. *R-V.*, I-156-3.
I-147-1.
IV-40-5. The deity addressed is Surya and the divine spirit is called Hamsa.
V-10.
VI-39-4. a hymn addressed to Indra.
10. *R-V.*, X-129-1-2 ; *R-V.*, VIII-58-2.
R-V., I-164-46 ; *R-V.*, II-7-1-11.
11. *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* by R. G. Bhandarkar, 1913.
Pages 33, 34.
12. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, P. 110, (article by D. C. Sirkar).
13. *Studies in Indo-Aryan Mythology* by Narayana Iyengar (1898) quoted from
14. *Introduction to the Pancharatra and Ahirbudhnya Samhita* by Otto Schrader, Adyar Library, Pages 1-11.
15. *Ibid*, P. 14.
16. *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* by R. G. Bhandarkar, P. 35.
17. *Panini*, IV-3-98.
18. Luder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions No. 669 quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar.
19. *The Early History of the Deccan*-Yazdani, Page 131. (1960).

JAINISM

As seen already, Jainism entered Karnataka well before the Christian era. It gradually gathered adherents in the country, and flourished in the land for over a millennium as one of the dominant faiths influencing the life of a considerable section of the population. Many kings and noblemen embraced the faith, as we have seen in dealing with the political history of the period. They left a deep impress on the art and letters of Karnataka for several centuries. Indeed, Karnataka owes its earliest literary creations to Jaina writers and scholars. There were, besides, Jaina philosophers and teachers living in Karnataka who made brilliant contributions to philosophic and religious thought, and their works are revered by Jainas all over India.

We shall now consider the tenets of Jaina religion and philosophy.

Jainism is a rationalistic and realistic philosophy. As a religion, it is a dialectic against the authority of the Vedas and the pseudo-spiritualism of an elaborate sacrificial system of worship. It is an old religion, which prevailed even before Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna, the last two Teerthankaras. The *Yajur-Veda* mentions Rishabha, Ajita and Arishṭanēmi as Teerthankaras. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* mentions Rishabha, the founder of Jainism.

I. HISTORICAL :

The influence of Jaina thought did not remain restricted to the north-east of India. It spread far and wide in the country like Buddhism. The history of Karnataka is intimately connected with the spread and development of the Jaina religion. Exactly when Jainism came to the south, specially to Karnataka, is difficult to say.* It appears that Bhadrabāhusvāmin, the last of the Srutakēvalins, foresaw that a famine in North India, which had been foretold, would last twelve years. He set out to the south with his 'sangha' (1).

He reached, by stages, a country filled with happy people (2). He was accompanied by Chandragupta, the Maurya (3). Bhadrabāhu practised 'Sallēkhana' on mount Chandragiri in 297 B.C. (4). This was the beginning of the influence of Jainism in the south. The inscriptions of Asoka refer to the existence of Śramaṇas along with Buddhists in the southern country. Samprati, the grand-

* There is a Jaina tradition according to the Sanskrit work *Kshatra Chudamani* by Vadibha Simha Suri and the Kannada work *Jeevandhara Charita* by Bhaskar Kavi and a Tamil work *Jeevaka Chintamani* by Tiruttakka-devar that Karnataka was known as Heman-gada-desa ruled over Jeevandhara (6th c B.C.) who was himself a Jaina, who met Mahaveera when he came down to the south, took 'deeksha' from him, and became an ascetic.

son of Asoka, who was himself a Jaina in his earlier days, sent missionaries to the south.

For nearly twelve centuries (from the 2nd century A.D., to the 13th century A.D.), Jainism played an important part in Karnataka and influenced the princes and the people alike. The earliest political influence of Jaina Dharma is evidenced by the establishment of a Jaina kingdom in the south. Sometime in the 3rd century A.D., two princes of the Ganga family came to the city of Perur in the south. Āchārya Simhanandi initiated one of them in the 'Syādvāda doctrine and gave them a kingdom' (5). Konguṇivarma I established the Ganga dynasty with the blessings of the Simhanandi Āchārya. Rice thinks that there must have been a considerable Jaina element in the population of Karnataka at the time and that Simhanandi Āchārya helped the establishment of the Ganga kingdom in the south (6). The Gangas continued their patronage to the Jaina religion. The Ganga monarchs, except in a few cases, bestowed royal patronage on Jainism for centuries after Konguṇivarma I. King Taḍangāla Mādhava (460-500 A.D.) granted land in a village for a temple in Perbhole.

Avineeta (500-540 A.D) and Durvineeta (550-600 A.D.,) were devout Jainas. Rice asserts that the celebrated Jaina grammarian Pūjyapāda was their spiritual teacher. King Sivamāra II built the Basadi on the smaller hill at Śravaṇabelagoḷa (7).

While Jainism was enjoying the patronage of the Gangas, it also gained the royal benevolence of the Kadambas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Kadambas were essentially Brahminical in religion; yet some of them fostered the cause of the Jaina religion in Karnataka. King Kākusthavarman gave to Śrutakeerti the field called Badovarākshētra which belonged to the holy Arhats (8). Mṛigēśavarman, his grandson, granted certain specified fields for the purpose of cleaning the Jinālaya for worship, offering flowers and also for repairs. Jainism continued to prosper also under King Ravivarma, who built a Jaina temple at Palāsika (modern Halsi) in the Belgaum District. King Harivarman continued the tradition of his father and made generous donations of the revenues of villages as well as gifts to worshippers of Jinendra and for the maintenance of the devotees.

JAINISM AS A PHILOSOPHY :

Jainism as a philosophy can be studied under the following heads : (a) The 'Anēkānta' attitude, (b) Metaphysics, and (c) Ethics.

A. THE ANEKANTA ATTITUDE :

Jaina Philosophy is based on life and experience. Mōksha is the ultimate aim of life. It is realised by the threefold path : right intuition, right knowledge and right conduct (9). The realisation of the aim is possible by right

approach to the problems of life. Jainas believe that 'anēkānta', the many-sided approach, gives the right perspective.

The fundamental non-violent attitude of the Jainas stems out of its *anēkāntavāda* which emphasises that Reality is many-sided. 'Nayavāda' and 'Syādvāda' are the two aspects of this fundamental attitude. 'Naya' refers to the point of view. An object may be looked at from different points of view. 'Āgamas' have shown that there are two points of view (10). Another important distinction is between the 'Nischayanaya', the noumenal point of view, and the 'Vyavahāranaya' the phenomenal or the empirical point of view. Each 'naya' represents one of the many ways from which a thing can be looked at. The 'Nayas' remind us that our points of view of looking at things are relative, and overemphasis on one point of view as the only one and absolute would take us away from Reality.

'Syādvāda' is the logical consequence of the 'Nayavāda'. The various points of view from which Reality can be looked at opens the possibility of a comprehensive view of Reality. Such a view needs expression for the sake of clarity and communication. This has been possible by means of the sevenfold predication. It is called 'Saptabhangi'. It is the formulation of the possibility of reconciling the apparent contradictions of the real whole. 'Syādvāda' shows that there are seven ways of describing a thing and its attributes. It is formulated as follows:

- (1) 'Syād asti' — which asserts the existence of a thing.
- (2) 'Syād nāsti' — which denies the existence of the object in other contexts.
- (3) 'Syād asti nāsti'. 'It is, it is not'. This refers to different contexts simultaneously. In a certain sense, the jar exists and in a certain other sense it does not. A building would be a house in so far as it is constructed for the purpose of residence. But it is no longer a house if it is used as a godown.
- (4) 'Syād avaktavyam' expresses the indescribability of a thing. Similarly,
- (5) 'Syād asti avaktavyam', existence and indescribability; (6) 'Syād nāsti avaktavyam', non-existence and indescribability are the other predications. (7) 'Syād asti nāsti avaktavyam' — existence and non-existence coupled with indescribability.

These predications have to be understood in the contexts of materials used, matter (pudgala), nature (rūpa), place (kshētra) and time (kāla).

This outlook of the Jainas of looking at Reality from different points of view inspired a spirit of tolerance towards kings and peoples of different faiths.

B. JAINA METAPHYSICS

Jaina philosophy is opposed to all theories which do not emphasise the moral responsibility of individuals. Each soul is the architect of its own destiny. Jainas

do not depend on any superior being for grace. Moral distinctions lose their value on the hypothesis of the passivity of the soul (11).

Jainism is dualistic. There is a dichotomous division of substance into living (jeeva) and non-living (ajeeva). Non-living substance is further divided into that which has a form (rūpinah) and that which is formless (arūpinah). 'Pudgala' is inanimate matter which has form. The formless 'ajeeva' is divided into : (1) Dharma (the principle of motion), (2) Adharma (the principle of rest), (3) Akāśa (space) and (4) Kāla (time).

The classification has its modifications, expressing the attributes of fineness, grossness, shape, division, and so on. But matter is an eternal substance, undetermined as regards quality and quantity. 'Pudgala' is the vehicle of energy which is essentially kinetic in nature.

The Jainas have an atomic theory of the universe. The physical objects apprehended by the senses consist of atoms (paramāṇus). Atoms are eternal and ultimate. They have no dimension, neither beginning, middle, nor end. They are 'amūrta', formless, though they are perceived by the 'Kēvalins' (who are omniscient). Atoms possess weight and the heavier ones move downwards. The movement of atoms is brought about by means of space, 'dharma' and 'adharma'. Atoms are of the same nature, though by differentiation they develop the characteristic qualities of the elements, viz., the panchabhūtas.

'Dharma' is the principle of motion. It pervades the whole world and is continuous. It is the source of motion, though itself not moving, even as water is a condition of the movement of the fish (12). 'Dharma' is the medium of motion, though not its cause. 'Adharma' is the principle of rest or inertia.

'Kāla' (time) is formless. It is an all-pervading form of the universe on which successive movements of the world are woven. Time has existence (astitva), but no magnitude (kāyatva). Distinction is made between eternal time, which is formless, without beginning or end, and relative time, which has a beginning and an end. It is measurable in units. It is called 'samaya'; 'kāla' is the substantial cause of 'samaya'. Relative time is determined by changes or motion in things. The wheel of time sees the changes in things and also their dissolution. Therefore kāla (time) is also called the destroyer.

'Jeevas' are substances distinct from matter. They are considered from two points of view—the noumenal (nischaya naya) and the phenomenal (vyavahāra naya). From the noumenal point of view, the soul is pure and perfect. It is characterised by 'upayōga', which may be translated as hormic force (purposive as opposed to mechanical) as the source of all experience. 'Jeeva' is pure consciousness. From the phenomenal point of view, it is the lord, the agent and the enjoyer of the fruits of 'karma'. It pervades the whole body whether large or small. It has a tendency to go upwards (ūrdhva gati) to the end of 'lōka' when it is freed from the impurities of karma (13). The jeeva gets experiences owing to its contact with the environment. It accumulates 'karma' owing to its

activity. It then gets entangled in the wheel of 'samsāra'. This entanglement is beginningless, though it has an end.

'Jeevas' are distinguished as those who are free from the wheel of 'samsāra' and are known as 'siddha', and those who are caught in the wheel of 'samsāra'. The 'samsāra jeevas' are classified on the basis of various principles, like the status and number of the sense organs possessed by them. The 'jeevas' are distinguished into immovable (sthāvara) and movable souls (trāsa jeevas). Sthāvara jeevas are one-sensed organisms. The movable souls have been graded on the basis of the number of sense organs, from two to five. The five-sensed organisms may be possessed of mind (samanaska) or they may be without mind (amanaska). Living beings at various stages may be distinguished into those which are not fully developed (aparyāpta) and those which are fully developed (paryāpta) (14).

'Jeeva', 'pudgala', 'dharma', 'adharma' and 'ākāśa', are called 'astikāya', as they all have magnitude.

Souls in the wheel of 'samsāra' are eternally infected with kārmic matter. The 'jeevas' are entangled in the wheel of 'samsāra' owing to the accumulation of 'karma' through activity. In the normal course of things it has no end. But the deliverance of souls from the wheel of 'samsāra' is possible by voluntary effort.

The Jainas have developed the theory of 'karma' elaborately and systematically. Every individual soul possesses infinite knowledge, power and bliss. But in this world it is limited in knowledge and freedom. 'Karma' hampers its progress towards self-realisation. 'Karma' is material in nature. It consists of fine imperceptible particles of matter which are glued to the soul-like soot to an object, owing to the activity of the body, mind and speech. This is the influx of the 'karma'. This is called 'āsrava'. 'Karma' pours itself into the soul just as flood waters rush into a pond from all channels.

This bondage of the soul to 'karma' is of four types, according to nature (prakṛiti), duration (sthiti), intensity (anubhāga rasa) and quantity (pradēśa) (15).

Karma can be classified into eight types:

- (1) Jñānāvaraṇeeya : that which obscures right knowledge ;
- (2) Darśanāvaraṇeeya : that which obscures right intuition ;
- (3) Vēdaneeya : arousing affective states like feelings and emotions ;
- (4) Mohaneeya : that which deludes right faith ;
- (5) Āyu karma : determining the age of the individual ;
- (6) Nāma karma : which produces various circumstances collectively making up an individual existence, like the body and other special qualities of individuality ;
- (7) Gōtra karma : which determines the family, social standing, etc., of the individual ;
- (8) Antarāya karma : which obstructs the inborn energy of the soul and prevents the doing of good actions.

'Karma' is substantive force. It has the property of developing the effects of merit and demerit. The karmic particles build up a special body which is called 'karma śareera' which does not leave the soul till its final emancipation. 'Karma' has its psychic effects also. 'Bhāva karma' is immediate to the jeevas, while 'dravya karma' belongs to the body.

We have to free ourselves from the 'karma' that has already been accumulated and see that no new 'karma' is added. The soul gets bound by the constant flow of 'karma'. This is called 'bandha'. Mental states, like passion, attachment and aversion, which prepare the ground for the binding of the soul by 'karma' are called psychic bondage (bhāva bandha) and the actual binding by the particles of 'karma' is called 'dravya bandha'. When passions overcome us, the particles get glued to our souls and bind them, just as a heated iron ball when immersed in water absorbs water. But the first step to the realisation of the self is to see that all channels through which 'karma' has been flowing have been stopped, so that no additional 'karma' can accumulate. This is possible by self-control and freedom from attachment. The practice of vows (vrata), carefulness (sanniti), self-control (gupti), observance of ten kinds of 'dharma', meditation (anuprēksha) and removing the various obstacles like hunger, and thirst and passion, will stop the inflow of 'karma', and protect us from the impurities of fresh 'karma'. Here, right conduct (chāritra) is of help.

The next important task is to remove the 'karma' that has already accumulated. The destruction of 'karma' is called 'nirjara'. The 'karma' may exhaust itself in its natural course when the fruits of 'karma' are completely exhausted. The remaining 'karma' has to be removed by means of penance. The soul is like a mirror which looks dim when the dust of 'karma' is deposited on its surface. When the 'karma' is removed, the soul shines in its pure transcendent form. It then attains the goal of mōksha.

C. JAINA ETHICS

If deliverence is to be achieved, matter is to be subdued and conquered by the spirit. The way to mōksha is through the practice of three 'jewels': right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. The belief in the tattvas is right intuition or faith. The knowledge of the real is right knowledge; while freedom from attachment and aversion is right conduct (16). The path of virtues is the path which leads to self-realisation. The five vows (vratas) are fundamental for the Jainas: (1) non-injury (ahimsa), (2) speaking truth (satya), (3) non-stealing (astēya), (4) abstinence from sensual pleasure (brahmacharya), and (5) abstinence from possession of worldly wealth (aparigraha). The practice of these 'vratas' has been graded. A distinction is drawn between the code for laymen and that for the ascetics (17). The purpose is to enable men to realize the highest and gradually and with ease. The ascetics have to observe the vows very strictly. But the laymen can do so as far as possible without sacrificing the

essential elements of 'dharma'. The rigour of the practice is softened for them. However, laymen can and may, for a limited time, follow a more rigorous practice of vows by taking one of the regulations of conduct (śeelavrata). This is means to give a foretaste of the ascetic life which a laymen will have to take up if he is to attain the final liberation.

Jainism emphasizes voluntary effort. One is responsible for one's own salvation. No god in heaven nor any angels can help us and lift us towards salvation. There is no place for grace in Jainism.

Jainism gives importance to freedom from pain, from the pain of this physical world. It looks at life as a 'vale of soul-making' in which individual souls have to struggle for emancipation and realise the true nature of the soul in the highest state of mōksha.

FOOT NOTES

1. Radhakrishnan, S.: *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, Page 287.
2. *Inscription in Chandragiri, Sravanabelagola.*
3. Smith (Vincent): *Early History of India*, (Revised Ed., Pp. 154).
4. Jacob, H.: *Kalpa Sutra-Introduction.*
5. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Nr. 46, P. 139, 'Gangarajyamam madida Simhanandi Acharyar'.
6. Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, P. 308.
7. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II, Int.
8. Saletore, B.A.: *Mediaeval Jainism*, P. 31.
9. *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, 'Samyagdarsanajanacharitranimoksha margah'.
10. *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, 34-35.
11. *Sutrakrtanga*, I, i-1-13.
12. *Panchastikayasara*, 85, 95 and *Dravyasamgraha*.
13. *Dravyasamgraha*, 264.
Panchastikayasara, 27, 28.
14. *Gommatasara*: Jeevakanda.
15. *Karma grantha*, 3.2.
16. *Panchastikayasara*, 125.
17. *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, VII, 20.

BUDDHISM AND MINOR SECTS IN KARNATAKA

The discovery of Asokan edicts in the country and the traditional accounts found in Buddhist chronicles provide evidence of the fact that parts of Karnataka came under the influence of Mauryan rule and of the Buddhist faith by the third century before Christ. After the lapse of Mauryan rule, the land came to be ruled by kings who were devout adherents of the Vedic faiths, like the Sātavāhanas, the Kadambas and the Pallavas, or of the Jaina persuasion like the Gangas. Even so, Buddhism continued to thrive; it had its monasteries and monks as testified to by Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century. One comes across evidence of Buddhist temples and monasteries till about the 12th century, when owing to various causes, it faded out of Karnataka.

There were, in addition to Buddhism, other faiths hailing from the north which thrived for considerable periods in many parts of Karnataka and left their impress on the religious life of the people.

We shall now consider the part played by Buddhism and other faiths in Karnataka.

BUDDHISM

We shall now consider the advent of Buddhism in Karnataka. The earliest reference to the introduction of Buddhism in Karnataka occurs in the Ceylonese chronicles *Mahāvamsā* and *Deepavamsā*. We are told that, during the days of the Mauryan king Asoka in the third century B.C., concurrent with Mahindra's mission to Ceylon, the monk Mahādēva was sent to Mahishamaṇḍala and the monk Rakkhita to Banavāsi. Both Mahishamaṇḍala and Banavāsi are included in the present day Karnataka. Further evidence of this early contact between this southern region and Buddhism from the north, is furnished by the five rock edicts of Asoka in Brāhmi characters discovered at Siddāpur, Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Ramēśvara in Molakālmūru Taluk, in the Chitradurga District and Koppal in the Raichur District. The Chandravaḷḷi inscriptions also make it clear that Buddhism as a sect had votaries in Karnataka during the early centuries of the Christian era. The Anklē Caves at Chandravaḷḷi also testify to the early prevalence of Buddhism in that area. But Buddhism seems hardly to have made an impression on the populace here, for Jainism which was introduced into the

country by Asoka's grandfather, Chandragupta, had already become well-established and it continued to be vigorous till the close of the twelfth century A.D. In fact, Buddhism always remained a minor creed during its career in Karnataka.

The first two centuries of the Christian era witnessed in South India the spread of Buddhism; it was during this period that the famous Amarāvati stūpas and the monasteries were built. The early kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty were favourable to the Buddhist religion, as also some Pallava and Bāṇa rulers. An inscription dated 338 A.D., likens a Bāṇa king to the 'Bōdhisattva' in his great compassion towards animals (*E.C., X, Mb. 157*), thus revealing the popularity of the Bōdhisattva ideal in this part of the country. Another inscription relating to Taḍangāla Mādhava (450-475 A.D.) of the Ganga dynasty, mentions his land gift to a Buddhist monastery (*E.C., XVI, Tm. 78*) and employs expressions like 'Sāsanabuddhasattva' and 'Śakyaśilā'. The exact significance of the latter expression is obscure, although there is current conjecture that it denotes a Buddhist boundary stone. Besides these suggestive inscriptions, the leaden coins of the Sātavāhana kings unearthed in Chandravaḷḷi in 1888 bear the figure of a humped bull round which is engraved the legend 'Sadakana Kalalāya mahārathiśa' referring to some Sātakarṇi ruler, a viceroy of the Andhras; on the other side of the coins are the unmistakably Buddhist emblems of the Bōdhi tree and cairn. Buddhism had thus secured royal patronage and acceptance in Karnataka during the early centuries of the Christian era.

The fifth century is characterised by an intense struggle between Jainism and Buddhism in Karnataka. Kānchipuram, closely connected with Karnataka, was growing in importance as a Buddhist centre: the celebrated Buddhist dialectician Dignāga hailed from Simha-vaktra, a hamlet adjoining Kānchipuram. The Buddhists presented a formidable challenge to the Jainas, and the Jainas were equal to it. The inscriptional evidence suggests that the Jainas fared better in this polemic struggle. An inscription dated about 430 A.D., from Talakāḍ on the banks of the Kāveri in Mysore, records the victory of a certain Mādhava over a Buddhist controversialist known as Vādimadagajēndra (the lordly elephant of controversy in rut) and the subsequent award of the title Vādibhasimha (the lion to the elephant of controversy) to the victorious Mādhava by the king. (*I.A., VIII, 212*).

About 640 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang was travelling in South India, and has left a flattering record of his impressions of Kānchipuram. He saw that in this part of the country (which included Karnataka), Buddhism, especially the Sthavira-vāda sect of the Mahāyāna creed, flourished; according to him, there were then a hundred *sanghārāmas* with a total of 10,000 monks in this region: near Kānchipuram, he saw a huge stūpa, a hundred feet in height which had the reputation of having been built by Asoka. He informs us that the most eminent principal of the famous Nalanda College, Dharmapāla (c. 600 A.D.), was a native of Kānchipuram. Hiuen Tsiang also refers to Banavāsi (in Karnataka proper) where there were, according to him, numerous *sanghārāmas* of

both Mahāyāna and Heenayāna persuasions; he further records the presence here of a remarkable sandal-wood statue of Maitrēya, the future Buddha, which was carved by the sage Sruta (alternatively known as Srona) Vimśatikōṭi. It is beyond doubt that during the sixth and seventh centuries, Kānchipuram and the surrounding areas in Karnataka were under the influence of a Buddhist movement. Kānchipuram continued to be a great centre of Buddhist learning and activity till almost the close of the fourteenth century. It is interesting and important to remember that the renowned Buddhist thinker Dharmakeerti (whom Stcherbatsky described as the Kant of India) of the seventh century was a native of Tirumale in the Chōḷa country.

Dharmakeerti, by his very ability and influence, came in for bitter criticism at the hands of the Jaina enthusiasts as well as of the orthodox thinkers led by the great Śankara. Both groups of opposition had a tough task in breaking the growing influence of Buddhist logic in this region. Ultimately, however, they emerged victorious in vanquishing Buddhism and one more opportunity for the rise of Buddhism as a major creed was stifled. Buddhism was driven to seek shelter in the obscure corners of rural wildernesses. In the Tuḷu region, Buddhist faith lingered for some time. Kadarikā near Mangalore continued to be a Buddhist strong-hold even as late as the tenth century. The famous Manjunātha of Dharmasthala is clearly a Hinduised version of the Buddhist Manjuśrī; it is significant that this Manjunātha originally belonged to Kadarikā. Several temples in that region housed shrines for the Buddha, 'Śāstāvukallu or Śaṣṭavugudi.* The famous temple in Kollūru contained a shrine for the Buddhist deity Manjuśrī, who was transformed in due course into the orthodox Mūkāmbika. It is surmised that even the celebrated Kāmākshi of Kānchipuram was originally the Buddhist Tārā and that she was Hinduised mainly at the instance of Śankarāchārya.

Thus at the commencement of the ninth century, Buddhism in Karnataka had all but disappeared: the advent of *advaita* (monism), the prevalence of Jainism, and the emergence of several minor sects, mostly devotional in character, all combined to blow out the flickering light of Buddhism. But here and there protagonists of the Śākya's creed still survived. This fact is gleaned from the *Kavirājamārga*, a work ascribed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha (Nripatunga) (815-878 A. D.) who was himself a Jaina of the Digambara persuasion. Inscriptions also reveal that religious rivalry between Buddhism and Jainism had not as yet entirely ended; the Kuḍlur Plates, for instance, mention one Jaina chieftain Būtuga II (925-960), also known as Būtayya, Nanniya-Ganga, or Ganga-Nārāyaṇa who "cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants, the arrogant, false disputations of the *ekāntamata*, (i. e., Buddhism as against 'anēkāntamata) with thunderbolts of arguments based on scriptures' (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 675).

* Sasta (Ayyappan or Hariharaputra) may mean 'law-giver' and is a later substitute for the Buddhist Teacher. This deity, popular in Kerala and in Pulunadu, is represented by a crude and erect stone pillar, which is styled 'Sastavukallu.'

As it happened in Tibet and China, Buddhism in Karnataka found it expedient to get diluted and devotional in order to survive in any form. An attempt in this direction was indeed quite successful. Banavāsi, near Soraba, exemplifying this modified faith continued to be the Buddhist centre of not inconsiderable importance till the eleventh century. We have it on record that in 1065 at Balligāme, one Rūpabhaṭṭayya, who was a minister of the Chālukya king Āhavamalla, erected a magnificent Buddhist monastery known as Jayanti-Prabuddha-Vihāra. Jayanti (or Vaijayanti) was another name for Banavāsi on the banks of the Varada river. But in this monastery worship was not confined to the Buddha. Indeed, more important than the Buddha were the deities Tārā-bhagavati, Lōkēśvara and Kēśava (*E.C.*, VII, Sk. 170).

It is interesting to note how the cult of goddess Tārā as associated with Avalōkitēśvara developed in and around Karnataka, bearing affinity to a similar development in distant Bengal, Nepal and Tibet. They were expressions akin to each other of the crystallisation of the Vajrāyana sect of Buddhism. There were in Karnataka several shrines to Tārā, the most celebrated being the one in Dombal in Dharwar, dedicated to Arya-Tārā-Dēvi and built in 1095; there was another at Kōlivād. About 1098, a splendid image of Tārā (discovered by L. Rice in 1830) was caused to be made by a devout lady, Bappure-Nāgiyakka, wife of one Hampachetti of Baḷligāme; this lady described herself as Savasi of the Bauddhālaya (*E.C.*, VII, Sk. 106). It is surmised that even the Mangalore shrine for Mangalā-dēvi (or Māya-dēvi or Ādidēvi) was originally a Tārā-bhagavati temple; the suggestion becomes more plausible when we remember that the deity in Kadarikā, two and a half miles away, is Lōkēśvara (Āvalōkitēśvara-Bōdhisattva), conceived as the consort of Tārā. Tārā is characterised in the Dombal inscription as wisdom (prajñā), the giver of prosperity to Buddha (Buddhasya vibhūtidā), enlightenment itself (bōdhi), and the in-dweller of the Tathāgata's heart. She is Buddhist in ideology, but entirely Hinduised in representation.

In one of the caves of Bādāmi there is an unfinished figure of Padmapāṇi. In the Bādāmi hill there are a number of Buddhist caves containing letters in the Gupta script. One of the pillars of the famous Karla caves near Lonavla is endowed by a merchant from Vaijayanti, *i.e.*, Banavāsi. In the Bijapur District there is a village named Lōkāpūr. There is a temple dedicated to Lōkēśvara. Now the deity is Śiva but originally it was probably a Buddhist deity. There are in this part a number of people who bear the name of Lōkappa or Lōkayya, the name of their titular deity being Lōkēśvara. In the Konkaṇa side beyond Belgaum and in Goa there is sufficient material to show that Buddhism was prevalent in the area. During the early Chālukya period (of Bādāmi), the kings bore Buddhist names, *e.g.*, Mangaleśa. The Śātavāhanas, Mauryas and Kalachuris had leanings towards Buddhism. At Kolhāpur, which was then purely Kannada country, a large number of Śātavāhana lead coins bearing the names Śrī Pulumāyi and Gōtamiputra are found. In an almost deserted village, Horakal near Bagalkot, a number of antiquities going back to the 2nd century B.C., have been discovered.

They clearly show that Buddhism was prevalent in this part of the country. Havell and Fergusson are of opinion that the famous Aihole temple called Durga temple resembles a Buddhist shrine in its architecture. Along with Jainism, Buddhism flourished all over Karnataka. Jainism, survived and Buddhism was gradually assimilated in the religions prevalent in the country.

Thus Buddhism which entered Karnataka during the third century B.C., was destined to struggle for survival throughout its long stay in this region. It ultimately lost its ground and disappeared towards the beginning of the twelfth century.

THE KALAMUKHAS

Of the minor sects which flourished in Karnataka during the mediæval times, the Kālāmukha is the most prominent. Essentially an ascetic cult of the Pāśupata persuasion, it is said to have originated from the teaching of Lakuliśa (1st century A.D.). It is interesting that this sect was confined to South India, especially the Andhra-Karnataka tracts, although there is a suggestion that it had some contact with Kashmir Śaivism. The introduction of this cult in Karnataka is obscure, but an inscription (Shikarpur, 99) suggests that these ascetics were in the line of 'dēvavrataṃ muni santati' of the mountain ranges (paravatāvaḷi), chief of whom was Divyajñāni-Kāśmiradēva belonging to Kashmir. But the sect was vigorous, and for about 500 years, beginning from the seventh century, it persisted in Karnataka in the face of severe opposition from Jainism and Buddhism.

The sect had its stronghold in Banavāsi, Noḷambavāḍi and adjacent areas; Nandi near Bangalore, Lepākshi near Hindupur, and Shikārpur were also important centres. The Kedārēśwara temple at Baḷḷigāme (styled in inscriptions as Baligrāma) was the most celebrated seat of the Kālāmukha sect. There were several pontificates in the Banavāsi area owning Śiva temples, lands and considerable wealth. In the Grant Deed (dated about 640 A.D.) of Ratnāvaḷi, mother of a Bāṇa king, the donee Īśvaradēva, the chief disciple of the Kālāmukha guru Kālaśakti, is described as 'the head of the maṭh in the temple of Nandi.' (*M.A.R.*, 1913-14, paras 59-61). The Karcgōḍirangapura Plates (during the reign of Būtarasa 870-907 A.D.), mention the grant of a whole village to a Kālāmukha ascetic, Nētraśivāchārya, who is described as a disciple of Sakari-Bhaṭṭāraka, a devotee of Tripurahara-Śiva. Another inscription (*E.G.*, XII, p. 92) dated 943 A.D. avers that the declining Kālāmukha creed was revived by Lakuliśa himself who became incarnate as Muninātha Gilluka; another ascetic, Sōmēśvara-Sūri, is said to have caused the Lākula-Siddhānta to bloom in Karnataka

(*E.C.*, VII, I, p. 64). The ascetics of this cult appear to have belonged to two distinct groups, styled as *Rāsi* and *Śakti*.

The Kālāmukhas probably gained influence in the royal household after Jagadēkamalla-Jayasimha II (1015-1042 A.D.), the Chālukyan ruler. He was converted from ancestral Jainism to the Kālāmukha variety of Śaivism by his wife, Saggalādēvi. The name of Vādi-Rudraṅga (Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita) is mentioned in this connection (Shikarpur, 126).

The ascendancy of this sect was indisputably established during the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla-Sōmēśvara II (1068-1076) of the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas. The sect was most powerful and popular. Inscriptions have recorded the eminence of the Kālāmukha teacher, Sarveśvara-śakti-dēva (about 1070 A.D.) who is described as the Rājaguru (the king's preceptor) and as the lord of 77 temples (*E.C.*, VIII, Sorab, 276). We are told that he hailed from the Kuppattūr-Agrahāra and that he was in charge of the Anantakōṭi Bhuvanēśa temples. Sōmēśvara II was decidedly an admirer of the teacher; his successor Tribhuvanamalla-Permāḍi (Vikramāditya VI, 1076-1127 A.D.) remained a Jaina by loyalty but extended unequivocal encouragement to the Kālāmukhas.

The names of several Kālāmukha teachers are mentioned in inscriptions found in Karnataka. Mention may be made of Kalāśakti (about 640 A.D.), of Nētraśivāchārya (about 900 A.D.), of Īśvaradēva Rudraṅga (about 1030 A.D.), of Lokanātha Paṇḍita (about 1065 A.D.), of Sarveśvaraśakti (about 1070 A.D.), of Purṇānanda Bhaṭṭāraka (about 1075 A.D.), of Chandrabhūṣaṇa Paṇḍita, of Nārāyanadēva, and of Nagaśiva Paṇḍita, disciple of Padmaśiva Paṇḍita (1183 A.D.). The last great name in the history of the Kālāmukha sect in Karnataka, however, is that of Kriyāśakti (about 1370 A.D.) who is styled in inscriptions (Srimad Rājaguru Mahamaṇḍalāchārya Vāṇivilāsa Kriyāśakti) as 'Śivaguru-Kāśivilāsa-Kriyāśakti' and as 'Rājarājaguru'. He was a contemporary of the great Vidyāraṇya, with whom he is sometimes identified. If we may rely on the inscriptions, he was the family priest of Harihara I, Bukka and Harihara II, and he was worshipped by them as the manifest incarnation of Giriśa (Śiva). He himself was the worshipper of Svayambhu Tryambakadēva of Vagaṭa. His hold on Bukka II was so great that an inscription records that the king made a grant to the Vidyāśankara temple at Śringēri in 1389 only after obtaining permission from Kriyāśakti (*E.C.*, X, Mulbagal, 11).

The Kālāmukha sect which flourished for about five hundred years in Karnataka, contributing to the development of religious and social ideas, appears to have come to a sudden close during the fourteenth century.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In dealing with the political history of the early periods, we have confined our attention almost wholly to tracing the fortunes of kings and royal families, their deeds of valour and their great qualities. But a history of any period is not merely the careers of monarchs, however impressive they may be, but an account of the conditions under which common people lived, their social as well as economic life. To reconstruct this picture is no easy task. We have mainly to depend on inscriptions and scanty references in such contemporary literature as has come down to our day.

We shall now consider the main features of the social and economic life of those old times.

Pampa, the author of *Bharata* and *Adipūrāṇa*, (10th century) describes the people of Banavāsi in the following way: "They indeed are men in whom renunciation, enjoyment, musical talent, learning, culture and love of company found their full expression; it is difficult to be born there as man; if that is not possible let one be born as a Kōkila (cuckoo) or a bee in the paradise of Banavāsi."¹ This, in short, was the ideal of the people of Karnataka not only of the period when Pampa lived but also of the preceding ages. Pampa sums up, as it were, the lofty ideals which animated the people in Karnataka, as in other parts of Bhārat.

The caste system was prevalent, no doubt, even from very early periods. There were the four main Varṇas clearly distinguished. The caste system while it prevented intermarriages between castes did not determine one's vocation. For example, according to the earlier writers on Dharmasāstra, Brahmins were not to pursue trade, agriculture, fighting and similar other professions except in an emergency. But we find that there were Brahmin warriors who, in times of peace, did occupy civilian posts and were agriculturists too. Neither was kingship a monopoly of the Kshatriya, for Kadamba Mayuraśarman was an orthodox Brahmaṇa. Intercaste marriages were prevalent, though not very frequent.

The joint family was the most common mode of social life. But there were instances where the members of the family lived separately. The father was the head of the family, which was patriarchal in character. This does not mean, however, that the women were relegated to an utterly inferior position. The sons were the legal heirs of the family property, and next to them, the mother, and then the female children had the right to share property.

From the numerous sculptures of the men and women of the age, we find that people wore scanty dress but loved ornaments. Two pieces of cloth were sufficient to cover the male body, one being a loin cloth and the other an

upper garment. In fact, in earlier sculptures we find that only one piece, the loin cloth, was enough, a part of it being thrown over the shoulders. Women wore clothes below the waist. Later on, bodices seem to have come into use, to cover the upper portion of the body. Women wore ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces and bangles, up the elbows and ankles. The belts worn by women below the navel were 'decorated with what look like rows of pearls of precious stones'.¹ The men also wore ear-rings and bracelets. They were fond of growing beards too, as is clear from the contemporary paintings and sculptures.

The women of the period were held in high esteem and participated fully in social life. Education was common among them, specially among those belonging to the higher classes. Pampa describes Rishabha teaching his two daughters, Brāhmi and Sundari. He taught his first daughter several scripts while to the second he taught the science of Arithmetic.² Women were efficient administrators too: Revakanimmaḍi, daughter of Amōghavarsha and wife of Ereganga, was administering Eḍedore-nāḍu in 837 A.D. 'Some of them were learned in several fine arts such as dancing, music, painting and other decorative arts. That these were very popular is clear from literary evidence.'³

Some of the musical instruments known in the period were the flute, kaṭumukha, samudraghōsha, trivali, turya and, of course, the drum. There was no purdah (veil) system. The compulsory tonsuring of widows does not seem to have been in vogue either.

The several traits of the people as pictured by Pampa in the verse quoted at the beginning are also confirmed by the numerous inscriptions of the period. They reveal that the people of Karnataka were reputed for speaking the truth, for being faithful to the master, for valour, for self-respect, resoluteness, and forbearance. The period of Pampa has been described as an age of 'Kshātra-tējas' *i.e.*, military glory, when people sacrificed their lives to save their land, property and the honour of their womenfolk. The numerous hero-stones of the period strewn all over the land bespeak the valour of the heroes. An inscription from Hēmāyati⁴ describes the death of a certain Ereyamma who laid down his life in a battle. He won the admiration of all, and the news of his death spread far and wide as a tale of heroism. Another damaged record from the same place dated 923-924 A.D., seventy years earlier than the above, states that the death of Eḍeyamma in a brave fight against the Sevūṇa army brought tears to all.⁵ There are several instances of a servant sacrificing his life in faithfully carrying out the wishes of the master. The Ulvarthe record states that Singapōta-Kali-Noḷambaḍi-arasa being ordered by Permānaḍi, obeyed his master implicitly and marched upon Duggamāra Ereyappa⁶. Oaths of fealty in the service of their masters by loyal servants, and their sacrifice when their own masters died or when they could not act up to their word was a common feature of the times. In epigraphical records 'keelgunṭe' and 'vēlavāli' are used for such deaths. Two persons burnt themselves in fire on the death of Rāchamalla, the Ganga king. The sati (following the husband in death) system was not as prevalent in the period as it was later.

Ravivarma's wife became a sati and burnt herself with her husband⁹. This is an instance of this rare practice. Death by 'sallēkhana', *i.e.*, voluntary giving up of life by abstaining from food and water, was common among the Jainas. In fact, it was 'the orthodox mode of emancipation from the body when life could not any longer be endured'.

Life being socio-religious in character, the temple occupied the most prominent place in society from the point of view of education, fine arts and social service, besides being the place of worship. It maintained artists like the piper, parekāra (drummer), and the vamsīga (the flute player), besides the hoovāḍiga (flower-man), tōṭagāra (gardener), gandhakāra (perfume-maker), kumbhāra (potter) and other temple servants. It was a place for the devoted and the virtuous. There is epigraphical evidence to show that it was necessary for the ascetics living within the temple to live a strictly disciplined life. The 'nāḍarasa' (the ruler) supervised and strictly enforced conformity to the vow of celibacy by the ascetics residing in the temple precincts¹⁰.

Hunting was the most favourite pastime of the kings. The British Museum Plates of Gōvinda III show that the wild animals of the reserved forests were properly protected only to give more pleasure to the king or the high officials that hunted and killed them later on¹¹. The Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa epigraph of Indra IV describes the king as a skilled player of a game at ball and the use of horses mentioned therein would suggest that the game referred to might have been one similar to modern polo.

The common people took interest in acrobatics, and tumblers were encouraged so much that at a later stage a professional tax, 'dombadere' was collected from them. Fairs and festivals were held regularly and these provided opportunities to the people not only to relax themselves by coming into close contact with one another but also to show off their talent in arts, crafts, etc.

People believed in magical and supernatural powers and in *mantra* and *tantra* (wordy charms and necromancy). This is evidenced by the setting up of several stones bearing peculiar diagrams, usually referred to as *gō-kal*, (cow stone) which it was thought is a necessity in every village for the protection of the cows. "It is generally believed that water with which the stone depicting the diagram is washed is efficacious in curing cattle of their diseases."¹²

The bullock-cart was the most common means of transport, though people of the higher levels in society used palanquins and horse-chariots. Horses and elephants were used in the battle-field, as evidenced by the sculptures on the hero-stones of the period.

The protection of his subjects being one of his foremost functions, the king to that end performed certain religious ceremonies. Dānas, or gifts, to institutions and persons became very common, and slowly took the place of Vedic sacrifices. The Hūvina Hipparagi inscription¹³ of Nripatunga registers a gift by him to Goleya-bhaṭṭa on the occasion of the 'Tulāpurusha' (weighing the person)

ceremony performed by him. The people in their turn took every opportunity to make presents and gifts to priests and temples on suitable occasions. The villagers as a community joined together and always readily appreciated a gift or a heroic death by setting up memorial stones and making gifts in turn. The most common gifts of the period were gōsāhasra (cows) and prithivī-dāna (land). In those days local administration was chiefly in the hands of the mahājanas (elders), which term, however, was not as frequently used in the early centuries. Instead of mahājanas the term 'ūr' (township) was used then. The duties of this body were manifold. The temples, the village, tanks, irrigational canals as also the educational institutions and all such amenities of public welfare were under their care. People belonging to a particular profession formed themselves into their own associations or guilds, usually known as 'śrēṇi'.

These guilds, which were purely economic organisations, controlled the administration of many townships, specially the urban ones. During the period under review, the 'mēli' was the most prominent of these. Numerous records of this period refer to the setting up of the 'mēnti', which appears to be the same as 'mēli' in Tamil and 'mēdi' in Telugu, meaning a 'ploughshare'. The 'mēnti', or plough, being the symbol of agriculture, the setting up of it seems to indicate the presence of agricultural guilds of which the agriculturists of that locality were members.

Agriculture being the main occupation of the people, much of the State's income was derived from land-tax. Land appears to have been divided into several categories, not only as wet and dry, but also depending upon the fertility of the soil; and the taxes were assessed accordingly. Dr. Altekar equates 'udranga' and 'uparikara' as equivalent to 'bhāgakara' and 'bhōgakara', the former being the land-tax and the latter petty taxes in kind, and some additional taxes collected towards the remuneration of the village officials¹⁴. Usually one-sixth of the produce was taken by the king as his share. But in cases of special tenures there was either total exemption or a token collection of taxes. They were known as 'mānya' (manneya), 'ardhamānya' and 'sarvamānya'. 'Daśabandha' is taken to be a tenure according to which only one-tenth of the usual rate was paid towards tax. It is thought that 'bittukaṭṭa' was a grant for tanks similar to 'daśabandha', on which there was reduction on the usual rent for 'bittu' *i. e.*, sowing or cultivation, 'kerekodage' or 'kattukodage', being grants of land made rent-free for the service rendered in the construction or upkeep of a tank¹⁵. But the word 'bittuvaṭṭa' or 'bittukaṭṭe' seems merely to indicate either a portion of the produce of the lands irrigated by a tank or some wet lands under tank irrigation granted to the person who built the tank or repaired it¹⁶, but does not appear to be a tenure. Some special grants of land of the period were the 'bālgalchu' and 'kalnāḍu'. The former is a reference to a grant made on the occasion of the 'sword-washing ceremony' to warriors who displayed bravery in fights. The terms 'bhūtōpaṭṭa-pratyaya', 'chāṭabhaṭa-praveśa-danḍā', 'rājasevakānām vasati danḍa' or 'prayāna danḍa', and 'utsanga' have been interpreted respectively as general excise and octroi duties, exactions at the times of the arrival of regular and

irregular military and police forces, fines or dues leviable at the time of the halt or departure of the royal officers, and customary presents made on occasions of festivals etc.¹⁷. The 'siddhāya', 'davasāyada', 'sunka', 'pannāya', 'perjjumka', 'vaḍḍarāvula', 'tānōgha' and 'bilkoda', are varieties of taxes mentioned in the Kannada inscriptions of the period. The 'danḍāya' was fine collected, while 'kūliya-sunka' and 'neeruni-sunka' referred probably to the taxes collected for the conveniences provided to the cultivator. In fact, there are interesting references to 'santēvaṇa' (tax collected in market or shandy), 'manedere' (tax on houses), 'hamdaruvana' (tax for erecting pandals), which were municipal in character. The 'dombadere', 'ghāṇadere' and 'kannaḍivaṇa' were professional taxes like 'biṭṭi birāda', 'biḍugaḍe', 'samudāya vosage', etc. Of these biṭṭi is a reference to forced labour, to be free from which one had to pay some sum as 'biḍugaḍe'. Inscriptions refer to a number of articles of merchandise like cotton, salt, turmeric, pepper, oil, ghee, ginger, jaggery, arecanut, betel-leaves, sugar and even loads of firewood which were taxed when they arrived in the market.

Gold coinage was in vogue during the period. Silver coins also seem to have been in circulation, for a later record¹⁸ refers to a 'beḷḷi-gammaṭa', which may mean a mint of silver coins. Drāma, gadyāna, paṇa, pon, suvarṇa sāhanikāti, salike, guḷike, kagiṇi, pratāpa and dharāṇa are some of the coins. So far as the system of land, liquid and grain measures are concerned, the inscriptions give us a variety of technical terms, the meanings of which are not clear. Mattar, kula, koṇḍuga, and aḍaya are terms used for land measures. But the measuring rod does not appear to have been the same all over. We have got 'Kachchaviyaghaḷe' and 'Aṇṇigereya Kōlu', two different rods of measure used at Kachchavi and Aṇṇigere, two places in the Dharwar District. Similarly, we have 'bherunḍa-pole', 'ganga-pole' and 'mavgandi-pole', 'sattuya', 'solige', 'solosa', 'bisige', 'maṇa' and 'sāmgudi' are other measures known.

Next to agriculture, industry and commerce occupied an important place in the economic life of the country. Pottery, oil-milling, weaving and braziers were some of the important industries. The guilds also carried on banking business, and encouraged industries. In fact, the guilds were so powerful that the king or any other chief consulted the members of the guild before either levying a tax or making a gift of the income from taxes.

Labourers were paid mostly in kind. The officials were assigned certain territorial units, the income from which either completely, or partly, depended upon the status of the individual, and was enjoyed by them as their 'jeevita' (living). In these cases, it should be noted, however, that it was only the share of the government's income that was assigned and not the proprietorship of the soil. But from the accounts given we find that their wages were fairly liberal and much above a subsistence allowance.

FOOT NOTES

1. *Pampa Bharata* : Asvasa 4-29.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, P. 138.
3. *Adi-Purana* : Asvasa VIII-verses 59-60 and prose passage.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, P. 4.
5. *Adi-Purana* : Asvasa IX-verses 26-29.
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 31.
7. *Ibid*, No. 25.
8. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Mk. 8.
9. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 523.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 101 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, Pp. 7. ff.
11. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, P. 127.
The correct interpretation of the passage "*Ramesvara emba teerthada modalol-meppiki porada pandigalaniriyal bandalli*" is that the boars were earlier well grazed and preserved in the game sanctuary at Ramesvara Toertha for purposes of hunting — cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, Pp. 328-9.
12. *M.A.R.* 1947, P. 21.
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, No. 9.
14. *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, P. 215-6.
15. M. V. Krishna Rao : *Gangas of Talakad*, P. 155-6.
16. *Mysore Arch. Report* 1931, P. 172.
17. Altekar : *op. cit.*, P. 228, 233-4.
18. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B.K. No. 55 of 1926-27.

KANNADA (EARLY PERIOD)

Kannada, along with Tamil, is among the oldest languages spoken in India, with an uninterrupted literary history going back at least to the 9th century. As has often happened in India, the oldest works, to which we have authentic references, are lost and are yet to be discovered.

We shall now attempt to learn something of Kannada language and literature prior to the period of *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest work extant.

Karnataka, once known to have stretched from the Godavari in the north to the Kāveri in the south, from the Arabian Sea in the west to the borders of the present Madras and Andhra States in the east, has been the seat of a rich and variegated pattern of learning and culture even from the earliest times. Here was the meeting place and refuge for many religious systems in their various forms of development, which produced a rare fusion of a truly universal culture. And from this fusion there flowed, in small streams, perhaps, in the early ages but in abundance in later years, a mass of literature informed with catholicity of outlook and a spirit of harmony and tolerance.

The Kannada language and literature have a hoary past. Its antiquity is next only to that of Sanskrit and Prākṛit and, perhaps, also of Tamil. The earliest references to the Kannada country and its culture are to be found in the Buddhist chronicles and early Tamil classics. The *Mahāvamśa* tells us that Asoka, the Mauryan Emperor, sent Rakkhita, one of his Buddhist missionaries, to Vanavāsa (Banavāsi), and Mahādēva, another of them to Mahisha-maṇḍala (Mysore) in the 3rd century B.C.¹ The Ceylonese chronicles refer to the help rendered by the Mysore armies to one Elala, a Chola king, in his conquest of Ceylon in 205 B.C. The *Śilappadikāram* of Iṅgōaḍigaḷ (c. 465 A.D.) refers to a dance of the Kannadigas witnessed by the Chēra ruler Śenguttavan, of the second century A.D.² An illustrative extract ascribed to Avvaiyar of the 2nd century A.D. and quoted in a commentary on *Tolkāppiam*, the earliest extant work in Tamil, makes a rather uncharitable reference to the Kannada people. The verse says that "wise men do not approach these six: Vadugar (Telugu people), Aruvalar (Tamil tribe), Karunāṭar (Kannada people), cremation ground, goblins and buffaloes."³ It is said that the Kannada alphabet was invented by Brāhmi, the daughter of Rishabhadeva, the first Tēerthankara.⁴ Of course, one need not rely on the historicity of this legendary belief, but it indicates that Kannada has a very ancient tradition.

A study of the historical development of the Kannada language and its literature from the earliest times is an exacting task. For one thing, the state of development and maturity of Kannada as evidenced by the earliest extant works

in the language should be more than sufficient proof to show that the beginnings of the language undoubtedly date back to the early years of the Christian era and that such a level of maturity could not have been achieved in the course of two or three centuries. The *Kavirājamārga* ('The Royal path of Poets') by Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha Nṛipatunga of the ninth century A.D. and generally held to be the earliest extant literary work in Kannada⁵, is a profound, though brief, treatise dealing with the elements of literary composition. It is a landmark in the history of Kannada. That such a 'guide-book' was found to be a necessity and that it refers to previous stalwarts in the literary field constitute an incontrovertible proof of the prior development of the language. But, unfortunately, our study is greatly handicapped by the fact that none of the compositions by the authors mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga* have yet been discovered.

Naturally, therefore, one has to look for other sources of information in this regard. The sources of evidential information so ferreted out fall into four categories: (i) Records discovered in foreign countries and languages, (ii) epigraphical evidence, (iii) information gathered from the *Kāvīrājamārga* and (iv) references found in other works.

Attempts were made in the past to establish the existence of Kannada even in the Vedic times and veterans like the late Rev. Heras thought that the seals belonging to the pre-vedic (?) Mohenjodaro and Harappa cultures refer to the Kannada people. But these are theories that are still in the realm of speculation. The first-ever tangible proof of the beginnings of Kannada is said to be available in a Greek farce discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. The piece, which deals with the story of a Greek girl carried away to Indian coasts, has its setting at Malpe (near Uḍupi) in coastal Mysore, and is assigned to the 2nd century A.D. A substantial portion of the dialogue in the farce is in a non-Greek language which was considered as Kannada by the late Dr. Hultsch.⁶ This view was subsequently supported by the late Sri M. Govinda Pai who, after an exhaustive study of the non-Greek dialect of the farce, established, more or less conclusively, that it could be no other dialect than Kannada.⁷ Despite demurring suggestions, opinion gradually began to veer round to the view that 'it is not improbable that the language under discussion was Kannada'. The late Dr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, relying on this piece of evidence, is known to have made a bold suggestion that Kannada might be 'an older sister of Tamil.'⁸ The *Gaṭha Saptasāthi*, an anthology of Prākṛit poems, of the 1st or 2nd century A.D., contains numerous words of doubtful origin, like 'tuppa' (ghee), 'poṭṭe' (belly), 'tir' (to make possible), which have been in use in the classical works in Kannada in the same sense in which they occur in Prākṛit. The inference that these might be Kannada words borrowed by Prākṛit, though likely to be discounted, cannot be easily ruled out. The spread of Prākṛit in Karnataka in the early years of the Christian era is very likely to have produced an inter-action which resulted in a large number of words from the then local dialect, spoken or

written, being assimilated into the guest-language, simultaneously with the absorption of Prākṛit themes into Kannada.

But an even more authentic evidence of the antiquity of the Kannada language is the Halmiḍi Grant of Kadamba Kākusthavarman, generally assigned to c. 450. A.D. The Grant, which embodies the characteristic features of the ancient dialect, throws considerable light on the early stages of the language, revealing, at the same time, the profound influence of Sanskrit on Kannada. The language of this inscription has been discussed in an earlier chapter (under *Languages of Karnataka*, P. 78).

Important as all the old inscriptions like the one at Halmiḍi are from the point of view of linguistic development, some of them also bear the impress of a poetic mind. The Tamaṭakallu inscription (500 A.D.) is an instance in point. It contains a beautiful portrayal of the many-sided qualities of one Guṇamadhura in the following words :

Phaṇi-maṇi antu bhōgi phaṇadul maṇi vilmanadōn,
raṇa-mukhaduḷḷe kōla neriyarkkum anindya guṇan
praṇayi-janakke kāman asitōtpala-varṇṇan avan,
Gunamadhurānka-divya-purushan purusha-pravarān.⁹

“Like the chief of the serpents, an enjoyer; wearing the serpent jewels; devoted to archery; in the face of war his armour prevailing; of blameless qualities; to women, Kāma of the colour of the dark water-lily; Guṇamadhura (was) a charming man, the best of men.”¹⁰

The Śravaṇabelagoḷa inscription No. 88 (about 700 A.D.) is another piece of poetic composition. It narrates how an ascetic, Nandisēna by name, on realizing the transient nature of life came to consider death as a consummation to be devoutly wished for and consequently resorted to self-immolation by fasting, which resulted in his death. The verse runs as follows :

“Sura-chāpambule Viḍyul-lategaḷa teṇavol monjuvōl
tōri bēgam
Pirigum śri-roopa-leeḷa-dhana-vibhava mahā-rāśēegaḷ
nillavarggam
paramārtham mechchen ān dhavaniyul iravān endu
sanyāsanam geyḍ
uru-sattvan Nandisēna-pravara-muni-varan dēva-lōkakke
sandān.”¹¹

“Fleeting are the treasures of beauty, pleasure, wealth and power like the rainbow, like streaks of lightning or like the dew, to everyone. This is the supreme truth. I do not like existence on this earth. Thus saying the chief of the sages, the strong-minded Nandisēna, adopted ‘sanyasana’ and went to the world of gods.”¹²

The Taṭṭukōṭi inscription (c. 70-0 A.D.)¹³ describing the invincible prowess of one Kappe Ārabhaṭṭa may be cited as yet another example of delightful poetry.

It is not as if the *Kavirājamārga* is silent over the condition of the Kannada language during the above period. In addition to mentioning 'Old Kannada', it pays a glowing tribute to the literary aptitude of the Kannada people. It says: "The very country folk have the gift of saying things aright and of understanding the sayings of others instantaneously; by their innate intelligence they have become experts in literary pursuits though they never pored over the books studiously. Not only the scholars, but every man and woman is clever in the use of the mother tongue; even infants and the dumb can give wise counsel. Even the unintelligent can see through a literary lapse and they will press their charge effectively against a faulty work as if they were masters in the field". (*Kavirājamārga*, I, verses 38 to 40).¹⁴ Moreover, it mentions a number of writers like Vimalōdaya, Nagārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvineeta as masters of prose, and pays a handsome tribute to ancient scholars ('chirantanāchāryar'). It also cites Sreevijaya, Kaveśvara, Paṇḍita, Chandra and Lōkapāla as early poets and refers to their contribution as illustrations of early poetry. But it is a pity that, having mentioned so many writers of the early ages, it has not cared to name any work of any of them, with the result that almost all of them have remained just authors' names. Modern research has not yet succeeded in forming any definitive conclusions as to their identity or their individual contribution¹⁵. But Durvineeta, mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga* as a prose writer, would appear to be the well-known Ganga ruler of the 7th century A. D., described in the Nallāla Plates as a great personality of many parts. He is credited with the authorship of a commentary on the VI canto of the *Kirātārjuneeya*, the Sanskrit classic of Bhāravi who, as stated in Daṇḍin's *Avantisundari Kathā*, was Durvineeta's court-poet. B. L. Rice was definite that the commentary must have been in Kannada, but this is a view that seems to call for further corroboration. Durvineeta is supposed to be the author of two more works, a Sanskrit translation of Guṇāḍhya's *Brihat-Kathā* which, however, is not extant, and *Śabdāvatāra*, a grammatical treatise, perhaps in Sanskrit, which too has not yet been discovered. These uncertainties apart, it may safely be assumed that Durvineeta was well-known as an erudite scholar, as a patron of letters and, on the authority of the *Kavirājamārga*, as a notable prose writer in Kannada.

Sreevijaya, another of the poets recalled in the *Kavirājamārga*, might have been the poet of the same name who was the author or collaborator of the *Kavirājamārga* and, if so, a court poet of Amoghavarsha Nripatunga, the scholar-king of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty.

The *Kavirājamārga* contains numerous illustrative verses of which some are strongly believed to be the productions of the author's own pen, and others are more likely to be quotations from the works of earlier or contemporary writers. Among these are a few bearing on the *Ramayana* episodes, and one relating to the *Mahabharata*, which suggest the prior existence of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*

epics in Kannada, possibly of the Jains tradition. There are verses in the *Kavirājamārga* bearing on political science also and a few others serving as a guide to correct standards of living. It is likely that some of these were composed by the author himself.

The *Kavirājamārga* also mentions two literary patterns, *viz.*, the 'chaṭṭāna' and the 'beḍaṇḍe' which, it says, used to be composed by ancient poets. The former is defined as a composition consisting of a large number of verses in the 'Kanda', 'Akkara', 'Chaupadi', 'Geetike' and 'Tivadi' metres, and the latter as a form of writing characterised by a mixture of verses in the 'Kanda', 'Vritta' and 'Jāti' metres. Apart from this definition, we have no information regarding the nature and content of these varieties or of the poets who excelled in their composition.¹⁶

The foregoing is perhaps all that we glean from the *Kavirājamārga* about the literary development in Kannada prior to the ninth century. But we have one or two other sources which throw additional light on the variety of writing during that period. In his *Śabdānuśāsa*, a monumental work in Sanskrit dealing with Kannada grammar, Bhaṭṭakālanka of the 17th century, refers to the existence of a voluminous work entitled the *Chūḍāmaṇi*. Alluding to the richness of the Kannada language, he says: "Nor is Karnata a language unused for scientific purposes. For in it was written the great work called the *Chūḍāmaṇi* 96,000 verse-measures in extent, a commentary on the *Tattvārthamahāśāstra*". From Dēvachandra's (1838 A.D.) *Rājāvaikathe* and Indrānandī's *Śrutāvatāra*, we learn that the author of this monumental commentary was one Tumbulūrāchārya, who has been assigned to the 7th century. We also have it on the authority of Indrānandī that Syāma-Kundāchārya, also of the 7th century, wrote a Kannada commentary of 6000 'granthas' (verse-measures) on a work called *Kāshāya Prabhāta*. These works, being philosophical in their content, might not perhaps be important from the literary point of view, but, if discovered, will undoubtedly add to our existing knowledge of the structure of the Kannada language of the 7th century, besides being valuable additions to the pre-ninth century contribution to metaphysical enquiry in Kannada. The above testimony to the production of such profound and voluminous works even as far back as the 7th century constitutes an unquestionable proof of the heritage and maturity of the language. For they are works which, as B. L. Rice rightly observed, could neither have been produced nor required had there not already existed a considerable literature in Kannada together with a wide-spread cultivation of the language¹⁷.

We are now almost at the end of the pre-Nripatunga period. About this time, the Ganga ruler Saigotta Sivamāra (c. 800 A.D.), known as a great conqueror and a versatile scholar, is said to have composed the *Gajāshṭaka*, a short tract containing eight verses about the management of elephants. Though short, it is said to have been at once scholarly, 'unique in rhythm and expression,'¹⁸ and according to an inscription, as popular as 'ovanige' and 'onakevāḍu'¹⁹ (song

sung at the time of pounding rice). Sivamāra is also said to be the author of another work called the *Sētubandha*.²⁰

There would also appear to have been a prosodiocal work in Kannada prior to, or contemporaneous with, the *Kavirājamārga*, for Amritasāgara, a Jaina poet of the eleventh century, refers in his prosodiocal work, *Yāpparungalakkarigai*, to a Kannada work on prosody, *Guṇagānakīyam* by name. Its author yet remains unknown and the work yet remains to be discovered. It is possible, however, that this work was the one dedicated to the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya (c. 844-888), who bore the epithets 'Guṇaga', 'Guṇagānka' and 'Guṇakenalla'.

Jayakeerti of the eleventh century, while detailing the 'Karnāta Vishaya Bhāshājāti' in the seventh chapter of his *Chhandānuśāṣa* mentions one 'Prabhuseniya' who is believed to be a Kannada author of unknown date.

The period of literary growth prior to the *Kavirājamārga* seems to have been a formative period. The *Kavirājamārga*, as its name indicates, laid the royal road to success, for the guidance of aspiring writers. Leading the transition from the 'pre-old' dialect to the 'old dialect', the *Kavirājamārga* reflected the changed and changing traditions in the linguistic and literary scene of the day and emerged as the harbinger of the classical age of a new era which produced a plethora of works that 'stand out as a unique pattern in the variegated mosaic of Indian culture'.

FOOT NOTES

1. Geiger's *Mahavamsa*, P. 82.
2. R. Narasimhacharya, *History of the Kannada Language*, P. 47-48.
3. D. L. Narasimhachar, 'Old Kannada Literature—A Brief Survey' in *Karnataka Darshana*, P. 83.
4. R. Narasimhacharya, *History of the Kannada Language*, P. 36.
5. This is now disputed. The '*Vaddaradhane*', a recently discovered prose work, is according to some scholars, likely to have been an older work than the *Kavirajamarga*.
6. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1901, P. 399.
7. *Prabuddha Karnataka*, Vol. II.
8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, P. 293.
9. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, Chitradurga Dist. No. 43.
10. *Ibid*, Translation, P. 12.
11. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II.
12. *Ibid*, Translation, P. 42.

SANSKRIT (EARLY PERIOD)

13. *Indian Antiquary*, X, P. 61.
14. This rendering has been adopted from Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy's article on 'Kannada and Sanskrit' in *Karnataka Darsana*, Pp. 205 and 206.
15. It was once presumed that some of the above-mentioned authors might have been Buddhist writers and, on the basis of that presumption, it was inferred that there might have been a Buddhist period in Kannada literature. But this view lacks support, for Buddhism did not at any time take root in Karnataka.
16. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Nagavarma (c. 1150 A. D.,) in his *Kavyavalokana* refers to three forms of poetry viz. the 'melvadu', the 'bedande' and the 'bajane gabba' in addition to some others. The 'bajane gabba' and the 'melvadu' defined by him would seem to correspond to the 'chattana' and the 'bedande' described in the *Kavirajamarga* (R. Narasimhachar, *History of Kannada Literature*, p. 13; Muliya Thimmappayya, *Kavirajamarga Viveka*, pt. I, pp. 118-123, and also *Kannada Nadu Desi Sahityavu*, pp. 46-51). As pointed out by R. Narasimhachar, the *Yasodharacharita* of Janna (c. 1209) is perhaps the only work that answers to the description of 'melvadu' (or 'bedande').
17. B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions*, P. 198.
18. M. V. Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, P. 66.
19. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, N.R. 35.
20. M. V. Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, P. 66.

SANSKRIT (EARLY PERIOD)

We shall now proceed to consider the contribution of Karnataka to Sanskrit in the early period.

The Western pioneers in Sanskrit studies like Prof. Max Muller felt so keenly the absence after the epic age in India, of any significant works in Sanskrit till the sixth century A.D., that they postulated the theory of a renaissance or revival of Sanskrit learning. Even early archæologists and epigraphists like Buhler, who proved the hollowness of the above surmise on the evidence of dated inscriptions, are seen under-rating the contribution of South India to Sanskrit poetry. Buhler observes: "It is, however, very questionable whether the poetic art had reached in southern India that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in northern India". But, as ably pointed out by Dr. D.C. Sircar, recent finds show that Buhler's doubts are unjustified. That the Kāvya style was cultivated in South India is fully established by a number of inscriptions in Karnataka. Kubja, the author of the Tālagunda Inscription of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman (5th century A.D.) was a master of varied metres and striking figures of speech; Ravikeerti, the famous poet of Pulikēśin II, could

deservedly lay claim to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi on account of his composition in the famous Aihole Inscription (637 A.D.).

Such examples of rare poetic finish do indicate that Sanskrit poetry was being regularly cultivated in this region in the period under survey. Some of the ancient manuscripts in drama and poetry, discovered in the present century, go to confirm this conclusion, though many a great work, mentioned in epigraphical records, is irrecoverably lost. Thus the *Dattakāsūtravritti*, a treatise on the Vaiśika chapter of erotics written by the Ganga king Mādhava II (c. 4th century A.D.) and the Ganga king Durvineeta's (c. 6th century A.D.) Sanskrit version of the renowned *Brihat-kathā* (in Paiśāchi Prākṛit) of Guṇāḍhya, and the commentary on the difficult fifteenth canto of Bhāravi's ornate poem, *Kirātārjuneeya* and Ganga king Śreepurusha's *Gajaśāstra* (a treatise on the training of elephants) are nothing more than mere names to us. Even if some of the Copper Plates that mention these details be regarded as later forgeries, the facts recorded may be taken to represent genuine tradition.

The existence of a Tamil *Perungata*, (*Brihat-kathā*) (c. 8th century) which speaks of itself as being based on a Sanskrit version, goes to make it plausible that Durvineeta was the author of that Sanskrit version, particularly in the absence of Sanskrit versions of that work up to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the original *Brihat-kathā* also hailed from Kuntaladēśa (an ancient name for parts of Karnataka) in the reign of a Sātavāhana king by about the first century A.D. Later legends make it appear that he was a rival of Sarvavarman, the famous author of the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* in the court of a Sātavāhana king. Indeed, this grammar is not only handy and simple, but also practical and popular. Its great popularity in distant lands like Tibet, Kashmir and Bengal in the centuries that followed, as against the more elaborate and more intricate grammar of Pāṇini indicates its utility. To revert to the *Brihat-kathā*, it is a rare and signal monument to the genius of the south in the matter of romantic and didactic tales, with flashes of buoyant and sunny humour. No wonder it served as a source book to the master-poets of the north like Subandhu and Bāṇa, as well as of the south, like Daṇḍin, who wrote on secular themes. It deserves to be mentioned here that, again, it was in the Sātavāhana court that the first anthology of seven hundred lyric gems in Prākṛit, viz., *Gāthāsaptasai* (or *Sattasai*) was compiled. These love-songs are extremely tender and beautiful. The calm and unsophisticated life of the Indian people, especially in the villages amidst nature is artfully depicted. Sometimes we hear the man's voice, but more often the woman's. The women, old and young, speak to the youth, to the loving woman, to their own hearts; yet their one theme is love'. These lively verses have influenced all the later lyric writers, not only in Sanskrit, but in other Indian languages like Hindi. Bāṇa, in his *Harshacharita*, pays a glorious tribute to it as an 'imperishable and refined repertory of good sayings'. Some scholars, however, think that this collection may belong to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The *Avantisundari kathā*, discovered and edited recently, records a tradition that its illustrious author Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of one Damōdara, an immigrant to the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman from Gujarat or so, that this Damōdara, was a great friend of Bhāravi who was honoured in the courts of the Ganga king Durvineeta, the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana and the Pallava Simhavishnu before he finally settled in Kānchi. This information that all the three rulers were contemporaries, however, cannot be fully reconciled with the facts known from inscriptions about them. Yet it is enough to establish that Bhāravi and Daṇḍin were writers from the south and that they were honoured in the courts of Karnataka rulers.

Bhāravi's *Kirātārjuneeya* is one of the most celebrated Mahākāvyas (great epic poems) in Sanskrit. It marks a new epoch in Sanskrit ornate poetry) by giving greater importance to meaning rather than to style (*Bhāravērartha gauravam*), and to poetic description of natural settings and phenomena rather than the narration of incidents. It is also the first work in which verbal gymnastics like *ekākshari* (verses made up of words containing the different forms of a single letter) and 'gatapratyāgata' (verses reading alike both forwards and backwards) have been displayed (especially in Canto XV). These apart, Bhāravi stands out as a poet of power and singular energy in introducing spirited dialogues, and we find charming images in almost every verse of his, though some of the conceits might appear far-fetched to modern taste. He proved to be a 'poet's poet' in the history of Sanskrit 'Mahākāvya' and set the standard once for all for others to follow.

In an inscription (c. 1129 A.D.) at Sravaṇabelagoḷa, (E.C., II, No. 67), mention is made of a Jaina poet Śrīvardhadēva, author of the glorious poem 'Chūḍamaṇi', eulogised by Daṇḍin himself in the following words:

"If Lord Śiva bore Ganga on the top of his matted hair, here is Śrīvardhadēva who bears Sarasvati at the tip of his tongue."

(Jahnoḥ kanyām jaṭāgrēṇa babhāra Paramēśvarah Śrīvardhadēva sandhatte jihvāgrēṇa Sarasvatim). Unfortunately, the work is not extant.

That in creative literature, the Jainas took remarkable interest follows as a corollary from the patronage they received from Karnataka kings who, in that period, were themselves of Jaina persuasion to a large extent. It is said in several Kannada inscriptions that one ascetic Simhanandi was responsible for establishing the Ganga sovereignty.

Different from this sage is Jaṭāsimhanandi whose mahākāvya in 31 cantos, viz., *Vārāṅgacharita* has been recently edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye. Dr. Upadhye has pointed out how this author might have lived at the close of the 7th century A.D., and how a memorial to him in stone is preserved up to this day at Koppal. The poem gives us echoes from Aśvaghōsha's *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarānanda*, and is racy and readable, with occasional intrusions of didactic matter. It can be taken to represent 'Purāṇakāvya' (old epic style) since it includes dogmatic details

and polemical discussions. None-the-less, its poetic merit is of a high order and the verses are melodious.

Several such early Jaina authors of Purāṇākāvyaś like Kavi Paramēśvara (or Kavi-Paramēśṭi) are mentioned by later poets like Jinasēna (9th century), author of the *Ādipurāṇa*, Chāvunḍarāya (10th century) and Vādirāja (11th century). But they are all unfortunately lost.

The Jinas were also pioneers in the composition of useful secular works on Grammar, Prosody, Medicine, etc. Thus we have inscriptional references to Pūjyapāda *alias* Dēvanandin (5th century or 6th century A.D.) as an author of a 'nyāsa' on Pāṇinian grammar known as *Śabdāvatāra* (sometimes king Durvineeta himself is given the epithet 'Śabdāvatārakāra', though). He was certainly the founder of a new system of grammar known as 'Jainendra Vyākaraṇa', which has recently been published (by the Bharatiya Vidyā Peeth, Benaras). From a perusal of the work, it appears that Dēvanandin was out-Pāṇiniing Pāṇini himself in the matter of brevity, making all the sūtras much more laconic by avoiding all lengthy expressions. It provided a nucleus for further elaborate studies in the centuries that followed. It is in the nature of an abridgment of Pāṇini for all practical purposes.

Danḍin deserves our consideration now as a master of Sanskrit prose and an early authority on Sanskrit poetics. Reference has already been made to his newly discovered *Avantisundari kathā* while discussing Bhāravi's life and times. Recent studies in the field indicate that this *Avantisundari kathā* is itself possibly the lost introduction to Danḍin's well known *Daśakumāracharita*. Danḍin was honoured in the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman (c. 630-668 A.D.) and his fame had spread all over Karnataka, as is indicated by a 'subhāshita' (pithy saying) of Vijayā (c. 650 A.D.), a poetess and queen of Chandrāditya, the eldest son of the mighty Chālukyan Emperor, Pulikēśian II :

"It is because Danḍin had no occasion to see me, of shining dark complexion that he made the mistake of describing Sarasvati all white."

The allusion is to the benedictory verse of Danḍin's celebrated work on poetics, the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. (This work also served as the basis for the Kannada *Kavirājamārga* ascribed to king Nripatunga or Amōghavarsha (9th century A.D.).

The *Kāvyaḍarśa* which has some verbal reminiscences of Bāṇa, is in three chapters. In the first, Danḍin discusses the need for a scientific study of literature, classifies the literary forms, and deals at length with the nature of literary styles, Vaidarbhi and Gauḍi. In the second, he gives a very elegant and graceful account of some thirty and odd 'arthālankāras' or figures of speech. In the last chapter he treats of various types of 'Śabdālankāras' (figures of word and sound) like Yamaka and Anurūpa.

Danḍin's popular prose work is the *Daśakumāracharita*. The stories of the ten princes are truer to life than those of Bāṇa and their style less involved. The diction of Danḍin has been a by-word for grace and ease : 'Danḍinah padalālityam' ; and his sprightly humour and vein of satire will win the admiration of even modern readers. An introductory verse of *Daśakumāracharita* is copied in the Pallava inscription of the 8th century at Amarāvati (*S.I.I.*, 1, 26, Kielhorn's List No. 1903). Similarly, we find a poet Achala who composed two verses in praise of Naṭyāchārya Bharata and got them inscribed on a stone pillar at Paṭṭadakal in the 7th century (Kielhorn's List No. 1042).

According to the findings of Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah, the glorious Ganga court of Būtuga and Rakkasaganga in the last part of the 10th century gave patronage to a number of eminent writers in Sanskrit among the Jinas. Hēmasēna *alias* Vidyādhananjaya *alias* Dhananjaya was the author of the first *tour de force* in Sanskrit Mahākāvyas, *viz.*, the *Rāghavapāṇḍaveeya*. This poem narrates the story of both the epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, simultaneously by means of puns. His student was Vādibhasimha *alias* Oḍeyadēva *alias* Srivijaya who is well-known as the author of two prose works after the manner of Bāṇa, *viz.*, the *Gadyachintāmaṇi* and *Kshātrachudāmaṇi*. These have Jaina didactic stories for their themes. Here, again, deserves to be mentioned Veeranandin, the author of the far-famed *Chandraprabhāpurāṇa* and Asaga who wrote the *Vardhamānapurāṇa* in Sanskrit and became also so famous as to be alluded to by Kavichakravarti Ponna.

Turning to early sacred and philosophical literature in Sanskrit, it is very difficult in the present state of scholarship to decide which of the authors were from the Karnataka region, though we know in general that Āpastambha and Hiraṇyakēśin, among renowned sūtrakāras, (composers of aphorisms) and Kātyāyana, among Buddhist logicians, and Samantabhadra among Jaina authorities, were all from the south. Epigraphical evidence, however, shows clearly that in Karnataka from the earliest times, the study of the Vedas and Vedāngas, Sāstras and Purāṇas in Sanskrit was widely prevalent.

It would not be wrong to surmise that Srīngēri was a great centre for the philosophical activity of the great Sankarāchārya and some of his pupils like Padmapāda and Surēśvara-Viśvarūpa.

Though a large number of works have been lost by the ravages of time, even the few surviving works noticed above serve to show that the contribution of Karnataka to Indian culture through the medium of Sanskrit in the period (4th to 10th century A.D., under Sātavāhanas, Kadambas, Pallavas and Gangas, etc.), is neither mean nor negligible.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE (EARLY PERIOD)

Achievement in the fine arts generally is a reflection of the level of culture and civilisation reached by a country : and judged by this standard Karnataka has a good record of achievement from the earliest times. The plateau of Karnataka, situated as it is on the south-west of the Indian peninsula, became a meeting ground of cultures as they moved from the north to the south, and from the south to the north of India. This applies as much to religious and philosophical movements as to manifest expression through the fine arts like sculpture, architecture, painting and music. Unfortunately, however, we do not have enough authentic evidence of such expression in respect of painting and music belonging to the earliest period. But specimens of sculpture and architecture which deal with more durable material like stone, have survived to some extent.

We shall now consider the architecture and sculpture of Karnataka in the early period.

According to *Mānasāra*, perhaps the most outstanding treatise on ancient Indian architecture, there is hardly any differentiation between architecture and sculpture. In fact, the term *vāstu*, includes both. In dealing with the subject of architecture of the early periods in the history of India and also of Karnataka, this particular connotation of the term has to be kept in mind.

When did architecture first appear in Karnataka? Was there any architecture prior to Asoka here? If it did, we have no traces of it. The buildings must have perished because they were probably built of wood and timber, as in the rest of India. The Asokan period must have witnessed the construction of stūpas even in Karnataka. Unfortunately, there is hardly any evidence by way of structural remains even in a place like Maski, which was an important provincial town of Asoka. Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavations at Brahmagiri (Asoka's Isīla), though generally devoid of structures, revealed a small brick chaitya, unfortunately sadly ruined.

We are in the same state of uncertainty regarding monuments of the Sātavāhana period in Karnataka. Though Chandravaḷḷi in the Chitradurga District revealed no structural remains of the Sātavāhanas in its excavations, yet a few large-sized bricks (16" x 10" x 3") of the Sātavāhana period were recovered, indicating thereby the presence of brick buildings.

The Kadambas laid the foundation of architecture in Karnataka. They built several temples at Banavāsi and Halsi. Fergusson, writing at the end of the 19th century, and Dr. Cousens following him in the 20th, did not separate the Kadamba from the Chālukyan buildings. Dr. Moraes suggests that the Kadambas

were the first to effect a bifurcation between the 'garbhagriha' and the 'sukhanāsi', i. e., the inner shrine and the outer pillared hall.

Some of the earliest structures of the Kadambas have still survived. The Tālgunda inscription of the Kadamba kings Kākustha and Sāntivarman (5th century A. D.) refers to the Praṇavēśvara Temple where Sātakarṇi and others offered worship. This shows that this temple existed prior to 450 A. D. On a door jamb of the garbhagriha there is an inscription of Prabhāvatī, the queen of Mrigēśavarman, the son and successor of Sāntivarman. The Jaina temple (basadi) at Halsi is also another early Kadamba structure attributed to Mrigēśavarman on inscriptional evidence by Dr. Fleet. Neither the Durga temple at Aihole nor the monolithic shrines of Māmallapuram are as early as these two Kadamba shrines described above.

We see the next stage of Kadamba architecture in the temple of Kallēśvara at Halsi with its cubical and octagonal pillars. To the garbhagriha and sukhanāsi the maṇṭapa was also added.

In the Kadamba temple at Yalavaṭṭi, we come across the horizontally-stepped, pyramidal tower, a characteristic of the fully developed Kadamba style. It is a feature, according to Moraes, which was taken over by later schools in the Deccan, as illustrated by the Lakshmi temple at Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi, Hassan District, built by Vishnuvardhana (1110-52 A.D.) of the Hoysala dynasty.

The Gangas of Mysore (c 400-1000 A.D.) were responsible for much progress in art and architecture, though many of their edifices have been swallowed up in the sands of Talakāḍ, their capital. We see a large number of slender pillars of granite, cubical at the bottom but tapering slightly at the end and surmounted by a wheel moulding just below the capital, sometimes half-broken, strewn round about that town. 'Many of them were pulled out and used for later buildings. The Arkēśvara, Pātālēśvara and Maraḷēśvara at Talakāḍ should be assigned to this period. The Kapilēśvara Temple at Manne, once the celebrated capital of the Gangas and also the Somēśvara Temple at the same place are of brick and probably belong to the 8th century A.D.

Śravaṇabelagoḷa in the Hassan District, however, contains some buildings of the Gangas. The basadi of Chandraprabhā was built in about 800 A.D., by Śivamāra. The Chāvunḍarāyabasti, a two-storeyed building, was built by Chāvunḍarāya in 982 A.D. The world-famous image of Gommaṭa on the top of the bigger hill at the place was carved out of a single granite tor by Chāvunḍarāya, the minister of the Ganga king Rāchamalla (974-994 A.D.). This marvellous and magnificent piece of sculpture was finished by 983 A.D., and is perhaps one of the mightiest achievements of ancient Karnataka in the realm of sculptural art.

The huge Brahmadēva Pillar built in 974 A.D., in honour of Mārasimha and the Tyāgada Brahmadēva Pillar of Chāvunḍarāya in 983 A.D., respectively, constitute good examples of carved pillars peculiar to the Jaina faith. The shaft of the latter has a beautiful scroll of climbing honey-suckle and the figures of Chāvunḍarāya and his guru Nēmichandra are flanked by chauri (whisk) bearers.

At Arḷaguppe, three and a half miles west of Bāṇasandra, Tumkur District, is situated the Kallēśvara Temple, which has been largely reconstructed. But its originality is more or less untampered in the inside. The beautifully carved doorway in granite, the slender pillars comparable to those from Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa, constituting the navaranga with its exquisitely carved ceiling, make the temple go back to the Ganga period. Apart from the evidence of style, we have within the precincts of the temple a veergal (hero-stone) belonging to the reign of the Ganga king Satyavākya Rāchamalla Permānaḍi, whose date falls within the early years of the second half of the 10th century A. D.

The ceiling has nine panels and the central panel contains the figure of a dancing Śiva flanked by the Ashṭadikpālakas, or the guardians of the eight quarters. The Ashṭadikpālaka figures are charming; each dikpālaka together with his consort, seated on his respective *vāhana*, or vehicle, has lifted up his right hand as if to hail Śiva. Among them the figures of Varuṇa on the crocodile and Indra on the elephant are superb creations hardly met with in the sculpture of South India of the period. The jaṭāmakuṭa, or the matted hair, of Śiva is bound by a fillet in which also occurs the crescent moon. The figure of Śiva, further, is richly bejewelled. The neck, the arms and the waist bear fine ornaments. Round the neck there is a beautiful necklace; in the right ear, a makarakunḍala and in the left a nāgakunḍala (serpent ear-ring). The dress at the waist has two knots, one on either side, surmounted by a crown-like ornament and is fastened by a waist-band, the clasp of which displays a lion's head with jewelled strings hanging down from its mouth. The figure also wears bracelets, anklets, toe-rings and finger-rings. The hands of Śiva are beautifully posed and poised: the two back hands on the right and left are holding tridents as though to impart a rhythmic balance to the dancing figure. The left fore-arm is in the 'Gajahasta' pose (the hand in the pose of the elephant's trunk) while the right shows the 'Kapittha' (or wood-apple).

The presence of the four flying Gandharva figures at the four corners of the panel of the dancing Śiva in the attitude of offering floral garlands is a piece of artistry at once imaginative and superb, worthy of a creative craftsman of the finest order.

The figures of the boar and the hound on the Ātkūr stone of the period of Būtuga are carved with exceptional realism: and the death scene of Neetimārga depicted on the Doḍḍahundi stone is unequalled for its dignity and simplicity. The king resting on a double pillow bearing his physical exhaustion, the anguish of Satyavākya at the death of his father and the joy of Agarayya, the family servant, at the opportunity of dying with his master are all vividly sculptured.

Mention must also be made of the fine bronzes housed at the Jaina Maṭha at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. One of them was presented to the maṭha by Mr. Crawford, who discovered it while digging in his coffee plantation. It is a standing figure of a Jina 2 feet high and has an inscription all round the pedestal praising Kundana Sōmidēvi, the elder sister of the Ganga king Noḷamba-kulāntaka Mārasimha or Mārasimha II (961-974 A. D.). The importance of this piece lies in the fact that it is a metallic image definitely ascribable to the Ganga period.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL HISTORY THE CHALUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

IN the previous chapter, we have dealt with the political history of the Kadambas, the Gangas, and of minor dynasties like the Bāṇās and Noḷambas, which took us well beyond the 10th century. These held sway mostly in the southern regions of Karnataka. When dealing with the Pallavas, we have seen the role played by them as rivals and determined opponents of the Bādāmi Chālukyas who had risen to power by the end of the 6th century. In tracing the conflicts between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas that lasted for a few centuries, we have already anticipated to some extent the political history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

The political history of Karnataka dealing with the fortunes of various royal families ruling over different parts of the country is not easily amenable to a strictly chronological treatment.

We shall, therefore, have to go back a little in dealing with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, whose rise to power was almost contemporaneous with that of the Gangas in South Karnataka, and who played a most significant role in ancient Karnataka.

The significant history of the Deccan and of Karnataka may be said to commence with the rule of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It is true there were a number of early dynasties ruling territories situated in different parts of Karnataka. But the emergence of the Chālukyas in the 5th century A.D., gave a definite shape to the history of Karnataka.

The main sources for reconstructing the history of this dynasty are the early inscriptions. They are in Sanskrit and Kannada and are dated in the Saka era. They speak of the family of the Chālukyas¹ who are glorious; who are of the Mānavya gotra which is praised throughout the world; who are the sons of Hārīti (Hārīti-putras); who have been nourished by the seven mothers, 'mothers of mankind'; who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour and protection of Kārtikēya; and at the sight of whose Boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of divine Nārāyaṇa, all people became their subjects. The common name used for the family is 'Chālukya', but in inscriptions it appears as Chalukya, Chālikya, Chālukya and Chālōkya². In later inscriptions the etymology of the family name is traced to the word 'chalukya',

‘water-pot’, or ‘hollow of the hand to hold water’. The story runs thus: “Hārīta-Panchaśikha, who was descended from Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahma) was performing his *sandhya* (prayers). When he was pouring out the libation to the gods, a warrior was born in his water-pot (‘chuluka’). He is called Chaluk and his descendants are called Chālukyas”³. Bilhaṇa, the chief paṇḍit at the court of Vikramāditya VI, gives a different account: “On an occasion when Brahma was performing his *sandhya*, Indra approached him and complained that the earth was full of godless people. He begged Brahma to put an end to it by creating a hero who would rescue the earth from evil-doers. Brahma then looked at his chāluka; from it sprang a warrior. chālukyas are descended from him”⁴.

This mythical etymology of the word Chālukya need not be accepted.⁵ In its place a suggestion may be made, after careful examination of early inscriptions of the dynasty, that their original name was Chaluki, Chalki, Saluki or Salki, a Kannada term for an agricultural instrument resembling a crowbar.⁶ The originator of the family might have taken this term as his proper name as is common even today in Karnataka. We find a number of people whose proper names are Salkeppa, Gudleppa, terms used for agricultural instruments with the honorific ‘appa’ (ārya) added. Originally, the Chālukyas might have been agricultural folk residing round about Bādāmi. But later on, when the dynasty became powerful and they became rulers of vast territories, stories were invented to give the family purāṇic antiquity and sanctity. The genealogy of the family is also mixed up with mythology and purāṇic legends. The full account of the family is found in a Grant of Vishnuvardhana Rājarāja I (1022-1063 A.D.) of the eastern branch of the family.⁷ The genealogy commences from God Brahma who is born from the lotus which grew from the navel (‘nābhi kamala’) of Vishnu; Sōma (Moon), Budha (Mercury), Pururavas, Ayu, Ayusha, descended in succession from him. In this line was born Udayana, son of Śatanika. Including him, fifty-nine kings ruled in Ayōdhya in unbroken lineal succession. A descendant of the family named Vijayāditya came to the south with a desire to conquer the country. He fought with Trilōchana Pallava and lost his life in the encounter. His queen who was then in the family way escaped with her attendants and was given shelter by a saint named Vishṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji. She gave birth to a posthumous son, who was named Vishnuvardhana, as a mark of gratitude to the saint Vishṇubhaṭṭa. The young prince who was brought up in the traditions of the Kshatriyas was eager to avenge the death of his father. He worshipped goddess Nandibhagavati, on the mountain Chālukyagiri, and by her grace conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other kings. He defeated the Pallavas and married their daughter. From her he had a son named Vijayāditya whose son was Pulikēśi. Vijayāditya assumed the royal insignia of the family and established himself as emperor of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha) consisting of seven and a half lakhs of villages lying between the Narmada and Sētū in the extreme south. The Kauṭhēm Grant of Vikramāditya V dated 1009 A.D.⁸ states that fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya lineage ruled from Ayōdhya and after them sixteen over Dakṣiṇāpatha. Their power was temporarily eclipsed. It was restored by

BADAMI CHALUKYA

--- EMPIRE OF PULIKESIN ---

→→→ ROUTE OF PULIKESIN'S CAMPAIGN

SCALE: 1 CM = 45 KILOMETRES



Figure 9

Jayasimha. An inscription of Jayasimha II dated 1019 A.D.⁹ also narrates that fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya family ruled at Ayōdhya and that subsequently in that line was born Satyāśraya, from whom the family came to be called the family of Satyāśraya. Another record dated 1025-26 A.D.¹⁰ says that the mind-born son of God Brahman was Svayambhu Manu; his son was Mānavya; his descendants were known as belonging to the Mānavya gōtra; Mānavya's son was Hārīta; his son was Panchaśhikā Hārīta; his son was Chālukya; from him sprang the race of the Chālukyas. A Kannada poet Ranna¹¹ also gives us an account of the family. According to this account Satyāśraya Vishnuvardhana was ruling at Ayōdhya; his son was Jayasimha who defeated the Rāshtrakūṭas; his son was Raṇarāgasimha.

These legends are late in origin and they differ from one another in some important particulars. It may be that in the tenth century or thereabout, after the defeat of the Rāshtrakūṭas by Tailapa II, these legends became current. At about this period most of the ruling dynasties of the south tried to trace their origin to the north.¹²

But even in the early records, we may notice faint indications of some such ideas which were entertained even then. A passage in the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription describes Pulikēśin I as descended from the God *Hiraṇyagarbha* (Brahman).¹³ The Aihole inscription states that Jayasimha I was preceded by many members of his family.¹⁴ A passage in the grants of Vinayāditya describes his father, Vikramāditya I, as defeating the lord of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of the family of the Chālukyas which was as pure as the rays of the moon.¹⁵ These statements are too vague and do not agree with the elaborate and detailed accounts found in the records after restoration by Tailapa II.

The earliest authentic person known in the family is Jayasimha I, 'the lion of victory'. His son was Raṇarāga, 'he who delights in war'. These two persons are mentioned in genuine records of the early period, viz., Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangaleśa and the Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II. Jayasimha is called Vallabhēndra. He may have held military or executive office under the Kadambas of Banavāsi. It appears that he or his son, Raṇarāga had never been king with independent powers. In the later inscriptions their names appear prominently as the scions of the family. So far no grants of these two persons have been discovered.

In the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangaleśa, the son of Raṇarāga who is styled as Priyatanuja (beloved son) is Pulikēśin I. His name is spelt in the grants variously as Polekēśin, Pulikēśin and Pulakēśin. He had titles like Satyāśraya (abode of truth), Raṇavikrama (the valorous in war) and 'Śrīprithivī-vallabha' (favourite of Lakshmi and the Earth). In the Aihole inscription he is simply called as Śrīvallabha. In the Nalur Grant of Mangaleśa, he is called as Vallabha. His wife was Durlabhādēvi of Batpura (or Banthura) family. He is

further described as descended from God Hiraṇyagarbha. He performed Agnishtōma, Agnichayana, Vājapēya, Bahusuvarṇa, Pounḍarika and Aśvamedha sacrifices. In the Nerur Grant he is described as well-versed in the laws of Manu, the Purāṇas, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and Itihāsa. In the Aihole inscription it is stated that he became a master of Vaṭāpi, the modern Baḍāmi. It means, in other words, that he captured Bādāmi and made it his capital. He probably wrested it from the Kadambas of Banavāsi. The inscriptions from the time of Pulikēśin I contain the title Mahārāja attached to his name. This indicates that perhaps he possessed sovereign powers. He, therefore, may be accepted as the first king of the dynasty and the real founder of the family. He had two sons, Keertivarma I and Mangaleeśa. His date may be fixed pretty closely in 550. A.D.

Keertivarma I succeeded his father Pulikēśin I about 566 A.D. His name appears in grants as Keertirāja, and Keertivarman. In the Coḍachi Plates he is called Kattiarasa. He bore the titles 'Pururaṇaparākrama' (valorous in war as Puru), Saṭyāśraya and Prithivivallabha. In all grants he is called Mahārāja. This indicates that he was a paramount sovereign. The Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription describes him as performing the Bahusuvarṇa and Agnishtōma sacrifices. He married a sister of Rāja Śrīvallabha Senānanda of the Sēndraka family. He is also called the first maker or creator of Vātāpi (Vaṭāpyah prathama vidhāta). In his time, and perhaps under his orders, the famous Vaishnava cave temple of Bādāmi was finished. The Aihole inscription calls him the night of death (Kāḷarātri) of Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. It seems he appointed, in about 590 A.D., a certain Saṭyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman as Governor of four provinces.¹⁶ The Mahākūṭa inscription mentions that he conquered the kings of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattura, Magadha, Madraka, Kēraḷa, Ganga, Musaka, Pāṇḍya, Drāmiḷa, Chōḷiya, Aluka and Vijayanti. This seems to be rather the conventional high praise than a fact, as some of these territories were situated far away. He probably conquered some of the kings adjacent to his own territory, such as the Kadambas of Banavāsi and the Gangas of Talakād. The inscription on the pillar of the Vaishnava cave at Bādāmi records that the cave temple was completed in the twelfth year of his reign which was the full moon day of the month Kārtika, Śaka samvat 500, corresponding to 31st October, 578 A.D.¹⁷

Keertivarma had four sons, viz., Pulikēśi, Vishnuvardhana, Dhārāśraya-Jayasimha and Buddhavarasa¹⁸. His mother was Durlabhādēvi of the Batpura family. His wife was a princess of the Sēndraka family, sister of King Śrīvallabha Senānanda. He died in 596-97 A.D. At the time of his death, his eldest son Pulikēśi was young.

The younger brother of Keertivarma I, Mangaleeśa, assumed the reins of government and ruled the kingdom¹⁹. He appears to have been a half-brother of Keertivarma I²⁰. He is also called Mangalarāja, 'the auspicious king', Mangaleeśa, Mangalārṇava (ocean of auspiciousness) and Mangalēśvara

(the auspicious lord). He had the title of 'Raṇavikrānta,' ('the valorous in war') and Uru-Raṇavikrānta ('the very valorous in war'), Prithivīvallabha ('beloved of the Earth'), Sriprithivīvallabhēndra (chief favourite of Sri or Lakshmi and the Earth). He is described as Parama Bhāgavata 'most devout worshipper of the Divine one, Vishnu. Mangaleeśa appears to have been a strong ruler. He conquered the Kalachuris ²¹. At that time the Kalachuri king was Buddha, son of Sankaragaṇa.²² The victory over the Kalachuris enabled Mangaleeśa to acquire the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kim or perhaps even to the river Mahi. This event appears to have happened in 602 A.D. He killed in war a chief named Svāmīrāja of Chālukya descent who obtained victory in 18 wars.²³ Not much is known about this Svāmīrāja who had settled in the Konkan. He spent the wealth he acquired by defeating the Kalachuris in celebrating festivities in honour of his titular deity. He intended to erect a pillar of victory on the banks of the Ganga but instead erected one in the temple of Mahākūṭeśvara at Mahākūṭa in his own territory about three miles to the east of Bādāmi. ²⁴ He constructed the Vaishnava cave in the hill at Bādāmi.²⁵ He conquered territory called Rēvatīdvīpa, ²⁶ which was situated in the west coast and is identified with the modern Redi, a fortified promontory about eight miles south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri District of the Mahārāshṭra State. In the Kauṭhēm Grant it is stated that at the time of the death of Keertivarma, his son Pulikēśi was a minor and that Mangaleeśa was appointed as a regent. The Aihole inscription clearly mentions that Mangaleeśa did not hand over the administration to Pulikēśi when he became a major and that he attempted to retain kingship in his own line by appointing his own son as his successor. So Pulikēśi had to fight with him for his right and succeeded in defeating him. In the civil war Mangaleeśa died. This might have happened in 608 A.D.

Among the inscriptions of Mangaleeśa the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription is important. It is an interesting genealogical and historical record and narrates the reason why this pillar was set up. "Having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region and having conquered king Buddha, and taken possession of all his substance, and having a desire to set up a pillar of victory on the bank of the river Bhāgeerati (the Ganga), he (Mangaleeśa) decided that it would be proper to set up first a pillar of religion, and he called into his presence his father's wife Durlabhādēvi, and, reminding her that the wealth of the Kalachuri had been otherwise expended, proceeded to supplement an endowment for the God Mahākūṭeśvaranātha which had been made by his father and eldest brother, by granting ten villages, including Śreyambāṭaka, Vrechimukhagrāma, Kesuvōḷa, Kendoramānya and Nandigrāma. ²⁷. The last three villages are still existing and are situated near the present Mahākūṭa. The date of the erection of the pillar is recorded in the inscription as the full moon day of the month Vaiśākha in the siddhārtha samvatsara, in the 5th year of Mangaleeśa's reign; the corresponding English date is the 12th of April 602 A. D. The Aihole inscription states that after the death of Mangaleeśa there was anarchy and confusion. The sentence used is ("tavachhatra-bhaṅgē andhakārātiruddham") "after the

breaking of the umbrella of the sovereignty, the whole world was enveloped by darkness ¹⁸.

The rulers of the countries subjugated by Keertivarma I and Mangaleeśa must have renounced their allegiance and risen in rebellion taking advantage of the civil war between Mangaleeśa and Pulikēśi II. Two of these, namely, Appayika and Gōvinda, are specifically mentioned in the inscription. They attacked the Chālukya territory from the river Bheema. Pulikēśi had a hard time. He met them in battle and defeated one and succeeded in persuading the other to become his ally. He then proceeded to subdue the rulers who showed signs of rebellion. He besieged Banavāsi, the capital of the Kadambas, and captured it. He subdued the Gangas and the Ālupas. He overwhelmed the Mauryas of Konkaṇ and captured the city of Puri on the western coast. This city of Puri can be identified with the modern Gharapuri in the vicinity of which the famous Elephanta Caves near Bombay are situated. The Lāṭas, the Māḷavās and the Gūrjaras were then brought under subjugation. He came in conflict with the great king Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang tells us that Harshavardhana himself led the expedition. Pulikēśi II encamped on the bank of the river Narmada and did not allow him to cross the river. The Chālukya inscriptions state that Pulikēśi defeated Harshavardhana and assumed the title of 'Paramēśvara', the great lord. The later kings of the dynasty consider this achievement the most important, and mention it pointedly in their Copper Plate Grants while describing the exploits of Pulikēśi II. He was the master of three 'Mahārāshṭrakas' consisting of 99,000 villages. He humbled the Kōsalas and the Kalingas. He reduced the fortress of Pishtapura, identified with modern Piṭṭāpuram on the east coast. He attacked the Pallavas and their king Mahēndravarmān I who took shelter behind the ramparts of Kānchi. He crossed the river Kāveri and invaded the Chōḷa country. The Chōḷas, the Kēraḷas and the Pāṇḍyas accepted the superiority of Pulikēśi II and became his allies. So Pulikēśi II brought the whole kingdom under his sceptre again. He entered Bādāmi after this victorious expedition and established himself there. The 'Rājyābhishēka, or coronation, of Pulikēśi II took place probably in the latter part of the year 609 A.D. He is well-known in later inscriptions under the name of Satyāśraya, 'Abode of truth'. Other titles used for him are 'Vallabha', 'Vallabhendra', 'Sriprithivīvallabha', 'Mahārāja', 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara', 'Bhaṭṭāraka', 'Paramamāhēśvara', etc.

The Satara Grant informs us that his younger brother (priyānuja) Vishnuvardhana I, who is also called 'Vishamasiddhi,' joined him in the administration in A.D. 615, and was governing part of the western territory as Yuvarāja in 616-17 A.D. Not long after that date he was deputed to govern the Vengi country in the capacity of Yuvarāja, as perhaps it was found difficult to rule the vast territory from Bādāmi. But in or about 632 A.D., he became firmly established on the eastern coast and assumed sovereign powers. He founded the eastern branch of the family which ruled that territory for five centuries. It remained

distinct from and independent of the western branch. This was an important event in the reign of Pulikēśi II.

The reputation of Pulikēśi II spread far and wide. An Arab chronicle records the fact that Khusru II of Persia in the thirty-sixth year of his reign interchanged letters and presents with Pulikēśi II. There is a painting in one of the Ajanta caves depicting the presentation of a letter from a Persian king to an Indian king. This painting is supposed to commemorate this fact. The thirty-sixth year of Khusru II falls in 625-26 A.D. So at that time Pulikēśi was on the throne for about sixteen years. During his reign the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled in India between 629 and 645 A.D., visited one of the leading cities of Pulikēśi II about the year 639 A.D., five years after the Aihole inscription was set up. His vivid account of the country and kingdōm is as follows :

“ This country is about 5000, *li* in circuit (A *li* is 633 yards). The capital borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile ; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot ; the disposition of the people is honest and simple ; they are tall of stature, and of stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful ; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to revenge themselves. If they are asked to help one, they forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning ; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man who is down (a person who submits). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in a conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink the wine and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshatriya caste, and his name is Pulikēśi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission”.

Hiuen Tsiang speaks of Pulikēśi's encounter with Harshavardhana in these words : “At the present time Silāditya Māharāja has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from

the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops." He further describes the town and the surrounding areas as follows: "So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning, and study both heretical and orthodox (books). There are about 100 *sanghārāmas*, with 5000 or so priests. They practise both the Great and Small Vehicle (Mahāyāna and Heenayāna). There are about 100 Dēva temples in which very many heretics of different persuasions dwell. Within and without the capital are five stūpas to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by Asoka Rāja. There are, besides these, other stūpas made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is a *sanghārāma* in which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz-tsai (Bōdhisattva). Its spiritual powers extend (far and wide), so that many of those who have secretly prayed to it have obtained their wishes. On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and continuous stretch of piled up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *sanghārāma* constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (or open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey are backed by the crag and face the valley (water course). This convent was built by the Arhat Achara (O'-che-lo). Going from this 100 *li* or so to the west, and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmada) river, we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lu-lie-che-po (Bharukachhava ; Barygaza or Bharoch)." ²⁹

In 611 A.D. Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman was the Governor of four Vishayas and Maṇḍalas with his headquarters at Rēvatidvīpa.³⁰ He appears to be connected with the Chālukya family. Dr. Fleet suggests that he might be the son of Mangaleeśa for whom Mangaleeśa was desirous of securing the succession.³¹

A Copper Plate Grant from Nirpan ³² in the Nasik District states that Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavarman was brother of Pulikēśi II and was ruling as a feudatory the territory round about Nāsik. Dr. Fleet holds that this grant is spurious. The Kaira Grant informs us that Vijayavarma, a member of a feudatory branch of the Chālukya family in Gujarat, was ruling the Lāṭa country, or, to be more precise, the territory round about Surat and Broach Districts, during the reign of Pulikēśi II.³³ The grant is dated on the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha of the Kalachuri year 394, corresponding to 9th April 643 A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar considers it a forgery³⁴ but Dr. Fleet accepts it as genuine.³⁵ This grant proves the statement made in the Aihole inscription that Pulikēśi II subdued the Lāṭas and Gūrjaras.

The Chiplum Grant ³⁶ from the Ratnagiri District mentions that Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja of the Sēndraka family was the maternal uncle of Pulikēśi II. The Sēndrakas were feudatories of the Bādāmi Chālukyas and were ruling different parts of the Chālukya empire at different times. A grant from Bagumra ³⁷ in the Nausari District states that Prithivivallabha Nikumbhallaśakti, son of

Ādityaśakti of the Sēndraka family, was ruling the territory round about Baroda in 655 A.D.

How the reign of Pulikēśi II ended is not clear, but from the information gleaned from Pallava inscriptions, it appears that it ended in disaster. There was traditional enmity between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. Pulikēśi II defeated the Pallavas and reduced their importance in the south in the early years of his reign³⁸. In retaliation, the Pallavas under Narasimhavarman I fought with Pulikēśi in battles at Pariyala, Maṇimangala, Suramāra and other places. The Pallava records state that the word 'victory' was written on the back of Pulikēśi on a plate and that Bādāmi was attacked and was laid waste, as Agastya destroyed Vātāpi. Narasimhavarman assumed the title 'Vātāpikonḍan'. 'capturer of Vātāpi', *i.e.*, Bādāmi³⁹. The date of the Aihole inscription is 634-35 A.D. The early records of Vikramāditya I are dated 655 A.D. The sacking of Bādāmi must have been between these two dates. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang visited Pulikēśi's empire in 639 A.D.⁴⁰. From his description it is clear that the glory of Pulikēśi II and his empire was at their height. It is inferred from the Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja dated 643 A.D., that the destruction of Bādāmi might have taken place before that date. Probably it happened in 642 A.D., as Dr. Fleet suggests⁴¹.

Pulikēśi II appears to be the greatest prince of the dynasty and the Chālukyan empire reached its climax in his days. But the success of the Pallavas in capturing Bādāmi eclipsed the Chālukyas for about 15 years.

Pulikēśi II had, it appears, four sons, *viz.*: Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya and Dhārāśraya Jayasimha and a daughter named Ambera, according to a Copper Plate Grant found at Hosur, Salem District, which is, however, said to be spurious⁴². According to the Kurnool Grant,⁴³ Ādityavarman had the titles 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara', 'Prithivivallabha', but where and when he ruled is not clear. Nerur and Kochchem Grants state that Chandrāditya was in Konkaṇa and his wife Vijayabhaṭṭarika donated lands, etc., to Brahmins in the fifth year of the reign, perhaps, of Vikramāditya. "Dhārāśraya Jayasimha was ruling Lāta-maṇḍala. During the period of 13 years from 642 A.D. to 655 A.D. the Chālukyan empire was under the Pallavas and was perhaps ruled by a confederacy of three kings, *viz.*, Chōḷa, Chēra and Pāṇḍya. It was Vikramāditya, the favourite son of Pulikēśi II, who indefatigably struggled to regain his father's empire. He fought many battles with the Pallavas. In some he must have suffered reverses. The Pallava records state that Paramēśvaravarman I defeated Vikramāditya in battle at a place called Peruvalamattūr. One of the records says that Paramēśvaravarman unaided made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several thousands 'to take flight covered only with a rag,'⁴⁴ Vikramāditya made preparations and trained his son Vinayāditya and grandson Vijayāditya in the art of war.⁴⁵ He attacked Kānchi, the capital of the Pallavas, and captured it. He thus regained the lost empire of his father. Vikramāditya had the title 'Satyāśraya'

like his father. His other titles are 'Raṇarasika' ('delighting in war'), 'Śrīprithivī-vallabha' ('Lord of Lakshmi and the Earth'), 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka,' (the worshipful one) 'Parāma-māhēśvara', (most devout worshipper of the God Mahēśvara or Śiva).

Vikramāditya I achieved victory in many battles by means of his charger Chitrakanṭha and with the edge of his sword.⁴⁷ He brought the kingdom under his way as the sole ruler and acquired the royal status of his father which had been absorbed by three kings. He reinstated the grants to gods and Brahmins which had been confiscated by the three kings. He obtained the sovereignty of his ancestors by defeating his enemies in battle in country after country. "He conquered Iśvarapōtarāja (Paramēśvaravarman I) and took Kānchi, whose huge walls were insurmountable and hard to be broken, and which was surrounded by a large moat that was unfathomable and hard to be crossed and which resembled the girdle (kānchi) of the southern region."⁴⁸ In subsequent records Vikramāditya I is described 'as receiving by surrender, the town of Kānchi, after defeating the lord of the Pallavas who had been the cause of humiliation and destruction of his family; as humbling the pride of the three kings of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa; as having obeisance done to him by the lord of Kānchi who had bowed down to none other and as thus becoming the lord of the whole earth included within three oceans"⁴⁹ In reconquering the lost empire he was greatly assisted by his son and grandson. His son, Vinayāditya, arrested the power of the three kings of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Kēraḷa, and of the Pallavas, and pleased his father by establishing peace in the kingdom; and his grandson Vijayāditya maintained peace and order in the home provinces while Vikramāditya was engaged with his enemies in the south.⁵⁰

Vikramāditya regained his ancestral fortune and sovereignty before 655 A.D., and perhaps commenced his rule from that year. One of the charters of Chandrāditya records 23rd September 659 A.D. as the fifth regnal year.⁵¹ It is not clear whose regnal year it is, but since the grant refers to Vikramāditya I, it may be presumed that the year belonged to Vikramāditya's reign. This indicates a period of about thirteen years from 641-42 A.D., the last available date of Pulikēśi II. From the names of places mentioned in the records *viz*: Nausāri,⁵² in Baroda District, Nerur, and Kochrem (Ratnagiri District) and Ratnagiri⁵³ situated about 13 miles south-west of Maḍakaśira in the southern-most part of the Anantapur District, we can infer that Vikramāditya really recovered the whole of the Bādāmi Chālukya dominion. His titles are 'Śrīvallabha,' 'Anivārīta', 'Raṇarasika,' and 'Rājamalla'. Among his feudatories the Sēndrakas and the Chālukya branch ruling Gujarat are mentioned. His rule extended up to 682 A.D.⁵⁴ He was on the throne for about 27 years. Dr. Fleet hold that his rule concluded in 680 A.D.⁵⁵

The Nerur Grant⁵⁶ mentions Chandrāditya, elder brother of Vikramāditya I. He is called there 'Prithivivallabha' and 'Mahārāja'. The corresponding

English date of the grant according to Dr. Fleet is 13th September 659 A.D. The record speaks of Vikramāditya I as 'the unrepulsed one, who had conquered the hostile kings in country after country and had acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors'. This indicates that the grant was made after Vikramāditya I recovered the lost territory. No more information about Chandrāditya is found. It is inferred that Chandrāditya accepted a subordinate position. So the regnal year is taken to be that of Vikramāditya I. In 659 A.D. Chandrāditya, or his wife Vijayabhaṭṭārīka, was ruling as a feudatory the territory round about Sāvāntvāḍi of the Ratnagiri District.

A Copper Plate Grant from Kurnool District mentions Ādityavarman as another son of Pulikēśi II, and records a grant made by him.⁵⁷ His titles are 'Prithivīvallabha', 'Mahrājādhirāja' and 'Paramēśvara.' He is described as 'priyatanaya' (beloved son) of Pulikēśi II, and as enjoying the supreme rule over the earth which he conquered by his own arm and prowess. There is no mention of Vikramāditya in the grant. It is not possible to ascertain the date as the Śaka year is not mentioned. In the grants of the successors of Vikramāditya Ādityavarman's name is not found. The Kauṭhēm Grant⁵⁸ of 1009 A.D., states that Vikramāditya I was the son of Ādityavarman. Ranna, a great Kannada poet who completed his book *Gadāyuddha* on Friday, 27th October, 982 A.D., mentions Ādityavarman as a son of Satyāśraya II i.e., Pulikēśi II, and Vikramāditya I as the son of Ādityavarman.⁵⁹ This supports the statement of the Kauṭhēm Grant. In the 10th century after the restoration of Chālukyan power (at Kalyāṇa), it appears that the Chālukyan genealogy accepted Ādityavarman as the father of Vikramāditya I. But why is his name not found in the records of Vikramāditya and his successors? It is suggested that he might be the eldest son of Pulikēśi II and might have ascended the throne after his death. He attempted to regain the lost empire but must have failed miserably. Dr. Fleet suggests that Ādityavarman might have tried to wrest the kingdom from Vikramāditya after its recovery from Pallava rule.⁶⁰

Vinayāditya succeeded his father Vikramāditya I in 682 A.D.⁶¹ His titles are 'Satyāśraya' and 'Rājāśrāya' ('asylum of kings'). In the Kauṭhēm Grant he is also called 'Yuddhamalla' ('champion of war'). Ranna calls him 'Durdharamalla'. He is said to have arrested, at the command of his father, the exalted power of the three kings of Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa and of the Pallavas. He gratified the mind of his father by establishing in all the provinces a state of peace and quiet⁶². With the help of his hereditary feudatories the Āḷupas, the Gangas and others, he subjugated the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, Kēraḷas, Haihayas, Veelas, Māḷavas, Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and others. His subsequent records add that he collected tributes from the rulers of Kāveras, Parasikas and of Simhaḷas and that by defeating a king of northern India he acquired Pālidhvaja and other insignia of sovereignty. He had a son, Vijayāditya, and a daughter, Kumkuma Mahādēvi. She built a Jaina temple called Āṇesajje-basadi at Guḍigeri.⁶³ She was married to an Āḷupa king.

Vinayāditya was succeeded in 696 A. D.,⁶⁴ by his son Vijayāditya, who is styled in his own records and the records of his successors as 'priyatanaya', (favourite son). His titles are 'Satyāśraya', 'Samastabhuvanāśraya', 'Śriprithivivallabha', 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara', 'Bhaṭṭāraka', 'Pāramabhaṭṭāraka', 'Sāhasarasika'. He helped his father and grandfather in subduing the enemies. He was appointed as Yuvarāja in 692 A. D. He maintained peace and order in the home provinces while his father and grandfather were fighting with the kings of the southern countries to regain their lost empire. He accompanied his father in a campaign to the north and pushed on further leaving his father behind and acquired the Pālidhvaja and signs of rivers, Ganga and Yamuna. On one occasion he was captured by his enemies. He succeeded in escaping. He put down anarchical disturbances and established his powers over the whole of his dominions. He installed at Vātāpi, his capital city, the images of Brahma, Vishnu and Maheśvara⁶⁵. He built at Paṭṭadakal⁶⁶ the great temple of God Śiva called Vijayēśvara. Now this temple is known as the temple of Sangamēśvara. One of his records⁶⁷ found at Lakshmēśvara states that he granted a village named Kardama near the city of Puligere to Niravadya *alias* Udayadēva Paṇḍita who was the guru of his father. This Udayadēva Paṇḍita was stated to be a disciple of Pūjyapāda. The date of the inscription is the 34th year of his reign corresponding to 730 A.D. Pūjyapāda mentioned here may be the celebrated Pūjyapāda, the author of *Jainēndra Vyākaraṇa*.

Vijayāditya was succeeded by his favourite son Vikramāditya II in 733-34 A. D. The usual titles of the family, *viz.*, 'Satyāśraya', 'Śriprithivivallabha', 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara', 'Bhaṭṭāraka' etc., are also applied to him. He married a princess of the Kalachuri family named Lōkamahādēvi. Her uterine sister Trailōkya Mahādēvi was also his queen and from her he had his son and successor Keertivarma II. At Paṭṭadakal, Lōkamahādēvi built the great temple to God Śiva called Lokēśvara, and her sister Trailōkya Mahādēvi built in the vicinity of it a temple to God Śiva under the name Trailōkēśvara. Lōkamahādēvi conferred the titles 'Tribhuvanāchāri' ('preceptor of three worlds'), 'Tenkaṇaḍiśā Sūtradhāri' (noted architect of the south) and 'Anivaritāchāri' ('unrepulsed Āchārya') on Guṇḍa, the architect of the temple and honoured him with a fillet or badge of honour called 'Mume-perjerepu-paṭṭa'⁶⁸. Vikramāditya II resolved to uproot 'the natural enemies' of his family, the Pallavas, and entered suddenly the Tuṇḍaka country (of Kānchi) and attacked Nandipōtavarman and put him to flight. He captured the musical instruments called kaṭumukha (harsh sounding), 'Samudraghōsha' ('roar of the sea') and a number of elephants and heaps of rubies⁶⁹. He entered Kānchi, spared the town, and granted gold and ornaments to the Rājasimbhēśvara⁷⁰ and other temples built by Narasimhavarman II. He defeated the Pāṇḍyas, the Chōḷas, the Kaḷabhras and other kings and set up a Pillar of Victory on the shore of the southern ocean. This incident is corroborated by the inscriptions installed by him in the Rājasimbhēśvara Temple at Kānchi. His son Keertivarma II as Yuvarāja led an expedition to Kānchi in his reign. Another important event in his reign

was the defeat of the Tajikas or Arabs ⁷¹ who invaded Gujarat. They had already destroyed the Saindhavas, Kachahellas, Sourashṭras and Chavōṭakas and Maurya Gūrjara kings. The feudatory Chālukya prince Avanijanāśraya Pulikēśin, who was ruling the Lāṭa country, met them and defeated them completely. He then annexed the Gūrjara territory and extended the boundary of the Lāṭa country. Vikramāditya honoured him for this victory which extended the boundaries of the empire.

Keertivarma II succeeded his father in 746 A.D. He was the favourite son and had the usual title of 'Satyaāśraya'. He was also called 'Nripasimha' (a very lion of a king). His epithets are 'Śriprithivīvallabha', 'Mahārajādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara', 'Bhaṭṭāraka' ⁷². The Kannada word *arasa* (king) is added to his name ⁷³. The Sāmangada Grant ⁷⁴ of Dantidurga speaks of him as Vallabha and of his army as the Karnataka army. He learnt the use of arms in his childhood and pleased his father who appointed him Yuvarāja and entrusted to him the command of an expedition against the hereditary foes, the Pallavas, the lords of Kānchi. Keertivarma went out into the battle-field but the king of Kānchi was unable to fight in the open country. He took shelter in his fort. Keertivarma II seized multitudes of elephants and rubies and gold. He presented them to his father ⁷⁵.

Keertivarma II was the last king of the Bādāmi branch of the Chālukya family. In the Sāmangad Grant ⁷⁶, Khadgāvalōka Dantidurga conquered Villabha, *i.e.*, Keertivarma II and overcame the Karnataka army, *i.e.*, the Chālukya forces, which defeated the lord of Kānchi, the king of Kēraḷa, the Chōla, the Pāṇḍyas and Harsha and Vajrata. The date of this grant proves that Keertivarma II attempted to recover his lost territory after the death of Dantidurga during the time of his successor Krishna I, who is described as transforming the great Boar, the crest of the Chālukyas, into a deer ('Mahāvarāham hariṇim chakāra') which, with the warmth of bravery, attacked him ⁷⁷. From that time onwards the Rāshṭrakūṭas held undisputed possession of Chālukya territory till the 10th century.

There is no information whether Keertivarma left any offspring and how long he lived after the defeat. There are no records of his immediate successors after this date. The Bādāmi Chalukya empire again disappeared between 757 A.D. and 768 A.D.

FOOT NOTES

1. *I.A.*, Vol. VI, p. 74.
2. Dr. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 336, note 3.
3. W. Elliot; *Karn. Desha Insc.*, Vol. I, p. 642.
Quoted by Dr. Fleet: *D.K.D.*, p. 339.
4. *I.A.*, Vol. V, p. 317.
Vikramanka-deva-charita, Ch. I., verses 31-58.
5. Dr. Hoernle says: "Despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogist, I would suggest that the name, Chalukya is not a Sanskrit word at all, but of foreign, Gurjara or Hunic origin. It may be from a Turki root, chap, gallop, chapdul, a plundering raid, a charge of cavalry": (*J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 12). His statement that the name Chalukya is not Sanskrit at all may be accepted but his attempt to trace it to a Turki root appears to be untenable. In all the inscriptions of the early dynasty there is no trace of evidence to support this theory. The suggestion that the name Pulikesin occurs on a Chap genealogy of Gujarat and that the Chapas and Chalukyas are branches of the same family is rather vague and requires definite proof. Mr. Rice suggests that the name Chalukya bears resemblance to the Greek name seleukeia (*Mysore Gazetteer*, last volume). The Pallavas are traced to Parthians on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates where both Seleucidae and Arasacidae fought. They were traditional enemies. It is suggested that the inveterate enmity between the Chalukyas and Pallavas was perhaps due to this fact.
This is rather far-fetched and imaginary. Pallavas and Chalukyas both were Indians and belonged to the country in which they lived. Their language, religion and social life do not give any clue to support this theory of foreign origin.
6. Dr. N. Venkataramayya: *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, p. 8. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar says "Chalukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritised into the various forms we actually find. *Early History of Dekhan Section*, X, Note I, p. 66 (Edition 1927).
7. *I.A.*, Vol. XIV, p. 48. See also Vol. XIX, p. 42 and Vol. XX, p. 274.
8. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.
9. *I.A.*, Vol. V, p. 17.
10. W. Elliot: *Karn. Desha Insc.*, Vol. O.P. Quoted by Dr. Fleet; *D.K.D.*, p. 339.
11. Ranna: *Gadayuddha*: Chapter I, prose passage after verse 51.
12. Fleet: *D.K.D.*, p. 342 and Notes 2 and 3 on p. 340.
13. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
14. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 243.
15. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 151.
16. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
17. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 243.
18. Fleet: *D.K.D.*, p. 343.
19. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 161.
20. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
21. *Bombay University Journal*.
22. *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 50.
23. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. X, p. 348 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 11 and 12.
24. *I.A.*, Vol. III, p. 305; Vol. VI, p. 263; Vol. X, p. 57; Vol. XIX, p. 10.
25. *I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.
26. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 10.
27. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 15.
28. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 237.
29. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7.
30. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 161.

31. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7.
32. *I.A.*, Vol. X, p. 59.
33. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 237.
34. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 348.
35. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 237.
36. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303.
37. *I.A.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1, 93, 266.
38. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, Pp. 157, 165, 166, 167.
39. Beal : *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 225.
Reproduced by Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, Pp. 353-354.
40. Copper Plate Grant from Goa. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. X, p. 348 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 11, 12.
41. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 349.
42. *I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.
43. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 358, Note 1.
44. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 241.
45. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Early History of Dekhan*, p. 78 (1927 Edn.), Note 1.
46. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 359, Note 2.
47. *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 30.
48. *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265.
49. Aihole Inscription : *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 237.
50. Kuram Copper Plate Grants : *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144.
also see Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 322.
51. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 352.
52. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 359.
53. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 359.
54. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, Pp. 223, 233.
55. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144, Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 362.
56. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. X, p. 348.
57. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 151, 152.
58. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 226.
59. *I.A.*, Vol. VI, p. 78.
60. *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, Pp. 151, 152.
61. *I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 129.
62. Nerur Grant : *I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.
63. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 1.
64. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, Pp. 44, 163.
65. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, Pp. 225, 235.
66. Inscription found at Dimmigudi, Gutti Taluk : *H.E.R.*, 1920. No. 361.
67. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 367.
68. *I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.
69. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 365.
70. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, Pp. 223, 233.
71. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 7.
72. Ranna : *Gadayuddha*, Canto I, prose passage after verse 51.
73. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 367.
74. According to Dr. Fleet it is 680 A.D., *D.K.D.*, p. 367.
75. *I.A.*, Vol. VI, Pp. 87, 88.
76. Gudigeri Inscription : *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 38.
77. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 284 : Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, p. 370, Note 5.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The Dravidian culture of the south, like the Aryan culture of the north, was mainly spiritual in character, and the wonderful religious mind and philosophical genius of Karnataka harmonised the two. Karnataka gave a warm welcome to religions widely differing from one another. There were no doubt early forms of worship and religious culture indigenous in character. There was the worship of snakes and of holy trees, which were of non-Vedic origin. There was also the worship of goddesses under numerous names and of evil spirits, with attendant orgies, drinking, animal sacrifices etc., of which we have vestiges to this day. Further, there was the more refined concept of a mother goddess or of Seven Mother Goddesses (*Sapta Mātrikāḥ*). Of Śiva and his sons Skanda and Gaṇapati, the worship specially of Kārtikēya (Skanda) under names like Subrahmanya, Muruga has been widely prevalent in the south and in Karnataka. Kārtikēya is known in Karnataka as Skanda, Svāmi Mahāsēna and Shaṇmukha and in South India as Subrahmanya and Muruga. A vast amount of theological and devotional literature has grown round Skanda (more especially in Tamilnāḍ), and he has been looked upon as a kind of tutelary deity by the people in the south.

Leaving out animist beliefs and forms of worship, it has to be recognised that the higher forms of spiritual culture of South India have been sustained and developed primarily by the modes and thoughts stemming from Vedic faiths, be they Vaishnava, Śaiva or Śākta. The Vedic faith, with its spirit of large tolerance, integrated and refined all forms of worship prevalent in South India from the earliest times, and the history of religions and philosophy in Karnataka, as in North India, in a broad sense, is the history of the influence of the Vedic faith, in its different modes on the life of the people.

We have recorded testimony of the existence of Vedic faiths and their adoption by the ruling families like the Śātavāhanas and Kadambas from about the beginning of the Christian era.

The religions and philosophies which were born on the plains of the Indus and the Ganga, found some of their greatest interpreters and exponents on the soil of Karnataka.

The early Chālukyas of Bādāmi were the votaries of the old Brahminical religion and were great devotees of Vishnu as well as of Śiva. The purāṇic cult of the worship of the Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva, was in vogue : and there

was no sectarian spirit. The Chālukyas claimed to have been Hāritiputras, to have acquired prosperity and power over all the princes by the protection and favour showered upon them by God Skanda-Mahāsēna (Kārtikēya) and Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa. They adopted, in addition, the Varāhalāṅchhana, or the Boar Crest (the representation of Varāha, an avatāra of Vishnu) on their seals. They also contended that they were nourished by the Seven Mothers (*Sapta Mātrikas*) who are the Mothers of mankind. Though they are described as often contemplating seriously on the feet of the holy Svāmin, or Muruga, yet their Boar Crest and the invocation to the Varāha Avatāra of Vishnu at the beginning of most of their records show that Vishnu was their family god. The following are a common invocation and introductory verses found at the beginning of the numerous inscriptions or Copper Plates issued by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi :

Jayati āvishkṛtam Vishnōh Vārāham kshōbhitārṇavam

Dakshiṇōnnata damshtṛāgra viśrānta bhuvanam vapuh.

(Victorious is the Boar, the manifested form of Vishnu, which dispersed the waters of the ocean and bore up the peaceful earth on the tip of its strong right tusk).

Svasti-śrī-Mānavyasa-gōtrāṇam Hāritiputrāṇam mātṛi-gaṇa samvardhitānām Svāmi Mahāsēna-padānudhyātānām (*Goribidnur*, 48-640 A.D.)

Srīmatām sakala-bhuvana samstūyamāna Mānavyasa gōtrāṇam Hāritiputrāṇam saptalōka-mātribhih abhivardhatānām Kārtikēya parirakshaṇa-prāpta kalyāṇa paramparāṇam Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa prasāda samāasādita sēshamahī bhritam. (*Vakkalēri Plates : Kōlar*, 63-757 A.D.).

By the end of the 4th century A.D., Vaishnavism was already popular in Karnataka. The assuming of titles like 'Parama Bhāgavata', the devout worshipper of Vishnu, 'Śrī Vallabha', 'Śrī Prithivī Vallabha,' and 'Prithivī-Vallabha' by the early Chālukya rulers shows that they were devotees of Vishnu.

The important features of Vaishnavism, viz., the worship of the avatāras (descents or incarnations of Vishnu), and the conception of Lakshmi and Prithivī as the first and second wives of Vishnu respectively, are clearly revealed in these records. The bas-reliefs at Bādāmi (in the third cave) which depict Vishnu reclining on a Serpent with Lakshmi sitting at His feet, the Boar (Varāha) and Narasimha (the Man-Lion) incarnations of Vishnu, and also some of the very fine sculptures of the rock-cut temple of Bādāmi describing the Varāha and Narasimha avatāras of Vishnu prove the popularity of Vaishnavism during the early Chālukyan period.

Saivism was also a favoured creed. As Fleet says, "The Kuladēvata, or the family god, of the Chālukyas was Vishnu ; and the principal emblem that the seals of their grants and their coins always bear is the Boar, derived from one of

the incarnations of Vishnu. But, in spite of this fact, in early times, they displayed a considerable amount of tolerance in matters of religion, and patronised the Jaina and Saiva faiths equally with the Vaishnava faith. And in the later generations they appear to have been devotees of Śiva". The first cave at Bādāmi, for instance, is a Saiva cave with Naṭarāja, Harihara, Mahishāsūramardini figures decorating the cave. In the inner shrine there is a Linga. The Mahākūṭa temples which also belong to that period are Saivite. Pulikēśi I, Keertivarma I and Mangaleśa worshipped Śiva also. Vikramāditya I, the Chālukyan king (655-681 A.D.), is described as 'Parama Māhēśvara', *i.e.*, a devout worshipper of Śiva. The kings beautified the towns by building magnificent temples dedicated to Śiva. Rich endowments were made for the daily worship and periodical festivals in these temples both by the rulers and subjects. The temples built at Bādāmi Paṭṭadakal, Aihole, Mahākūṭa, and other places contain some of the finest monuments of their religious devotion.

Side by side, the performance of Vedic rites was also in vogue. The Chālukya rulers are said to have performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, such as Aśvamēdha, Vājapēya, Paundarika, Agnichayana, Agniṣṭhōma, Bahusuvarṇa, etc. Generous gifts were made to the priestly class and many treatises on the sacrificial rituals were written by Brahmin pandits. 'Vratas' (religious vows) were observed and gifts were made on a lavish scale. Pulikēśin I is represented as 'Hiraṇyagarbha prasūta' (performer of Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna).

Jainism also flourished during this period. It received liberal patronage from the ruling dynasties of the south. Ravikeerti, the Jaina author of the famous Aihole Inscription is said to have received 'the highest favour from Pulikēśin II'. ('Satyāśrayasya paramāptavata prasādam'—Aihole Inscription, 634 A.D.). He constructed a temple of 'Jinendra' now known as Mēguti temple. The Chālukya rulers Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya gave rich gifts to Jaina teachers and for the building of Jaina temples. A Jaina cave at Bādāmi, which is a later one, and another at Aihole containing figures of Teerthankaras testify to the spirit of toleration widely current at that period and the honour rendered to Jainism. In Bādāmi there is a figure identified as Padmapāṇi, the Buddhist deity. But there is not much evidence so far, however, to show that Buddhism also received any great patronage. Buddhism seems to have been waning, but it had not become extinct. The references made by Hiuen Tsiang to Buddhist monks and monasteries make this clear.

There is a remarkable instance of the magnanimity and piety of a Chālukya ruler, Vikramāditya II, who in 740 A.D., invaded the Pallava territory and occupied Kānchi. This was to work off the old score against the Pallavas who had sacked Bādāmi, the Chālukya capital, and occupied it for some years about a hundred years earlier. Vikramāditya entered the city after defeating the Pallava ruler and without damaging it, 'pleased its people by his liberal gifts to

Brahmins, the poor, and the indigent, and achieved great fame by returning to Rājasimhēśvara (now called the Kailāsanātha) Temple which Narasimhapōta-varman had built of stone, and to all other temples, the heaps of gold that belonged to them'. (P. 228, *Early History of the Dekhan*, Ed. by Yazdani).

Both Ajanta and Ellōra were situated in the empire of the Chālukyas. The sculptures and paintings of the Buddhists at Ajanta were copied and used for glorifying Jaina and Hindu deities. Five cave temples were constructed at Bādāmi, one for the Buddhists, one for the Jaina and three for the Brahminical deities. One aspect of this tolerant spirit was the endeavour to establish the unity of different Gods like Vishnu and Siva and to combine in a single iconographic motif the attributes of different gods. Temples enshrining the trinity of Gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahēśvara, were also constructed. The Saiva and Vaishnava sculptures of Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, the Daśāvatāra cave temples, the carving of Harihara in the lower panel of the cave temple at Bādāmi which depicts Hara in the right half of the central figure with Saivite qualities and emblems, and in the Hari half, Vaishnava attributes and symbols, attended by Pārvati and Nandi on the right side, and Lakshmi and Garuḍa on the left side, and the temples devoted to Siva, Vishnu and Jina which are found side by side, especially at Bādāmi—all these are impressive examples of the spirit of religious toleration during the period.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS THE BADAMI CHALUKYA PERIOD

Some features of social and economic life as they obtained from the 4th to the 10th century have been dealt with in the last chapter. Though the survey covers the period of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi also, some more information of interest based on the inscriptions that abound in respect of the rule of the Chālukyas is available to us.

These other features of social and economic life during the reign of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi may now be considered.

We get authoritative descriptions of the social life of the period from the accounts of foreigners like Hiuen Tsiang and from inscriptions, which are available in good number from the sixth century onwards: there are also references in contemporary literature.

Hieun Tsiang visited Pulikēśi II's kingdom and has left behind a brief but invaluable account of its people. His general remarks about the food and dress of the people of India may be taken to apply to the south in general. Itsing did not visit the Deccan and South India, but his statements are applicable to this region, since he wrote down after careful inquiry from people of different parts of India. He writes, 'As to the five countries of India though I myself did not see all parts, I could nevertheless ascertain anything by careful inquiry'.¹

The inscriptions, though they deal with grants and gifts, throw occasional light on the social and economic conditions of the time. The contemporary sculpture also gives us a glimpse of the dress and ornaments of the people of the period. Besides these sources, contemporary literature also provides valuable data.

SOCIAL ORDERS :

As in olden times society was broadly divided into four Varṇas. Contemporary Smṛiti works and inscriptions divide the population into 18 *prakritis*. The Lakshmēśvar inscription (7th century A. D.) of Prince Vikramāditya mentions the eighteen *prakritis* to whom, along with the *mahājānas* and the *nakaras*, the prince gave a charter². These eighteen *prakritis* have been differently interpreted as people and officers. The contemporary Smṛiti work of Pitāmaha (c. 7th century A. D.) as quoted by the *Smṛitichandrika* enumerates them as eighteen³, like washermen, leather-workers etc., outside the pale of Varṇāśrama. In later times,

Kannada authors like Harihara, and inscriptions continue to refer to the people as belonging to eighteen groups or *samayas*. In the inscriptions of the Chālukyas at Bādāmi we come across the names of many of these eighteen guilds or professions like those of cobblers, stone-cutters, masons, singers, actors, garland-makers and flower-sellers, besides the four Varnas.

The Brahmins enjoyed great honour in society. Writing about the four orders of society, Hiuen Tsiang speaks of Brahmins 'purely living these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity.' ⁴ Itsing also states that the Brahmins were the most honourable caste throughout the five parts of India. ⁵ Inscriptions abound in grants to learned Brahmins. One such Brahmin, Dhruvaśarma, knew the Vedas and the Vedāngas, the Epics, the Purāṇas, the Nyāya and the numerous sacred writings. He had also performed many sacrifices. ⁶ Paramēśvara Sarvakratuyājin was a 'ghavyasāsa', a term applied to persons who were fortunate enough to study in a *ghaṭika*, ⁷ or a Sanskrit Academy. Jayadvittha was a preceptor of four hundred Brahmins, and was versed in the Vedas and the three *vidyas*, etc. ⁸

Next in order came the Kshatriyas or the race of warriors. 'This order had held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy', says Hiuen Tsiang. ⁹ Writing about Pulikēśi II, the then reigning monarch, he says that he was a Kshatriya by birth. The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The third category consisted of traders and agriculturists. The term *parada* (*harada*), meaning a merchant, is found in an inscription. ¹⁰

CORPORATE ACTIVITIES :

We find group organization in many walks of life, religious, social, political and economic. Aryasanghas or assemblies of monks existed. ¹¹ Hiuen Tsiang speaks of thousands of Buddhist monks and 100 *viḥāras* in Pulikēśi's kingdom. An Aihole inscription describes a grant to the Five-hundred, who constituted the great body of Chaturvēdis of that place. ¹² The meaning of this particular term, the Five-hundred, is a matter of some controversy. It is possible that this body transformed itself into a strong guild of Ayyāvoḷe (Aihole) and established branches throughout South India in later centuries.

The associations of the times were of a corporate character. Those of the *Mahājanas*, usually Brahmin householders, *Nakaras* (burgesses) and *Praje* (people) played an important part. The Lakshmēśvar inscription defines the mutual obligations of the royal authority, on the one hand, and of the Mahājanas and Nakaras on the other. ¹³ One of the earliest mentions the term *Praje* as administration in a village. (Baḷligāme inscription. ¹⁴) We have examples of Mahājanas and Praje joining together to resolve local problems.

In the above-mentioned inscription of Lakshmēśvar, guilds of braziers (*kanchugāra*) and oilmongers (*telliga*) are met with. Many of the architects who built the temples round about Bādāmi belonged to a professional guild of Sarvasiddhi Āchāryas.¹⁵

Temple builders received special patronage from kings and were granted high-sounding titles. A builder Chaṭṭarasa-Revadi-Ōvajja was known as the 'builder of temples in the Southern Country' (*tenkaṇa diṣe māḍidōr*),¹⁶ and another, by name Gunḍa, was awarded the title of the architect renowned in the three worlds' (*Tribhuvanāchāri*).¹⁷ Their skill was not limited to constructing temples only. Some of them designed houses, palaces, images, carriages, seats, coaches and crowns.¹⁸

Musicians were usually associated with temples. It is very interesting to come across an inscription of the 8th century A.D., which describes in glorious terms a famous actor named Achalan.¹⁹ He had studied Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* in detail and knew everything about the technique of drama and acting. He was both a dancer (*nartaka*) as well as an actor (*naṭa*). This inscription throws light on the popularity in this region of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which was and is the most authoritative handbook on Indian drama, dance and music. It further mentions perhaps Karnataka's first great actor and dancer. He dominated the field of drama in such a way that he was called 'naṭasēvya' or 'one to whom actors paid homage'.

CAPITALS AND CAMPS :

We have no contemporary records which give us a detailed geographical description of Karnataka. But Hiuen Tsiang makes some very valuable observations regarding the region around Banavāsi (Kung-Kan-Na-Pu-lo). He describes the country as having a fertile soil yielding good crops, with a hot climate ; its inhabitants were of swarthy complexion and rude rough ways.

The Chālukyas appear to have chosen naturally protected sites for their cities. The best example is that of Bādāmi. The hills round Bādāmi make it an impregnable place. It is said of Pullkēśi I that he made the best hill of Vātāpi into an invincible citadel by constructing a narrow pass unapproachable from the top as well as from the bottom, and made it his capital.

It appears that the earlier name of Bādāmi was later Sanskritised into Vātāpi. Vātāpi is mentioned as an *adhishṭhāna*, which is interpreted as a metropolitan town. It contained 2,000 Brahmins and hence must have been a great seat of learning. Temples of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahēśvara were built in the city by Queen Vinayavati (Queen of Vinayāditya 681-696] A.D.). Hiuen Tsiang mentions an old stone image of 'Pusa', 'of marvellous efficacy' and

another image of Buddha 70 ft. high in the capital,²⁰ unfortunately now lost. Other important capitals were Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakal and Aihoḷe. Mahākūṭa, which is separated from Bādāmi by a hill, seems to have been an earlier capital. Mangaleśa (597-610 A.D.) with his mother's approval made many endowments in favour of Makuṭēśvaranātha. Makuṭa appears to have been its earlier name. Further, from the number of temples and inscriptions found there, it is apparent that it was an important centre. It was a place frequented by the nobles and the royalty. An inscription mentions Mahāsāmanta Bappuvarasa who came all the way to Mahākūṭa ('Magudake vandu') to pay homage to God Makuṭēśvara.²¹

Paṭṭadakal was the seat of coronation as its name itself indicates (Paṭṭa—coronation and Kal—seat). Vikramāditya II's queens Lōkamahādēvi and Trailōkyamahādēvi built temples of Lōkēśvara and Trailōkēśvara to commemorate the victory of their husbands over the Pallavas.²²

Aihoḷe referred to in inscriptions as Āryapura, was probably the earliest capital, because the temples of the place, like those of the Durga, are very much earlier than the earliest examples of temple architecture in this region. That it was also a seat of learning is established by the fact that it was the residence of 500 scholars (*mahāchaturvidya samudāyam*). It is also called an *adhishṭhāna* or seat of Government or a metropolitan town.²³

Pāndurangapalli, or modern Pandharpur, seems to have been an important town from at least the 6th century A.D. The god Viṭṭhala was already famous and many men of the locality were named after this god. As already noticed, Jayadvitha of that town held the title of the preceptor of 400 Brahmins. With such scholars living in it, it must have developed into a place of learning early in its history.

Inscriptions mention military camps of kings as 'Vijayaskandhāvārah'. Kings evidently resided in them for considerable periods, probably while engaged in military campaigns. They were as good as their capitals and official work was carried on from these camps. From Copper Plate Grants issued from them we know that the following were some of them :

1. Rasenapura (identified with Rasin, Ahmednagar District, Maharashtra).²⁴
2. Malliyūru near Kānchipuram (*Mahāskandhāvāra*)²⁵
3. Pampā teertha on the banks of the Pampā river (modern Hampi)²⁶
4. Elapura (Ellōra)²⁷
5. Near Karanjapatra in the vicinity of Harēśapura (identified with modern Harihar)²⁸
6. On the banks of the Sinna river.²⁹

BUILDINGS :

As to the general character of the cities and towns and of dwelling houses, Hiuen Tsiang gives us interesting glimpses : "As to their inhabited towns and cities, the quadrangular walls of the cities are broad and high, while the thoroughfares are narrow tortuous passages. The shops are on the highways and booths (or inns) line the road...As to the construction of houses and enclosing walls, the country being low and moist, most of the city walls are built of bricks, while walls of houses and enclosures are wattled bamboo or wood. Their halls and terraced belvederes have wooden flat-roofed rooms and are coated with chunam, and covered with tiles—burnt or unburnt. They are of extraordinary height and in style like those of China. The (houses) thatched with coarse or common grass are of bricks or boards ; their walls are ornamented with chunam ; the floor is purified with cowdung and strewn with flowers of the season. The houses of the laity are sumptuous inside and economical outside." It is worth noting that the most enduring buildings were those dedicated to the gods, and the houses though commodious inside did not display magnificence outside.

MONUMENTS :

In addition to temples of stone which have survived to this day, public monuments were sometimes erected in honour of great persons. We have one such, a piece of sculpture (*keerttanam*) in front of a *chediya* or a *chaitya* in *Aṇṇigere* in the reign of Keertivarman II.³⁰ The setting up of statues in public places, sometimes in temples, to perpetuate the memory of great men seems to have been an age-old practice in India.

Hero-stones (*veergals*) which commemorate the death of valiant men are, however, a special feature of the Karnataka country. One of the earliest of such hero-stones is the one eulogising Kappe Ārabhaṭṭa, a saint who preferred death to ignominy.³¹ Incidentally, this inscription is an example of the oldest *Tripadi* (three-lined stanza) in Kannada. Two other inscriptions commemorate a 'māṇi' (youth) of Badavi 'who was accomplishing what he resolved upon and what he spoke.'³² These records bear eloquent testimony to the high ideal cherished by the people of those times.

Along with temples for Hindu gods, basadis, or Jaina temples or Buddhist and Jaina monasteries flourished. Hiuen Tsiang refers to 100 Buddhist monasteries with about 5,000 inmates, in Pulikēśi's kingdom.

The religious character of the age found expression not only in the construction of temples, but also in gifts to learned men for the performance of sacrifices. Gifts were made to Brahmins for their scholarship, as well as for performing

sacrifices like agnisthōma, vājapēya, punḍarīka, vaiśvadēva,³³ and minor rites including bali, charu, krichhra, atikrichhra and other ascetic rituals.³⁴ Other sacrifices mentioned are agnichayana, bahusuvarṇa and aśvamēdha, mainly performed by the kings.³⁵ The grant of five villages to learned Brahmins was a common feature.

QUEENS :

The honour accorded to women in society is often a good indication of its refinement and moral elevation. Judged by this standard, Karnataka, in the old days, may well be proud of its record. We have clear evidence of the way several women occupied positions of trust and responsibility. The queens took a leading part in public activities and even ruled as sovereigns. This practice may be said to have reached its height under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Vinayavati, the queen-mother of Vijayāditya, (696-734 A. D.) installed the images of gods in the capital Vātāpipura with an assignment of the income from several taxes;³⁶ the queens of Vikramāditya II (734-745 A. D.), Lōkamahādēvi and Trailōkyamahādēvi, were responsible for the construction of fine temple structures at Paṭṭadakal. Vijayabhaṭṭārīka, the queen of Chandrāditya, is mentioned as reigning for a time in the absence of her husband.³⁷ This queen is identified by some scholars with Vijjika who is well known in Sanskrit literature as the authoress of the famous historical work, *Kaumudī Mahōtsava*.

COURTESANS :

At the same time, we have references to courtesans who flourished in society and were held in high esteem. This was a class that was not peculiar to Karnataka, but existed all over India. We learn from other contemporary literature that they were renowned for their beauty, wit and other accomplishments, as well as their wealth and luxury. They might be compared to the Japanese geisha of modern times. The instance of Vasantasēna in *Mrichchakapīka* of Śūdraka, assigned to the 4th century A.D., and the noble role played by her may be recalled in this connection. The custom is repugnant to the modern mind: though it may be met with in modified forms in strata of society living a luxurious life even in the modern age. That the class of courtesans played a respected role as purveyors of art and culture has, however, to be recognised as a historical fact. We have an instance of a courtesan (*sūle*) Vināpōṭi, who called herself the sweet-heart (*prāṇavallabhe*) of King Vijayāditya and who was rich enough to grant a golden seat, a silver umbrella and land of 800 measure (?) to the temple at Mahākūṭa.³⁸ Another, Badipoddi, the daughter of Gōvindapoddi, a courtesan (*sūle*) attached to the temple gave excellent (name lost) and she already had given a horse-chariot, an elephant-chariot, land and an 'ubhayamukhi' (cow?).³⁹ Yet another,

Chalabbe, got the pillars (of the temples) constructed as the votive offering to God Vijayēśvara. ⁴⁰

From these illustrations it can be seen that this class of courtesans was not yet reduced to the degraded position of later times, but enjoyed a high status in society. Vināpōṭi's mother's and grandmother's names are duly recorded in the true śāstraic fashion, and the names of all the three women bear the honorific plural at the end. ⁴¹ A Sēndraka king is described as a Cupid who was the joy of the eyes of the courtesans. ⁴² These women did not think that it was beneath their dignity to call themselves courtesans. Like kings, queens and nobles they made rich gifts to gods and had them inscribed on stone.

PEOPLE IN GENERAL :

No account about the people can be complete without Hiuen Tsiang's oft-quoted account of the characteristics of the inhabitants of the Chālukyan empire : "They were proud, spirited and war-like, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress." ⁴³ An inscription contemporary with Hiuen Tsiang surprisingly enough almost echoes his words. It places before the people the following ideal, *viz.*, to be kind to the kind, sweet to the sweet and violent to the violent. ⁴⁴

LANGUAGES :

In the early Chālukyan times, Sanskrit and Kannada flourished side by side as we find inscriptions written in both the languages. Usually, the language used was Sanskrit, written in the Kannada script. But inscriptions written in Kannada are not unknown. An inscription refers to Kannada as the *prākṛita* language. Though classical Sanskrit enjoyed royal patronage, Kannada was also encouraged as the regional language. Under this patronage we see that both Sanskrit and Kannada enjoyed the status of official languages and were used in the records. Even the name of persons were half-Sanskrit and half-Kannada like Pulikēśi, Ambera, Vallabhabappa, etc.

FOOD HABITS :

About the general products of India, Hiuen Tsiang writes: 'It is impossible to enumerate all the kinds of fruits and one can only mention in a summary way those which were held in esteem among the inhabitants,' and he specially mentions that 'the pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown in all the countries... There is much rice and wheat, ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins... Onions and

garlic are little used and people who eat them are ostracised.’⁴⁵ About the common food he writes: ‘Milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar-candy, cakes and parched grain with mustard seeds are the common food; and fish, mutton and venison are occasional dainties.’⁴⁶ Itsing supports Hiuen Tsiang by making a similar statement: ‘All food is excellently prepared. Ghee, oil, milk and cream are found everywhere. Such things as cakes and fruits are so abundant that it is difficult to enumerate them here . . . None of the people of all five parts of India eat any kind of onions’⁴⁷ Inscriptions throw little light on this subject except casually mentioning food articles like millet, rice, sugar, oil, turmeric, etc.

About the drinking habit, Hiuen Tsiang says that the martial heroes of Pulikēśi’s kingdom got intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before the engagement. *Pulastya smṛiti*, a contemporary work, mentions eleven intoxicating drinks together with *surā* as the twelfth. Hiuen Tsiang writes thus about the drinks favoured by the different classes: ‘The wines from the vine and sugar-cane are the drink of the Kshatriyas; the Vaiśyas drink a strong distilled spirit; the Buddhist monks and the Brahmins drink syrup of grapes and of sugar-cane; the low mixed castes are without any distinguishing drink’.⁴⁸

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS :

The Kshatriyas and Brahmins, according to Hiuen Tsiang, were pure and simple in life and very frugal. The dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees were very extraordinary, ‘garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head adornments; and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces.’⁴⁹ ‘The inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring; as to colour, a fresh white is esteemed, and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the arm-pits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose. The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down.’⁵⁰ Supporting him, Itsing writes, ‘Laymen of India, the officers and people of higher class have a pair of white soft cloth for their garments, while the poor and the lower classes of the people have only a piece of linen.’⁵¹ Scanty clothing was necessitated by the hot climate of the country. Hiuen Tsiang’s statement about dress and ornaments is confirmed by the temple sculptures of Bādāmi and its neighbourhood. The figures, both male and female, in the rock-cut temples have a variety of ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, girdles, rings and elaborate head-dresses and coiffures. The folds of the dress, distinctly a sari among female figures, are delicately carved, sometimes finely striped. Belts were common and worn on the waist, across the shoulders and the thighs.

MONASTIC LIFE :

Itsing has left a vivid description of life in the Indian monasteries in which he had spent nearly 10 years. Since Hiuen Tsiang speaks of 100 monasteries

(Buddhist) in Pulikēśi's kingdom, it will be worthwhile to know a little about the life of the monks. Special attention was paid to cleanliness and arrangements for bathing and straining or filtering of water. About Indian furniture, Itsing writes: 'The Indian lecture-halls and dining rooms are never furnished with large couches, but there are only blocks of wood and small chairs, on which people sit while hearing a lecture or having meals. Such is the proper manner.'

TRADE AND COMMERCE :

Ports : Western India had trade relations with the west from ancient times and this contact continued under the early Chālukyas. Kosmos Indikapleustus, a merchant from Alexandria, who visited the western coast in the 6th century A.D., mentions important ports through which exports were made. Of these Kalyāna (near Bombay), Māngarouth (Mangalore), and Malē were situated in the Chālukyan empire.

Articles of Trade : About the exported articles, he writes: 'And from the inner countries, I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks, aloes, clove-wood, sandal-wood and their other products, and these it again passes on to the outer ports. I went to Malē where pepper grows, and to Kalliana where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress; for it is also a great mart of trade. . . . ' The region Malē which contained five marts and which exported pepper is identified by Dr. Saletore with Malē kingdom, the western region of Karnataka.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES :

An inscription of 732-3 A.D. gives a list of a few measures of those days. *Maṇa*, *peru*, *veeśa*, and *bhaṇḍa peru* are mentioned. Of these *maṇa* is identified with the modern maund (11.2 kilos) ; *peru* to a sack of corn equal to 64 seers. *Veeśa* or *veeśe* was till recently a widely prevalent measure in South Karnataka and was equal to five seers or the weight of 120 rupees. *Bhaṇḍa peru* would probably mean a cart-load.

Kula was a measure for grains and was identified by Dr. Fleet with Koḷaga or sixty-four seers or 17.28 kilogrammes. *Sonṭige* was a liquid measure. A grant of 718 A.D. mentions the gift of 'one *sonṭige* of oil on each oil-mill wherever it might be.' Dr. Fleet takes *sonṭige* to be equal to a ladle or modern *souṭu* but since ladles can be of different shapes and sizes, it is possible that a particular *sonṭige* was used as an oil measure.

Inscriptions frequently refer to Rājamaṇa, or royal measure, which seems to have been the standard measurement. *Mattar* or *mattal* and *nivartana* are the com-

mon land measures mentioned. A *mallar* is taken to be equal to 4 or 5 acres of land and was equivalent to a *nivartana*. Land was divided according to cultivable quality into *Khajjana*, *Vagulakachchha-kshetra*, *galde* and *nelluge*. Of these terms, *galde* is the earlier form of the Kannada word *gadde*, which means wet land, and *nelluge* means rice land. Nellu even now means rice. The *vakula-kachaha-kshetra* would mean marshy land full of the plant 'vakula'. The meaning of the term *Khajjana* is not known.

FOOT NOTES

1. Takakusu, J., *A record of the Buddhist religion as practiced in India and the Malayan Archipelago*, by Itsing. Oxford, 1896, p. 44.
2. *E.I.*, IV, Pp. 189 ff.
3. Kane, P. V.: *History of Dharmasastra*, I, p. 227.
4. Watters, T.: *On Yuwan Chwang's Travels in India*, London.
5. *Itsing*, Pp. 182-183.
6. *I.A.*, VII, p. 192.
7. *E.I.*, VI, p. 241, Fn. 2.
8. *M.A.R.*, 1929, p. 198.
9. Watters, T., p. 168.
10. *K.I.*, I, p. 9.
11. *E.I.*, XXVIII, Pp. 70 ff.
12. *I.A.*, VIII, p. 288.
13. *E.I.*, XIV, No. 14, Pp. 189.
14. *E.C.*, VII, Sk-Kannada, p. 261.
15. *I.A.*, X, p. 165.
16. *I.A.*, X, Pp. 170-71.
17. *Ibid*, p. 164. He was also known as 'tenkana diseya Sutradhari'.
18. *Ibid*, p. 165.
19. *Ibid*, p. 167.
20. Watters, II, p. 23. The capital mentioned here is taken to be Badami.
21. *I.A.*, X, p. 104.
22. *I.A.*, X, p. 163.
23. *I.A.*, VIII, Pp. 287-288.
24. *I.A.*, VII, p. 288 and Morum Plates of Vijayaditya (unpublished).
25. *M.A.R.*, 1939, No. 30.
26. *I.A.*, VI, Pp. 86-87.
27. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, p. 125.
28. *I.A.*, VI, p. 91.
29. *K.I.*, II, No. 3, p. 9.
30. *S.I.I.*, XI (1), No. 5, p. 3.
31. *I.A.*, X, p. 61, and *K.I.*, 1.
32. *B.K. Ins.*, 1927-28, No. 278, p. 35 and *Ibid*, No. 119, 1928-29.
33. *I.A.*, VI, p. 91.
34. *I.A.*, XIII, p. 330.
35. *I.A.*, VI, p. 78.

36. *K.I.*, I, p. 8.
37. *I.A.*, VII, Pp. 163-164.
38. *I.A.*, X, p. 103.
39. *I.A.*, XI, p. 125.
40. *Ibid.*, X, p. 170.
41. *The Early History of the Dekhan*, I, p. 235.
42. *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 269.
43. *Watters*, II, p. 238.
44. Inscription of Kappe Arabhatta. *I.A.*, X, p. 61.
45. *Watters*, I, p. 178.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Itsing*, Pp. 44-45.
48. *Watters*, I, p. 178.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
50. *Watters*, I, p. 151.
51. *Itsing*, p. 67.

SANSKRIT — BADAMI CHALUKYA PERIOD

An account of Kannada language and literature before the Rāshtrakūṭa period, which covers the period when the Chālukyas of Bādāmi flourished, has already been given in the last Chapter ; and no further treatment of the subject is therefore now necessary. But it is noteworthy that the Chālukyas gave generous patronage to Sanskrit poets and created a favourable atmosphere in which Sanskrit learning thrived, and stimulated the production of Sanskrit literature.

Karnataka under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi witnessed one of its best and most glorious periods of history as much striking in the military sphere as in the cultivation of arts and literature.

The very first ruler of the dynasty, Pulikēśin I (535-66 A.D.) is described in epigraphs 'as an equal of the mythical heroes, Yayāti, 'Dileepa, etc., and as a master of the Code of Manu, the Purāṇas, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and *Itihāsas*'. This gives us an idea of the Sanskrit literature that formed an essential part of a king's education in the 6th century A.D. The Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangaleśa ¹ (c. 600 A.D.) not only describes in superlative terms the great *dig-vijaya* of Keertivarman I, after the manner of Raghu's conquest in the celebrated poem of Kālidāsa, but also quotes actual phrases from the *Raghuvamśa*.

But the epigraphic record which is most significant from more than one point of view is the Jaina poet Ravikeerti's Aihole *praśasti* (634-35 A.D.) in praise of Pulikēśin II ² who scored signal victories in fields far and near. The Karnataka panegyrist Ravikeerti does not suffer in comparison with his compeer Bāṇa, adorning the court of the northern ruler, Harsha. Such is his felicity of expression, richness of poetic fancy, and variety of metrical patterns that he lays claim to the poetic fame of master-poets like Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. This claim has served the purpose of literary historians better than any other evidence in dismissing many a hypothesis bringing down the date of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, and fixing once for all the *terminus ad quem* of the dates of these poets. The Aihole inscription indicates unmistakably how classical Sanskrit poetry was as much in vogue in Karnataka as in Kanyākubja, and how the Jaina religion had come to stay in this land already. The Jaina Ravikeerti, modelled his literary piece on the works of famous non-Jaina poets. A close appreciation of the miniature poem of Ravikeerti shows that he was quite familiar with all the basic concepts of poetics, including a detailed knowledge of specific figures like end-rhyme, assonance and alliteration, paradox, hyperbole, and metaphor.

The most notable literary work belonging to this period is a play, *Kaumudī Mahōtsava* written by a poetess, Queen Vijaya or Bijja or Bijjaka, the daughter-in-law of Pulikēśin II and wife of King Chandrāditya. A quatrain by the queen preserved in Jalhana's Anthology³ says :

‘ Only because he never knew me
Dark like the fresh water lily,
That Danḍin wrongly praised the Muse
As full-blown whiteness verily.’

The fling at Danḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* is also brilliant and witty. Several verses are ascribed to this witty queen in the different anthologies⁴. We may note a few of them in translation here :

1. ‘ The Queen Vijaya of Karnataka is veritably the double of Sarasvati ! After Kālidāsa, she is the sole abode for the sweet style Vaidarbhī.’
2. ‘ There are only three poets who are really great
And I salute all of them :
The one born of the Lotus (Brahma),
The one born of sand (Vyāsa),
And the one born of the ant-hill (Vālmiki) :
But if any one else of the present day
Dare claim for their poetry or prose an equal greatness
Then here I am, the Queen of Karnataka,
To place my left leg with a bang on their heads.’

Now to turn to the play, *Kaumudī Mahōtsava*. It has been edited from fragments of a single manuscript secured by Ramakrishna kavi.⁵ The author's name is missing in the published portion except the mutilated colophon. . . ‘*Kāya nibaddham nāṭakam*. But the learned editor's surmise is that it is by Vijjika.

The setting of the play is furnished by the city of Pāṭaliputra and the main plot relates to the recovery of the lost throne by Kalyāṇavarman, after avenging the murder of his father by the general Chanḍasēna. The minister's plan to recapture the lost throne are indeed very interestingly portrayed. The political plot is dovetailed with a love-plot relating to the love of Keertimatī, a princess of Sūrasēna. There is also a nun, Yōgasiddhi, in the entourage of the heroine.

Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of Vijjika's authorship on the ground of echoes from Bhavabhūti. One cannot be quite positive in deciding the issue.⁶

There are two Ārya verses in an epigraph of one Achalada of the period under review glorifying the triumph of the Bharata school of *nāṭya* as against other schools. These deserve special notice not only for their own literary quality, but for the clear reference they make to the cultivation of several schools of *nāṭya* in the courts of the Chālukyan rulers, a fact which points to a forgotten chapter in the history of Sanskrit dance-drama.⁷

Similarly, there is an inscription dated 729 A.D., which alludes to the grant of a village to a teacher of Pūjyapāda's *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*, a system of Sanskrit grammar, by King Vijayāditya when he was camping at Raktapura (Lakshmēśvar).⁸ This shows how Sanskrit grammar was zealously studied and different systems were being encouraged by the rulers. Some scholars think that Pūjyapāda Dēvanandin wrote his grammar, not under Ganga Durvineeta but under Vikramāditya I in 678 A.D.⁹ This work is an attempt to present in succinct and dependable form the whole material of Pāṇini's *Sutras* and Kātyāyana's *Vārttika*, shorn of prolixities and needless details.

Pūjyapāda is a revered name in the history of Jaina philosophy also. Umāśvati's (c. 200 A.D.) classical work—*Tattvārthasūtra*—attracted several Bhāṣyakāras of repute from among Karnataka scholars, the first name being that of Samantabhadra whose voluminous *Gandhahasti-mahābhāṣya* is no longer extant. *Sarvārthasiddhi* is the name of the great *bhāṣya* written by Pūjyapāda himself on Umāśvati's work. And we have references in Kannada epigraphs to one Śrī-varḍha-dēva or Tumbulūrāchārya who wrote a monumental and gigantic commentary in Kannada called *Chūḍāmaṇi* on this very work, and who was hailed as superior to Daṇḍin himself by critics. Towards the close of this period was composed the *Tattvārtha-rāja-vārttika*, a masterpiece of Jaina thought and dialectics, by the famous logician Akaṣanka.¹⁰ In the history of Jaina Logic, Akaṣanka's name stands pre-eminent next only to that of Samantabhadra. He was a great debater and a great systematiser. He worsted many a Buddhist and Hindu wrangler in debate and wrote works reminiscent of the far-famed Dharmakeerti himself in Buddhist Logic. Akaṣanka's *Ashṭaśati*, *Nyāyaviniśchaya* and *Siddhiviniśchaya* are equally epoch-making works which found great expounders, as we shall have occasion to see later.

Akaṣanka's date can be fixed with some degree of certainty since he has already been referred to by the author of *Niśītachūrṇi* dated 676 A.D.¹¹ This indirectly helps to fix the dates of several Hindu and Buddhist philosophers criticised by Akaṣanka. Prominent among these are Kumārila Bhaṭṭa representing orthodox Mīmāṃsa thought and Dignāga and Dharmakeerti, spokesmen of the Buddhist or *Sautrāntika* or *Svatantra-vijnāna* school. A study of the epigraphs of the period will reveal how the Brāhmaṇa religion was devoted to the preservation of Vedic texts and ritual. It may not be an unjustified guess if we suggest that several texts on Mīmāṃsa must have been written by Karnataka scholars also, though these are not extant today.

We might now turn to the popular side of Karnataka religion. One of the facts evidenced by epigraphy and literature is the prevalence of various Saiva

sects in the Kannada country, such as Lākula, Kālāmukha, Mahāvrata and Saiva-siddhānta¹², in some form or other. This, taken in conjunction with the rise of several Saiva Āgamas, which are voluminous as well as numerous¹³, might support the conclusion that at least some of these Āgamas might have had their origin in this period in Karnataka.

What is true of Saiva Āgamic religion is equally true of Vaishnava Āgamas also. Schrader calls many a *Samhita* of the Pāncharātra school by the name 'South Indian Samhita' and takes them back to about the time of Śankara¹⁴.

That popular religion in Karnataka was theistic and included the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇapati, Śakti, Skanda, Sūrya, etc., is confirmed by references to theistic schools by Śankara as well as by contemporary play-wrights like Mahēndravikramavarman, the Pallava ruler and author of *Mattavilāsa*.

The greatest text of the Vaishnava school which is popular even today is the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Scholars are now agreed that several new Purāṇas were produced in this period and that the *Bhāgavata* bears marks of South Indian origin by references to the river Kāveri and so on. Though it was first regarded as a much later work, recent investigations have shown that it was well-known in the 10th century (in the time of Yāmuna) and extant in the 7th century¹⁵. Under the circumstances it may not be unlikely that Karnataka was the birthplace of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

FOOT NOTES

1. I.A., XIX, p. 16.
2. I.A., V, p. 67.
3. *Suktimuktavali*, p. 47.
4. Kane: *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Pp. 128 ff.
5. Ed. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Madras, 1929.
6. De: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 477.
7. Yazdani: *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 477.
8. Kielhorn's List No. 26. Some scholars regard this as a spurious grant. *The Classical Age*, p. 246. Note 4.
9. See, *The Classical Age*, p. 320.
10. *Tattvarthasutra*, Mysore Edn. Introduction, p. 5.
11. *Nyayavinischayavivarana*: Bharatiya Jnana Pitha Edn. Preface, p. 57.
12. Nandimath: *A Handbook of Virasaivism*, p. 8.
13. Nandimath: *Saiva Agamas*, *Journal of the Karnatak University*, 1962-64.
14. *Introduction to the Pancharatra*, p. 16.
15. B. N. K. Sharma: *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XIV, p. 218.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL HISTORY THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED

WE have seen in the last chapter how the rule of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi ended about 758 A.D., the last Chālukya king Keertivarma II being defeated by Dantidurga of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.

We shall now consider the political history of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ.

The Rāshtrakūṭas were perhaps the most illustrious dynasty that ruled over Karnataka and their rule extended over a larger territory than any ruled by a Karnataka dynasty, before or since.

The expression Rāshtrakūṭa, made up of two words 'Rāshṭra' and 'Kūṭa', means the head of a region. An official designation in the beginning, it connoted in course of time, a family name. Again, the history of the word 'Rāshṭra' goes back to hoary antiquity. It variously denoted either a kingdom and state, or a territorial and administrative unit in general, big or small. The governor of a Rāshṭra was Rāshṭrika which was prakritised as Raṭhi or Rāṭhika. Such officers are known to have existed from Mauryan times. These official designations later crystallised into family names or titles like the Rāshtrakūṭas.

In the early historical period several Rāshtrakūṭa families flourished in North and South India. Pre-eminent among such are the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, an imperial dynasty of all-India importance. This dynasty derived its name from its renowned capital Mālkheḍ (Mānyakhēṭa) in the Gulbarga District of the present Mysore State.

In the records of this dynasty occurs the descriptive phrase 'Laṭṭanūra (or Laṭṭalūra Puravarādhiśvara,' which means 'Lord of the foremost town of Lāṭanūr (or Laṭṭalūr)'. This indicates that the town was the ancestral home of this family. The name Laṭṭanūr is derived from Laṭṭa, a variant of Raṭṭa, the later being a short form of Rāshtrakūṭa. The town, Laṭṭanūr meaning the place of Laṭṭa, is the same as modern Lātūr in the Usmānābād District of the present Maharashtra State; and, as seen from the etymology, it is a Kannada place name. This area, though now in Maharashtra, formerly formed the frontier of Karnataka.

From their original home Lātūr, early members of this family migrated towards the north, settling in Central India about the beginning of the seventh century. As noted above, the Rāshtrakūṭas hailed from the Karnataka region; and their mother tongue must have been Kannada. In spite of their later association with Vidarbha and other non-Kannada areas, they retained their original Kannada traditions. This becomes clear from the following facts: Kannada literature enjoyed liberal patronage in their court. Nripatunga Amoghavarsha I of this family is credited with the authorship of *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest treatise on Kannada poetics. The inscriptions of this family are predominantly in southern or early Kannada characters. An epigraph of Krishna III, composed in classical Kannada, has been discovered at Jura near Jabalpur. Kannada, and not the local script, is used for the sign manual in the records of the collateral rulers of this family in distant Gujarat. In the light of such irrefutable evidence the earlier misconceived theories of Telugu, Maratha or Rajput origin of the Rāshtrakūṭas propounded by scholars like Burnell, Vaidya and Fleet bear scant justification.

The Rāshtrakūṭas claim their descent from Yadu; but we come across this claim only a few generations later when the family was well established. In some records the family is stated to have sprung from the ancestors called Tunga and Raṭṭa. But this was apparently a speculation intended to explain the suffix 'tunga' occurring in their titles, like Subhatunga and Nripatunga, and to seek justification for the appellation Raṭṭa, which, being an abbreviation of Rāshtrakūṭa, had gained currency. The dynastic emblem of the Rāshtrakūṭas was Garuḍa or the Primeval Eagle, the vehicle of Vishnu, which was displayed on the seals of their copper plate charters. This figure is sometimes substituted by the image of Śiva in yogic posture. Both these deities are invoked in the beginning of their records, thus testifying to the liberality of their faith. This broad outlook of the family is further illustrated by the generous patronage Jainism received in this regime.

The Rāshtrakūṭa rulers were often referred to by the general appellation Vallabha, meaning Lord. This was an abbreviation of the fuller expression Sri Prithivivallabha, a characteristic title assumed by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi from whom it was inherited by their successors, viz., the Rāshtrakūṭas. 'Balhara' of the Arab writers, connoting the Rāshtrakūṭa king, is a diminutive of Balla-harāya, prakritised from Vallabharāja.

Dantivarman, an early ancestor of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, appears to have been an officer under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in the Vidarbha region. His descendants were Indra I, Gōvinda I, Karka I and Indra II. The last of these married a princess of the Chālukya family, probably of the Gujarat branch. Their son was Dantidurga.

Dantidurga was the founder and first ruler of this dynasty. He started his career as a subordinate chief under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. His early activities

might have been in the Aurangabad area. He participated in the wars of his overlord and distinguished himself by daring exploits. He joined hands with the Chālukya potentate, Avanijanāśraya Pulikēśin of Gujarat, in repulsing the Arab invaders from that area (c. 738 A.D.). He assisted his suzerain, Vikramāditya II, in his campaign against the Pallavas of Kānchi (c. 743 A.D.). He came into conflict with the rising Gūjara Pratihāra chief, Nāgabhaṭa I, in Gujarat. His ambitious design gained impetus when Vikramāditya II was succeeded by Keertivarma II as ruler of the Chālukya empire (747 A.D.). Thus by 750 A.D. Dantidurga was able to establish his supremacy in the northern dominion of the Chālukyas, including southern Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Berar, and his sphere of influence extended even beyond. Such a state of affairs became intolerable to the Chālukya sovereign, who decided upon a trial of strength. Before 754 A.D., an encounter took place, wherein Dantidurga emerged triumphant. Another victory by 757 A.D. liquidated the Chālukya empire.

Dantidurga had the epithets, 'Prithivivallabha' and 'Khaḍgāvalōka'. To mark his conquest of Mālava he performed the Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna ceremony at Ujjaini. He is credited with the victories over Kalinga, Kōsala and Śrīśaila. His supreme achievement was the overthrow of the invincible and countless Karnataka forces under the Chālukyas without a hard struggle. After establishing his independent rule he assumed the imperial titles, 'Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara' and 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka'. Dantidurga, however, did not long survive to enjoy his achievements. He expired before 758 A.D. and was succeeded by his uncle Krishna I, son of Karka I.

Krishna I, who bore the appellations 'Akālavarsha' and 'Subhatunga', accomplished the task of setting the new kingdom on a firm footing by wiping out the remnants of Chālukya authority in the south. He subjugated the hostile neighbours and enforced allegiance from the erstwhile Chālukya feudatories. He directed an expedition against the Gangas. His son and crown prince, Gōvinda, defeated the Eastern Chālukya King, Vishnuvardhana IV, and annexed a part of his territory. The southern Konkaṇa was brought under his sway and placed under the charge of the Śilāhāra prince, Sanaphulla. These conquests contributed to the expansion of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and enhanced its prestige.

Krishna I died about 773 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son, Gōvinda II. This prince, given to a life of pleasure and vice, proved himself unworthy as a ruler. Consequently, the entire responsibility of carrying on the administration devolved on his younger brother, Dhruva. Taking advantage of this situation, Dhruva strengthened his position. When Gōvinda II tried to remove his brother from authority, the latter revolted. Gōvinda II sought the help of his feudatories and allies. But before they rallied round him, Dhruva struck the blow and usurped the throne.

Dhruva commenced his reign in 780 A.D. He had the titles 'Nirupama', 'Dhārāvarsha', 'Śrīvallabha' and 'Kaliyallabha'. Soon after his accession, Dhruva

proceeded to chastise the rulers who had sided his brother. The Ganga King, Sreepurusha, was defeated, his son Śivamāra imprisoned, and the whole of Gangavāḍi annexed to the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. The Rāshtrakūṭas could now claim the river Kāveri directly as their southern boundary. Dhruva then turned against his brother's allies. He marched against Pallava Dantivarman, who purchased peace by offering an indemnity. The Vengi King, Vishnuvardhana IV, bowed before his might.

Dhruva next aspired for hegemony in the north. Two rulers were at this time disputing the great imperial city of Kanauj, whose possession endowed the victor with the supremacy of northern India. Vatsarāja, the Gūjara-Pratihāra ruler of Rajputana, had for sometime gained the advantage by capturing this prize. His rival, Dharmapāla of Bengal, who challenged his power, was hurled back from the Ganga-Yamuna doab. Undeterred by this discomfiture, Dharmapāla advanced once again to meet his adversary in the coveted region. At this juncture, Dhruva stepped into the arena as the third contestant. Vatsarāja intercepted the southern invader in his northern course. The Gūjara-Pratihāra forces suffered such a crushing defeat that their ruler had to flee from the battle-field. Dhruva's next move brought him face to face with Dharmapāla. The lord of Bengal was routed and his white parasols, the insignia of sovereignty, fell into the hands of the enemy. These resounding victories established the paramountcy of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign in the entire Indian continent, crowning him with unprecedented glory. After a brief stay in the hallowed land of the two rivers, the conqueror returned to his kingdom. Dhruva was assisted by his worthy sons, Gōvinda and Indra, in his wars. Dhruva's northern conquests may be placed roughly between 786 and 790. A. D.

Gōvinda III, the third son of Dhruva, whom the latter had specially chosen as his heir, ascended the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in 792. A. D. But this act of supercession did not go unchallenged. Stambha, his elder brother, raised a standard of revolt which was, however, put down. He was treated leniently and reinstated in his office as the Governor of Gangavāḍi. But the Ganga Prince, Śivamāra, who, though released from imprisonment by Gōvinda, had joined the confederacy of rebels, was once more placed under restraint. Gōvinda next subdued the Pallava King, Dantiga. Vishnuvardhana IV of Vengi acquiesced in the suzerainty of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch. Thus having secured the undisputed mastery over the south, Gōvinda decided to emulate his father's example by asserting himself in the politics of northern India.

When Gōvinda III entered into the field, the position was somewhat different. Dharmapāla had, after Dhruva's departure, gained ascendancy by capturing Kanauj and setting up his nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne. Before long, however, Vatsarāja's successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, retrieved the lost prestige of his house, expelling the intruders and reoccupying Kanauj. Supported by his younger brother, Indra, who was now the Viceroy of Gujarat and Mālava, armed

with careful strategy and taking all precautions for the safe conduct of his troops, Gōvinda headed towards Kanauj. Nāgabhaṭa, who tried to arrest the progress of the invader, was relentlessly worsted. Gōvinda marched triumphantly gaining the submission of minor chiefs and potentates on his way. Overpowered by his



Figure 10

unsurpassed prowess, Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla surrendered without opposition. The Rāshṭrākūṭa warriors were confronted with few hurdles until they repaired to the Himalayan regions. The culmination of Rāshṭrākūṭa victory has been described in the following picturesque words by the court poet :

“His (Gōvinda’s) horses drank the icy liquid bubbling in the Himalayan streams and his war elephants tasted the sacred water of the Ganga. The valleys of the great mountain intensely echoed the din of the musical bands played on the occasion of his auspicious bath”. (Sanjān Plates, V, 23 ; *E.I.*, XVIII, 235)

The northern campaign of Gōvinda commenced about 795 A.D. and came to a close by 800 A.D.

After returning to the Narmada from his northern expedition, Gōvinda proceeded against the kingdom of Māḷava, Kōsala, Kalinga, Vengi, Dahala and Ōḍra and subjugated them. After these conquests he spent some time in his capital, Mayūrakhaṇḍi. Then he started again on his southern campaigns, making Ālampūr on the Tungabhadra the base of his operations. The Gangas, the ruler of Kēraḷa, the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Pallavas, as well as the King of Lanka submitted before his might. These resounding victories virtually brought him the glory of being the unrivalled sovereign of the entire Bharatavarsha.

Gōvinda assumed a number of titles and epithets, conspicuous among them being ‘Jagattunga’, ‘Prabhūtavarsha’ and ‘Śrīvallabha’. He was pre-eminent among the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors. His courage, military leadership, strategy and diplomacy were unparalleled. He knew no reverses. His invincible armies overran vast territories from Cape Comorin to Kanauj and from Benaras to Broach. Under his mighty sceptre the Rāshtrakūṭa empire attained its zenith. The power and prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire never again reached such a height.

Gōvinda III appointed his brother Indra to rule over the province of southern Gujarat as governor in about 800 A.D. This rule continued among the latter’s descendants for more than 80 years, and the family is known as the Gujarat branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Gōvinda III’s successor to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in 814 A.D. was his son Sarva or Amōghavarsha I, better known by his familiar title Nripatunga. He was a youth of sixteen when he ascended the throne. In spite of his peace-loving nature, Amōghavarsha was involved in a series of wars, some of which were bitter and protracted. In consequence of a treacherous conspiracy engineered by Vijayāditya II of Vengi, Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty slipped away from his hands for some time. But it was regained and the aggressor had to pay heavily for his misdeeds. The Gangas defied the Rāshtrakūṭa authority ; and after long-drawn hostility for nearly two decades the two houses were reconciled by the marriage between the emperor’s daughter, Chandrōbalabbe, and the Ganga Prince, Būtuga I. The vexed rebellion of the emperor’s, cousin, Dhruva I of the Gujarat branch, which dragged on for well-nigh three decades was an unhappy event. Amōghavarsha’s armies clashed with the neighbouring powers like Anga, Vanga and Magadha. More tragic than all was the revolt of the crown prince Krishna with

the support of nobles and feudatories. Karka, the son of Indra of the Gujarat branch, supported Amōghavarsha during the period of difficulties. The provincial governor Bankēya of the Chellakētana family, who distinguished himself by quelling many of the disturbances, rendered yeoman service to the stability of the empire.

Amōghavarsha entertained scholars and poets of different persuasions in his court. Under his patronage Sanskrit and Kannada literatures flourished. He accorded equal treatment to the Hindu and Jaina faiths. Nothing was dearer to his heart than the well-being of his subjects. In order to avert the calamity of a severe epidemic in his dominion he is said to have sacrificed his finger to the goddess Mahālakshmi.

Amōghavarsha constructed the town of Mānyakhēṭa and made it worthy of becoming the imperial capital. It is still uncertain as to which city or cities enjoyed this privilege prior to this event. It is only in the records of this reign that Mānyakhēṭa figures definitely as the Rāshtrakūṭa capital for the first time. The Arab writer Sulaiman places Amōghavarsha among the great emperors of the world, along with the rulers of China, Baghdad and Constantinople.

As an imperial seat Mānyakhēṭa appears to have fast developed into a large city of vast dimensions. *In situ* investigations have revealed the prevalence of a local tradition furnishing details about the location of various departments of the State in different areas. Thus it is stated that the royal palace was situated in the present village of Mālkhēḍ. The army was stationed at Daṇḍōti, an adjoining village on the opposite bank of the river Kāgina. The village name appears to be derived from the Kannada word 'daṇḍu', meaning army. The secretariat was housed at Sēḍam, about 10 miles from Mālkhēḍ. The treasury was lodged in between the above two, by the side of the modern twin villages, Neelahaḷḷi and Konkanaḷḷi.

After Amōghavarsha's death about 878 A.D., his son Krishna II assumed the reins of government. He had to wage fierce and prolonged wars against the Eastern Chālukyas, Gūjjara-Pratihāras and the Chōḷas. Save on a few occasions he met with reverses in many of these engagements. His alliance with the Chēdi ruler, Kokkala I, whose daughter he had married, was helpful in his military struggles. His reign ended rather gloomily in 914 A.D.

As Krishna II's son Jagattunga predeceased his father, he was followed by his grandson Indra III. He bore the familiar title 'Nityavarsha'. An outstanding event of his reign was his North Indian expedition. Shortly after his accession he invaded the Gūjjara-Pratihāra dominion. His armies crossed the Yamuna and captured the imperial capital, Kanauj, some time in 916-17 A.D. Unable to withstand the onslaught of the Rāshtrakūṭa arms, the Gūjjara-Pratihāra king, Mahipāla, fled leaving the kingdom to the mercy of his enemy. Indra's feudatory, Narasimha of the Chālukya family of Vēmulaṇḍa distinguished

himself in this campaign. This was another memorable event in the annals of the Rāshtrakūṭas, as also in the history of India. The victory, as on two former occasions, created a stir among the north Indian powers. It enhanced once again the prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭa house and placed its author in the rank of his ancestors, Dhruva and Gōvinda III. But the achievement, like its predecessors, in spite of sharp political reactions for the time being, was devoid of territorial gains.

Indra III died in 928 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Amōghavarsha II. Scarcely a year had passed when he became a victim of the evil machinations of his younger brother Gōvinda IV. The rule of this miscreant who proved himself to be not only wicked but tyrannical, became oppressive to the people. He was consequently deposed in about 934 A.D., by his uncle Amōghavarsha III at the instance of the discontented nobles and with the support of his Chēdi relations. Matrimonial alliances had been formed between the Rāshtrakūṭa and the Chēdi families of Tripuri from the time of Krishna II, whose successors had married princesses of the latter house.

Amōghavarsha III was advanced in age at the time of his accession and had a religious bent of mind. The burden of administration, therefore, devolved on his energetic heri-apparent Krishna III, who busied himself in the political affairs of his southern and northern neighbours. The reins of government were fully assumed by this prince after his father's death in 939 A.D.

With the accession of Krishna III, the Rāshtrakūṭa power made its mark once again on the political map of India. The loyalty of the Ganga house was ensured by removing Rāchamalla and installing his brother Būtuga II on the throne. This Būtuga who had married Krishna III's sister, allied himself closely with his relation and master in his ambitions.

About 943 A.D., Krishna invaded the Tamil country and captured its two key cities, Kānchi and Tanjore. The Chōḷa kings Parāntaka, miserably failed in his attempt to drive away the enemy from his territory. Subsequently, in 949 A.D. in the famous battle fought at Takkōlam (in North Arcot District, near Kānchi) he was signally defeated, and his son and crown-prince Rājāditya was killed by Ganga Būtuga II. This defeat proved to be a staggering blow to the growing power of the Chōḷas who did not raise their head for four decades more until the advent of Rājarāja I. The Rāshtrakūṭa conqueror directed his triumphant forces to the southern-most limit as far as Ramēśvaram, where he set up a pillar of victory.

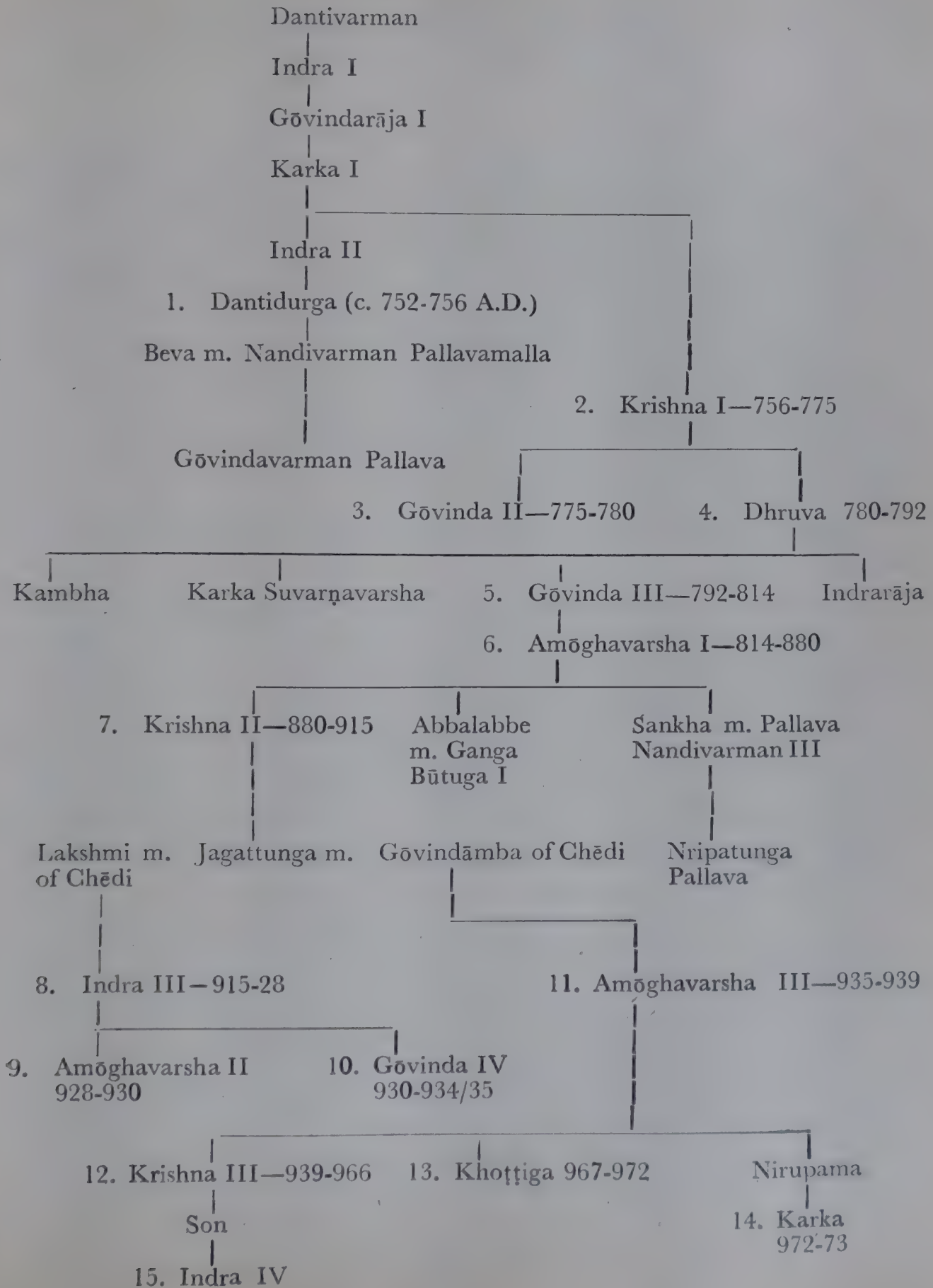
Krishna III was equally successful in his northern campaigns which were inaugurated even while he was crown-prince. The Gūjara-Pratihāra armies were defeated. The Kalachuris were vanquished more than once and their important forts Kalanjar and Chitrakūṭa were seized. He overran Mālava and Gujarat with the aid of Ganga Mārasimha, successor of Būtuga II, and

occupied Ujjaini the capital of the former. The Vengi kingdom also was brought under his sway by installing his protege Badapa as the Eastern Chālukya ruler.

Krishna III was the last great ruler of the dynasty. During his regime the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire reached the farthest bounds of its territorial expansion. His authority extended over the entire peninsula; and parts of Mālava and the Tamil country were under the actual occupation of the Rāshtrakūṭa commanders for a considerable period. It is noteworthy that a Kannada inscription found at Jura near Jabalpur eulogises his exploits in fine poetic language. He bore the title 'Akālavārsha'.

The death of Krishna III in 967 A.D. brought in its wake a rapid downfall of this glorious dynasty. His younger brother, Khoṭṭiga, and the latter's nephew Karka II, who succeeded him one after another, were incompetent rulers. This situation encouraged the enemies who mustered strength. In 972 A.D., the last year of Khoṭṭiga's reign, the Paramāra king, Siyaka, invaded the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions and advanced as far as Mālkhēḍ. The imperial capital was captured and plundered, causing disastrous effects on the fortunes of the empire. The weakness and maladministration of Karka II paved the way for the rise of his feudatory Taila II of the Chālukya family and the end of the Rāshtrakūṭa rule in 973 A.D.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS



RELIGION AND CULTURE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The fundamental religious ideas and practices of the earlier period continued uninterrupted during this period also. Two remarkable features of the religious life, *viz.*, toleration and worship of images continued in full force. The kings worshipped Vishnu or Śiva or both according to their predilections. The opening verses of the Copper Plates of the period pay homage both to Vishnu and Śiva. There are many references to these Gods in the inscriptions. Their seals had either the Eagle or Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishnu, or Śiva seated in the posture of a yogi. The Rāshtrakūṭa kings are not, however, referred to as having performed Vedic sacrifices, as the Bādāmi Chālukya kings did. These often involved animal sacrifices which seem to have been abandoned as a result of the teachings of Jainism during this period.

Jainism found royal patronage, notably in the reign of Nripatunga who professed the faith.

So the fortunes of Jainism were hardly affected by the revival of Hinduism. This may be due to two main causes. Firstly, Jainism was fortunate enough to receive royal patronage in the Deccan, as from the Gangas. Jainism found favour also with the people. Some of the Rāshtrakūṭa generals also were Jainas. Bankēśa and his son Lōkāditya who were Viceroys at Banavāsi were staunch followers of this faith. Secondly, the works and achievements of a number of important Jaina saints, philosophers and poets like Samantabhadra, Akaṣṭakadēva, Vidyānanda, Jinasēna, Guṇachandra and Pampa were responsible for making the influence of Jainism strong in South India. Jainism became popular and had a considerable number of adherents.

The Rāshtrakūṭas were also tolerant and helpful to the followers of Buddhism. Three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Amōghavarsha I bear testimony to the existence of a Buddhist Sangha at Kanheri near Bombay. We have records of only two other Buddhist monasteries during this period, one at Kampil in the Sholapur District, and a second at Dambaḷ in the Dharwar District. The people seem to have felt that there existed no cultural differences among the three religions, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, and that a man could follow any one of them or all of them in accordance with his natural temperament. Though Amōghavarsha (Nripatunga) was a devout follower of Jainism, yet he was such a faithful believer of the Hindu goddess Mahālakshmi 'that he actually cut off one of his fingers and offered it to her, being led to believe that an epidemic, from which his kingdom was suffering, would vanish away by that sacrifice'.¹ But

he was more a Jaina than a Hindu and followed the Syādvāda and abdicated more than once to observe, probably, the vow of 'akinchanata' (non-possession). Thus the mingling of the different faiths resulted in a spirit of accommodation and assimilation. There existed even composite temples containing both Hindu and Jaina deities.

It need hardly be said that the ideal of harmony was the dominant feature of the different sects of Hinduism. This spirit of toleration was extended to Islam also. The Muslims came to India first early in the 8th century when they established themselves in Sind. The Gūrjara kings had resisted their further expansion. But the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, who had unfriendly relations with the Gūrjara kings, allowed the Arabs on the west coast and permitted them to build mosques. Sulaiman, a Muslim merchant of the 9th century, has left a record of his impressions, and calls the Rāshtrakūṭas as the greatest power at the time and speaks in praise of their generosity and tolerance. The Muslims were given full freedom to practise their religion openly and they were permitted to build Jumma Masjids. Muslim magistrates were appointed to administer the Code of Islam to their co-religionists.² This toleration is, indeed, surprising when one remembers the brutal treatment of the Hindus by the Muslim conquerors of Sind, who demolished their temples, imposed the 'jizia' tax upon them, and enslaved thousands of Hindu women and sold them in the streets of Baghdad.³

The development of religion and philosophy of this period may be considered under three aspects, *viz.*, theological, philosophical and popular.

The theological movement was started, it is said, by Kumārila who was an elderly contemporary of Śaṅkara and stood for the pure Vedic religion and life-long performance of Vedic sacrifices involving the offering of animals for sacrifice, and thus opposed the heterodox theory of Sanyāsa. But, in spite of his brilliant advocacy, the Śrauta religion did not appeal to the popular mind. With the exception of the Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarsha and the Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, where it is clearly stated that the grants were made to the Brahmins to perform Vedic sacrifices like Rājasūya, Vājapēya, etc., the numerous grants given to the Brahmins by the Rāshtrakūṭas were only to enable them to discharge their religious observances as enjoined by the Smritis rather than for the performance of Vedic sacrifices.

The religion of the masses was what may be called the Smārta Purāṇic religion. During this period smārta agnihōtra was common, at least among the professional priests. The number of prayers, sandhyas and vratas were on the increase. The Nargund inscription dated 939 A.D. and the Kailāsa inscription of Gōvinda IV show that at least some of the various *Prāyaścittas* (purificatory ceremonies) that have been prescribed in the Smritis were performed by some sections of the people. The cult of pilgrimage became fairly popular. King Dantidurga (c. 750 A.D.) went to Ujjaini to perform the Hiranyagarbha-

Mahādāna. The fact that the usual opening verses in the Rāshtrakūṭa grants contain a salutation to both Śiva and Vishnu indicates that Saivism and Vaishnavism were the principal sects. In addition to these gods, Sūrya, Śārada and local deities were also worshipped. Besides these gods, the common people worshipped a number of aboriginal deities like serpents, holy stones and trees also.

Temples continued to be centres of public worship. They must have acquired considerable riches. The example set by the kings themselves of living lives of great piety in their own person and of building temples and making endowments for charitable purposes must have exercised no small influence on the lives of the people. Thus Dantidurga, the first Rāshtrakūṭa ruler, at the instance of his mother, made gifts of several villages for purposes of charity and performed with great meticulousness various religious ceremonies. His uncle Krishna I left behind an imperishable monument of his piety by undertaking the construction, at enormous cost, of the Krishnēśvara (or Kamēswara) Temple, cutting it out of a hill-slope and endowing it with gold ornaments and costly jewels. "The Kailas Temple", says Vicent Smith, ⁴ "is one of the wonders of the world, a work of which any nation might be proud, and an honour to the king under whose patronage it was executed". In the Barada Grant it is stated that Krishnarāja 'caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain of Elapura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it, they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, 'The temple of Śiva is self-existent, for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art'. Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, "wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it'. King Krishna with his own hands again decorated Sambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies, and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the streams of the Ganga, the Moon and the deadly poison". (From the *History of the Dekhan*, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to the *Bombay Gazetteer*).

Of the great Amōghavarsha whose reign extended over 60 years, it is said that after he was sixty, he occasionally withdrew from worldly affairs to devote himself to religious exercises. Gōvinda IV is said to have made a gift of 400 villages and 32 lakhs of coin to a number of temples on the occasion of his coronation. Of Amōghavarsha III, who ruled for a brief period of three years (936-939 A.D.), we learn that he made several grants to Brahmins and temples and constructed several temples in honour of Śiva of whom he was a great devotee. His reputation as a pious, upright and spiritual person must have been very great for alone among the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, his death is described as the merging of a pious soul into the lustre of God ⁵.

Amōghavarsha III's son, Krishna III, who distinguished himself by putting down the Chōḷas and extending his rule over the whole of South India for a few

years in the middle of the 10th century, signalised it by building the Krishnēśvara and Gaṇḍamārtāṇḍa Temples in Ramēśvaram and the Kālapriya Temple at Kānchi. The Śiva temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyur, near Madras, received gifts from his mother and a merchant from Mānyakhēṭa.⁶ Brahmins were usually entrusted with the duty of temple worship. It is said, however, that in non-Vaishnava temples, non-brahmins known as Guravas officiated as priests, (*vide* Foot-note, p. 307, *Early History of the Deccan*—Yazdani.) They used to worship the idol thrice a day in a sumptuous manner; 'scented water for the bath, costly clothes, and rich *naivēdya* (offering) were provided for'. As flowers and garlands were inevitable, the Rāshtrakūṭa kings made grants for the maintenance of flower-gardens which were very often the properties of the temples. The cow was held in great veneration on the occasions of fairs and festivals, and chariot processions used to be held. 'Theoretically, Hinduism no doubt regards idols as mere visible symbols of the Divine, but the great paraphernalia of idols, their worship, temples, and establishments began to engender during this period an imperceptible feeling that the visible idol was everything, and the greatest importance began to be attached to its sanctity and safety'. It is interesting to note that the famous temple of Pandharpur was getting to be popular⁸ during this age, though it was not till a few centuries later it became the centre of the Bhakti cult propagated by the Maharashtra and Karnataka saints.

The doctrine that charity was the most effective and reliable means of securing religious merit was gaining ascendancy. Part of the charity that flowed into the temples was utilised for poor relief. The first Rāshtrakūṭa King Dantidurga gave Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna, and other kings like Indra III and Gōvinda IV of this line, also gave the Tulāpurushadānās. 'Part of the charity of the age was definitely and avowedly diverted for the purpose of public works.'⁹

During the period, the contribution to philosophy was considerable. The thirst for knowledge and truth was fairly intense, as the new philosophical activity started by Śankara shows. Śankara, the great philosopher became an all-India personality whose influence on the popular religion was indeed profound. Many hymns in praise of the Purāṇic deities are attributed to him. The followers of the different sects believed that they were worshipping the several manifestations of one and the same divine principle. Also the view advocated by the Purāṇas, since the 5th century A.D., that all the different deities were the revelations of the same Supreme Being and hence their devout followers should not, at any rāte, quarrel among themselves, was generally accepted. The theories of heaven and hell, retribution, reward and rebirth were deeply cherished faiths of the common people.

Under the Rāshtrakūṭas an impetus was given to the study of philosophy. In higher education, the subjects taught were Veda, Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Sāhitya (Literature), Jyōtiṣha (Astronomy and Astrology), Mīmāṃsa, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras and Nyāya (Logic), as in the earlier times. The period also witnessed the production of Jaina philosophical literature. The contribution of

Jainism to philosophy and logic was quite considerable. Several commentaries were written on Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṃsa* which contains an interesting exposition of *Syādvāda*. Akaṣṭhādēva wrote his commentary *Asthāśati* early in the Rāshtrakūṭa period. In addition to these, a work on Logic called *Parikshāmukhhasūtra* was written by Māṇikyanandi, and Prabhāchandra wrote a commentary called *Pramēyakamalamārtāṇḍa* and also *Nyāyakumudachandrōdaya*. Another Jaina writer on Logic was Mallavādin, who wrote a commentary called *Dharmōttaraṭīpaṇaka* on the *Nyāyabinduṭeeka* of Dharmōttarāchārya. 'That a book on Logic written by a Buddhist should have been commented upon by a Jaina' is quite in consonance with the spirit of harmony that prevailed in this period.¹⁰

The high and glorious compliments paid to the character of the people during the Rāshtrakūṭa period by the Chinese and Muslim writers clearly point out that the Rāshtrakūṭas paid great attention not only to the material but also the moral and spiritual welfare and prosperity of the people.

FOOT NOTES

1. *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: by Dr. A. S. Altekar, p. 273 and *E.I.*, XIII, p. 235.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
4. *Early History of India*, p. 447: Vincent Smith.
5. *Early History of the Deccan*: by G. Yazdani, p. 292.
6. *Mysore Gazetteer*: by C. Hayavadana Rao, Vol. II, Part I, p. 756.
7. *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: by A. D. Altekar, p. 292.
8. *Early History of the Deccan*: by G. Yazdani, p. 307.
9. *Rashtrakutas and their Times*: by A. S. Altekar, p. 307.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

KANNADA RASHTRAKUTA PERIOD

It is in the Rāshtrakūṭa period that we have the beginnings of Kannada literature and the earliest literary work now extant.

Intense religious passion and valour on the field of battle are distinguishing traits in the Kannada literature of the Rāshtrakūṭa period. Many of the kings were warriors and their time was taken up in campaigns, north, east, south and west. From the Kadamba days, and through the days of the rise to power of the Gangas, many Kannada kings were favourably inclined to Jainism and, with their encouragement and support, the Jaina āchāryas had actively helped in installing some of the kings on their thrones, so as to secure their powerful support in the propagation of their religion. The poets of the period wrote chiefly on religion and heroic themes, love themes, usually favoured by poets, being brought in only occasionally. Political relationships were strengthened through matrimonial alliances between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gangas, and among the various branches of the royal houses in Gujarat, Lāta and Vengi. The people of the age lived under broader horizons, and felt the glow of mighty aspirations and triumphs. They responded readily to heroic themes. In addition to scholarly works in Sanskrit and Kannada, the period witnessed the emergence of literature dealing with war and religion.

We may now take up for consideration the literary output of the Rāshtrakūṭa period, covering roughly a period of two centuries from the accession of Nripatunga in 814 A.D. to Indra IV the last of the Rāshtrakūṭas who lived at the end of the 10th century.

By this time the epic and classical ages of Sanskrit and Prākṛit were practically over; and the literary tradition had become stylized and set. Conventions, pedantries and artificialities had begun to overlie expression. Māgha in poetry and Bāṇa and Subandhu in prose and Bhartṛihari in crisp compactness and didactic utterance had achieved peaks of formal utterance. The Prākṛit influence also was declining. But all that literary wealth was available to the poets and scholars and religious men in Karnataka. Some of them were versed in more than three languages which enshrined the wisdom of the past ages. Since the Jainas desired to spread their faith among the people under the aegis of kings, they had to use the language of the country for exposition and persuasion; and since they had to compete with scholars in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, their writing had to be classical in structure and quality. The need to change over from the learned languages into the language of the people gave their writing a validity, an importance and range of appeal which were all to the good for the medium of

expression adopted by them. Kannada literature thus made its first appearance under the finest of auspices. And though many writers must have preceded Pampa, he became the 'Ādikavi', the first poet, for Kannada. Not that he was the very first poet in the language, by any means ; *Kavirājamārga* provides evidence that he was not. But it is he who first was able to establish it in pristine glory and real worth.

Kannada seems to have branched away from its original Dravidian stock about the beginning of the first century A.D., and enriched itself by contacts with Sanskrit and Prākṛit. It must have developed its own powers of expression for a few centuries before it began to be used in inscriptions, of which the earliest known is the one at Halmiḍi belonging to c. 450 A.D.

It is claimed that Pampa's own literary achievement was far superior to that of early writers and that he tried to avoid the faults of earlier writing, 'munṇina kabbamanella mikki meṭṭiduvu.' (They excelled and trod under their feet all the poetry of earlier days). 'Deśi' and 'Marga' were both studied and their best features were assimilated into his work and into that of his compeers.

Kāvīrajamārga proclaims to us the nature of the literary achievement up till then and what Kannada poetry could be if proper training, taste, judgment and gifts of imagination moved a poet's expression.

Nripatunga was also called 'Atiśayadhavaḷa', Amōgahavarsha, Sarva, etc. His spiritual preceptor was Jinasēna, the author of the Samskrit *Ādipurāṇa*. Whether Nripatunga was the real author of *Kāvīrajamārga* is still a matter of some controversy. It is a work of literary criticism and is based on the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, more particularly on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. There are, however, indications of the author's Jaina predilections and persuasion in his phrasings and use of illustrations.

It is in three sections: the first, after a few introductory observations of great significance to the Kannada land and its people, deals mainly with considerations and dicta, literary faults and their elimination ; the second is on figures of sound and word ; the third is on the figures of sense, that is, of meaning. The section dealing with the figures of meaning deals with some 35-36 figures ; and *dhvani* (suggestion) is to the author still an *alankāra*. It comes after the figure *bhavika* and is followed by the '18 descriptions' in a Mahākāvya. Ānanda-vardhana, though a contemporary, was still far away in Kashmir ; or, anyway, not quite an established authority yet. Earlier, the varieties of *rasa* are described under 'rasavadalankāra' ; clearly an indication that he was with the traditionalists in Rhetoric. It is not easy to decide whether the stanza on 'Sāntarasa' belonged to the original work. Daṇḍin spoke of eight *rasas* only. Possibly, the idea was in the air and this Jaina writer felt inclined to add it as the ninth *rasa*.

The body of the work is composed in 'kandas' and 'vrittis' of many rare kinds—mostly short ones, and there are many examples of the 'geetike'. The author quoted or composed slokas which contain the second-letter rhyme typical of Kannada. Even in them we see how that metre is not quite well-fitted but is alien-sounding to the Kannada language. The end of each section is led on with a 'pushpitāgra', to close with a little prose line as colophon. Some stanzas illustrate or refer to a *Ramayana* story and to a *Ratnāvali* work and must, therefore, have been taken from such works, unless the author himself composed these to serve as illustrations.

This work is a mine of information on the practice of the Kannada poets prior to this period. Examples are taken for commendation or criticism of manner, construction, merit and for refinement. The author comments on the faults or imperfections of some current modes of expression and suggests better phrasing. There were many dialects in vogue, and this work helped to standardize the written Kannada, especially the one used in poetic composition. The work is meant to serve as a handbook for the poets, a 'kaviśiksha.' There is mention of the northern and the southern styles of composition, so as perhaps to correspond with Daṇḍin's 'vaidarbhi' and 'gauḍi'. The author was very well-versed in Sanskrit both of the creative and of the technical variety. There is no mention of the term 'champu', in spite of the fact that all great works in Kannada about his time and immediately after were in that form. The high style of the learned rhetoricians and the 'Deśi', the native-idiomatic, are both presented as illustrations and commended. He speaks of two forms of Kannada composition, 'chaṭṭana' and 'bedanḍe'. They were, perhaps, more easily adaptable for singing and for recital. In the sūtras and illustrations, verses dealing with Grammar refer to purity, fault, merit and pleasantness to the ear; in Prosody the verses refer to caesura, the varieties of rhyme and forms like 'chaṭṭana' and 'bedanḍe'; and in figures of speech, with both embellishment and rasa.

Kavirājamārga is particularly important because it serves as a landmark in the history of Kannada language and its literature. It stands as a water-shed marking off his Kannada from what the author calls the 'pūrvada haḷagannaḍa' (an earlier Kannada). His Kannada and the one till about the 12th century are what we now call 'haḷagannaḍa', or old Kannada. As linguistic development goes, this earlier phase must have taken a century or two at least to evolve into a polished literary language.

The work also gives us, with the *imprimatur* of an emperor, facts about the land, the people, their language and their literature. The illustrations and comments indicate his preferences in taste, standards of judgment as well as what, according to him, is the purpose of poetic composition. We get indirect references to Nripatunga's own life, possibly his personal experience and the large tolerance that was his claim to greatness. Nripatunga loved the arts of peace and was a

patron of learning and of all the religious faiths prevalent in his time; and he himself practised the best in the Vaidika and the Jaina traditions.

Among the early Kannada prose writers he mentions Vimalōdaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu, Durvineeta, etc., none of whose works unfortunately are now available. We do not know whether Vimalōdaya is one name or two; Vimala and Udaya. Among writers of poetry we get Śrīvijaya (preceded by the qualitative term 'parama'), Kaviśvara, Paṇḍita, Chandra, Lōkapāla, etc. Even here it is difficult to spell out the terms exactly according to the name of the person. Their work is deemed exemplary. Akkara, chaupadi, geetike, and tivadi are mentioned as current metrical forms. Obviously, there are others like melvāḍu and folk forms like ela, onakevāḍu and bajanegabba, which do not find mention in this work.

The introductory portions of the first chapter speak of the extent of the land, as stretching from the Gōdavari in the north to the Kaveri in the south, that pure Kannada is what was spoken in Kisuvōḷalu, Koppaṇa, Puligere and Okkunda—roughly the land comprised today by the districts of Dharwar, Bijapur Raichur, Bellary and Belgaum. The work deals with the quality of the Kannada people. They are intelligent by nature and skilled, have accomplished minds in poetic usage even when they have not cultivated it as a subject of study. One section distinguishes between different degrees of excellence among those who know the meaning and usage of words; and among them, a few are 'neetiviḷar'. 'amalakavita-neetividar', 'Parama-kavi - vrishabharkkal' (men who had knowledge of high morality, men who knew of the ways of pure poetry, powerful leaders (literally bulls) among great poets, or champion poets). The purpose of great poetry is declared to be the elucidation of the nature of sin and merit, good and evil, happiness and suffering. After all, that is the substance and theme in all significant work; and, if it is to be literature as well, of course, as Matthew Arnold might say, subject to the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty. This was known to all students of literature in this country even before the ninth century.

Three writers, Asaga, Guṇanandi and Guṇavarma I seem to belong to the Rāshṭrakūṭa period. *Sūktisudhārṇava* illustrates from Gunanandi's works. Asaga, the author of many works in Sanskrit like *Vardhamānacharita*, seems to be the author of a *Karnāṭa Kumārasambhava Kāvya* according to Jayakeerti. Vidyānanda's *Kāvyasāra* culls illustrations from Guṇavarma's work. Guṇavarma I seems to have written a work on Alankāra and one on Jaina Harivamśa, a *Nēminathapurāṇa*. *Sūdraka* is another work attributed to him. In this latter work, Guṇavarma is said to compare his patron Ereyappa, the Ganga king (886-913 A.D.) to Sūdraka. If this be true, Guṇavarma would be the first writer to start the practice of writing two works: one religious dealing with a Teerthankara, and the other secular, comparing his patron to a classical hero. This set the fashion for the later Kannada champu writers of the classical age.

Altogether the greatest poet in the Kannada language and its first great poet also is Pampa. His forefathers came to the Karnataka heart-land from Vengi, which was a Kannada-knowing area during those days. He was the son of a Brahmin father, Abhirāma-dēvarāya, who became a convert to Jainism making that religion the religion of his family ever after. He became a friend and companion of the Chālukya prince, Arikēsari (then feudatory to the Rāshtrakūṭas), with whom he must have wandered over the whole Kannada land including the lovely Banavāsi (Vaijayantipura), seat of the ancient Kadamba kings. When Arikēsari became king, Pampa became his counsellor and military officer, a poet and a warrior in one : a 'kali' and 'kavi' as he calls himself. Born in 902 A.D., he wrote the first of his works, *Ādipurāṇa* in 941 A.D., and a little later his other great work *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*, or, as it is popularly called, *Pampa Bhārata*. The poet proudly mentions that he completed the one in three months and the other in six, an achievement by any standards. *Ādipurāṇa* was written for his own spiritual uplift, while *Pampa Bhārata* celebrated indirectly the greatness and fame of his master. In the one he says, 'men might learn Dharma (Jināgama)' and in the other, 'the affairs of the world and its graces and what is great (*laukikam*)' from it, and in both, 'kāvyā-dharma' (the function of great poetry.)

Ādipurāṇa is a champu work in 16 āśvāsas (cantos) dealing with the life and *siddhi* (attainment of perfection) of Purudēva (or Vrishabha), the first of the 24 Teerthankaras. All the elements of Jaina religion are dealt with in this composition : the spiritual evolution of Purudēva through the nine births earlier to this penultimate human life, when he becomes the Teerthankara. In this life itself, the five Kalyāṇas (auspicious stages) — Garbhāvataṛaṇa, Janmābhisheka, Pari-nishkramaṇa, Kēvala-jnanōtpatti and Pari-nirvāṇa are described. His renunciation of kingdom and family in the ninth āśvāsa is beautiful and moving, preceded as it is by the purposive Neelanjane dance. His children, by two wives, were Bharata and Bāhubali, between whom he divided his kingdom. A little later, Bharata, the emperor, starts on a career of conquest and feels he should subjugate Bāhubali if he should be sovereign lord of the world. In the encounter, however, Bharata is defeated. But Bāhubali renounces his victory and becomes a Kēvalin. This section is one of the most glorious episodes in our literature; and the work brings to a close the careers of these three principal personages. The Kshatriya and Brāhmaṇa Dharmas are expounded and many an act of the king's beneficence is described as endowing the country with stability, security and abundance. *Ādipurāṇa* became the standard for Jaina purāṇas in Kannada, and a model for later writers. There are many episodes of love, loyalty and friendship in the earlier sections of the work ; colour of dalliance and sport in the later ; and richness and luxury in Bharata's camp as he proceeds with his women and his court. Later sections portray spiritual and moral worth of an exalted kind. For sheer poetic beauty some of its passages are hard to excel. The practice in a Jaina purāṇa was to present the highest exemplar in the person of the Teerthankara, and the Chakravarti (here Bharata) and the Maṇmatha (here

Bāhubali) of the Teerthankara's time. It is in recognition of this work, perhaps, that Pampa was given the title *Kaviratna*. (The two others who held this title were Ponna and Ranna).

Pamṇa Bhārata condenses the entire story of the epic *Mahabharata*. The hero of this work is Arjuna, who is Arikēsari here. Occasional infelicities and indelicacies creep in in the Virāṭa-parva and the Duśśāsanavadha episodes, since Arjuna alone marries Draupadi. They are the result also of the sudden changing over from the epic atmosphere to the historical times of Arikēsari; and this tends to mar the beauty and the flavour of a situation. But the work is of exceptional power and beauty. Subhadra is crowned queen with Arjuna at the end of the work. Krishna and Arjuna are described in a particular context as remembering the former's journeys and exploits as Rama. Kunti is almost a Jaina janani (mother) when Arjuna is born. Krishna's help to Arjuna is no doubt immense; but he finds no mention in the final list of the distinguished, while the great *Bhagavad Geeta* episode is disposed of in half a stanza. Krishna to a Jaina is still a human, a Vāsudēva, and any special praise of him would lessen the powers of Arjuna, the hero. The episodes, clash of personality and of character, movement of incidents and story, the hefty blows of word and weapon given and taken, the flourishes of prowess and stand taken are magnificent. Sometimes a phrase does the work of a stanza, and a stanza summarises a whole episode. So terse and telling is Pampa's composition. His language is an instrument of precision and speaks not only of his command over it in selectiveness and idiom and aptness but also the wealth and flexibility of the language itself. Kannada has not been handled with greater power or married to finer purpose than in his work. Only once, perhaps, in the love episode with Subhadra and in the stroll in moonlight, is proportion strained to breaking point. The relationship between Karṇa and Duryōdhana is brilliantly depicted. Bheeshma, Karṇa, Duryōdhana and Arjuna show up as paragons of loftiness, renunciation and truthfulness, deathless spite and valour; and the episodes dealing with the prowess and greatness of soul of these *Mahabharata* heroes make a dazzling procession. Possibly no other work approaches these two works of Pampa in concentration, poetic vigour and gifts of expression.

Ponna must have been a close contemporary of Pampa, though neither mentions the other. He belonged to the court of Krishna III (939-66 A.D.) and received the title of *Ubhaya-kavi-chakravarti*. (The two others bearing the title are Ranna and Janna). To Krishna III goes the credit of spreading the Rāshṭrakūṭa conquest up to Ramēśvaram in the south and Kanauj in the north. Ponna's poetic gifts were out of the ordinary also, and his *Sāntipurāṇa*, called *Pūrṇanāma Chūḍāmaṇi*, is in 12 *aśvāsas*, and deals with Sāntinātha, the 16th Teerthankara. The work bears marks of scholarship and of mastery over the medium. Sāntinātha is Teerthankara, Chakravarti and Manmatha in one. The work was written at the instance of his patrons, Mallapa and Punnama, who desired to honour their guru, Jinachandra, deemed by them as equal in worth to Pūjyapāda, Akaṭanka and Samantabhadra.

The story begins with the sixth birth as Aparājita of the Teerthankara. Sāntinātha's own life and attainments are contained in the last three *āśvāsas* (X-XII). The tenets of the Jaina religion are expounded throughout and its special features brought out in the last two sections. Indeed, the dogma of the religion is given more attention in the work than human character and emotion. Though the poet says he is a hundred times as great as Asaga and a thousand times greater than Kālidāsa, he is indebted to many a Sanskrit kāvya, while he clearly borrows from Kālidāsa's Indumati-Swayamvara in *Raghuvaṃśa* when dealing with the wedding of Jyōtiprabhe and Arkakeerti in the fifth canto and from the same source for his 'digvijaya' passages. The work does not present any peaks of poetic achievement. Yet its narration is able, description lively, the stanzas well-knit and the episodes handled fairly effectively. The work gets its sustenance from the achievements of the great Sanskrit poets of the past, debts to many of whom show up in several parts of the work. We do not have today his *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya* (in 14 *āśvāsas*), which is the other champu ascribed to him, dealing with a secular theme. It is said to deal with the rise of Sankara-gaṇḍa, a feudatory chief of Krishna. Whether it deals with the biography of lay persons like the latter or is based on a Rāma story can only be a matter of surmise. Or, it may describe the victory of King Krishna at Takkōlam over the Chōla King Rājāditya who called himself Kōdanḍarāma. We do not have any part of that work except in doubtful quotations here and there in anthologies and illustrative passages in grammatical and other works. The great Dānachintāmaṇi Attimabbe, daughter of Mallapa, got a thousand copies of this work made for distribution among the pious.

His *Jainākshara Māle* consists of some 39 kandas each beginning with a letter of the alphabet from Ka to La.

Trishashṭi-lakshana-mahāpurāṇa was written by Chāvunḍarāya, the minister of the Ganga King, Rāchamalla. He was a great warrior in his time and it is he who, about 983 A.D., got prepared and installed the Gommaṭa image in Sravaṇabelagoḷa. He was a great patron of learning and letters.

Chāvunḍarāya-purāṇa is essentially a prose work, though in the beginning and in the end, as well as occasionally in the middle parts, there are some verses as well. The work in its entirety is not available in printed form yet. It is like a handbook of Jaina religion and deals with the 24 Teerthankaras, the 12 Chakravartins and the nine each of Baladēva-Vāsudeva-prati-Vāsudēvas—a total of 63 Salākapurushas, the great men of the Jaina calendar. The Ādi-Teerthankara portion is impressive; its prose distinguishes itself from the usual champu prose of the poets and we find the influence of Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa* in the handling of the theme and in the descriptions, though the terseness, the colour and the vigour of Pampa's prose is not matched in it. Only the stories of Vrishabha, Sānti, Rāma, Nēmi and Vardhamāna are a little more elaborately treated than many others. These seem to be the more popular sections and, therefore, the more

frequently chosen by the poets. The cataloguing of dogma and detail is wearisome. Occasionally, we get a passage like Sita's description of the pitiful condition of women from birth onwards, which is a sad commentary on her position in our society.

The richest prose work of the Rāshṭrākūṭa period is *Vaḍḍārādhane* (The worship of the Vriddhas or the venerable ones). Its date is still a matter of controversy. Judged by linguistic forms and references to an earlier social order, etc., it could belong to an earlier time perhaps than even the 9th century. If linguistic features alone were decisive factors, it may be contemporaneous with early 10th century works. It contains 19 stories which we find also in the *Brihat-kathā-kośa* of Harisēna in Sanskrit. But the order of the stories differs a little in the two works; so do a few personalities in the two versions. Possibly, even Śivakōṭi is not the real author of the work, though his work *Bhagavati Ārādhana* may have supplied the basis for these narrative pieces. Altogether it is the largest continuous prose work in respect of substance and manner, and it is thus the biggest prose even in old Kannada literature. The stories deal with the relentless working out of Karma, the need for ascetic practices and for a total dedication to self-conquest. They deal with the life-histories of 19 Upasarga-Kēvalis, the history of whose birth-cycles closes with a picture of how they endured patiently and peacefully the torments of the flesh and the spirit, when they were in 'Sukla dhyāna'. These *ārādhana* stories belong to a 'Kavacha-grantha' group based on some original work or tradition from which both Harisēna and the author of *Vaḍḍārādhane* derive. They are narrated so as to sustain, cheer and give consolation to the worthies similarly situated now, who are to be helped to attain 'parisahajaya' and blessedness.

The stories themselves are involved in construction, almost labyrinthine, and highly mannered, stories within stories with illustrations often from folk and animal stories, and didactic in spirit—a feature of much ancient narrative composition in India. So one has to get a summary and balance of position at each stage, which is done by the writer for the reader's benefit. Some of the episodes like those of Sukumārasvāmi, Nāgaśri, the education of Nandimitra-Kiṭṭayya, Vidyuchchōra, and Kārtika Rishi are triumphs of presentation. The story of the passion of the elephants, Malayasundara and his elephant spouses Malayavati and Padmāvati, the epic of friendship and loyalty in the Vidyuchchōra story and the compactness of the tragic happenings in an inverted Oedipus-like story of Kārtika Rishi, where the father marries and gets a son from his daughter, these are unique in our literature. They are intensely ascetic in nature and have a dark, low view of life on earth. Everywhere Karma drives from birth to death to fateful consequences, is supreme, and has to be worked off. The spiritual history of souls in evolution as they are helped or hindered in their development by friendly or hostile persons, by Rishis or other supernatural spirits is clearly on view. Even as pictures of social life, dominated by the rich Vaiśyas and traders, and of the common people, these make a valuable document of the times. The language

which is the vehicle of these stories presents more fully and variously a type which in word-form, idiom, structure and texture of composition appears to belong to a stage earlier than *Chāvundarāya-purāṇa* and even Pampa.

The language and idiom in *Vaḍḍārādhane* have many natural felicities and surprise us with their expressiveness and atmosphere. There is concreteness and robustness of phrasing and nearness to life in them. The colour and tension of a situation come off very well in the narration, and have a special flavour despite the irritating clusters and chokes of dogma, the conventional phrasing and the discouragements to life on earth.

The versification in Rāshtrakūṭa Kannada composition is among the choicest and best. It is perhaps the most finished and eloquent expression that Kannada has so far been capable of. The *kandas* are flexible and do all the work demanded of an adequate, effective and all-purpose medium, even like the *slōka* of the epic and *purāṇic* times in Sanskrit. The second-letter assonance common to Kannada verse is happy and effortless; the rules of rhyme—*e.g.*, in *rr* and *ll*—are strictly carried out. Even the ‘avyayas’ (fill up words)—‘gaḍa’, ‘valam’ and ‘dal’ are natural and express meaning rather than serving as mere fill-ups. Grandeur, integrity, spontaneity are met with. One meets with a classical finish which at best could be achieved with effort and sophistication later on. Even like the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings in secular affairs is efficiency of the metre and expression in the poetry of their times.

The love of Kannada for the six popular *varṇa-gaṇa-vrittas* of Sanskrit *Champakamāla*, *Utpalamāla*, *Mattēbhavikreḍita*, *S’ardūlavikreḍita*, *S’ragdhara*, and *Mahāsrāghara* is evident everywhere, being with *kandas* more than 80 per cent in occurrence. Only a change of tone or purpose bring in metres like *Prithivi*, *Hariṇi-pluta*, *Mallikamāle*, *Tarala* or an *Anavadya*. Some of these are more akin to Kannada in genius, and have *mātra* orientation. What is most exhilarating is the use of the native *piriyakkaras* and *ragaḷes* in the most natural and intimate contexts. Nothing like their beauty in structure, sound and expressiveness has been seen later. Indeed the composite (3+5) eight *mātra gaṇas* of Pampa’s *ragaḷes* are unique, with their catch, movement and subtleties of rhyming and structure.

The inscriptions illustrate many of these linguistic and structural traits and a few of them are competent compositions. Those on Masenar (of the 8th century); the Mandya inscriptions of 949 A.D. describing the heroism of Manalera fighting against the Chōḷa; the one speaking of the ‘Kandukāgama’ (water polo) of Indra IV and of his passing away (S.B. 133); the prose of the Śivamāra inscription of Heggaḍadēvanakōṭe (87; 800); of Gangarāja Neetimārga (921); and of the veergal on Gōvinda’s inscription (800) dealing with the fight with Chitra-vāhana and Noḷambarāditya, where the hero falls like Bhīshma in the Pergunji fort—all these are vivid and moving.

Kēśirāja (13th century), author of *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, was guardian of the purity of old Kannada and its conscience-keeper. We may close this account with his summing up of the formal characteristics of the language, so far as its grammatical, idiomatic and structural preferences are concerned.

‘Gamaka-samsadim, ralakulākshaladim,
Srutisahya sandhiyim samuchitamāgi barpa
satisaptamiyim, samasamskṛtōktiylim
va-ma-ha-pa-bhēdadim, virahitavyaya-lingadim,
pādōttama śithilatvadim, yati-vilangha-
nadinādaridalte Kannaḍam.’

Nripatunga, Pampa and Ponna, (as later Ranna and Nāgavarma) confirm and fully bear out this description in their achievements of poetic felicity.

SANSKRIT RASHTRAKUTA PERIOD

The glorious reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭas saw at once the flowering of literary activity both in Sanskrit and Kannada. The curriculum of advanced studies in this period was so wide as to include Veda, Vyākaraṇa, Jyōtisha, Sāhitya, Mīmāṃsa, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇas, Nyāya and Smritis.¹

One of the epigraphs of this period mentions Kaumāra or the Kātantra system of grammar in which specialists were available.² The famous commentary (*vritti*) on the *Kātantrasūtras* was written by Durgasimha belonging to this period. It not only explains but amplifies the text.³ Durgasimha has also written a gloss on his own *vritti*.

Like the Jainēndra system, Karnataka founded another system of Sanskrit grammar renowned as the Śākāṭyāna school. While compressing Pāṇini and Jainēndra in a convenient form, this Jaina Śākāṭyāna, a protege of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Amōghavarsha I, anticipates already in his arrangement the example later followed by ‘Kaumudi’ texts. The sūtras are arranged topic-wise and make for easy comprehension. Besides being the author of the sūtras known as *Sabdānuśāsana*, Śākāṭyāna himself has also added his own commentary on them known as *Amōghavritti*, in honour of his patron.⁴

The history of the Rāshtrakūṭas was almost a forgotten chapter in the history of India till the end of the last century. The discovery in this century of numerous inscriptions and copper plates, mostly in Sanskrit, has come in handy to write a dependable history of this great ruling dynasty. Each one of the Sanskrit records is, indeed, a poem by itself. Each of these Sanskrit plates is replete with the graces and beauties of language met with in classical writers like Bāṇa and Bhāravi. One of them, the Begumra Plate of Indra III dated 915 A.D.,⁶ deserves to be noticed here in particular. Its author is Trivikrama, the same as the author of the first and the only datable champu-kāvya in Sanskrit literature viz., *Naṭa-champu*. This establishes the fact that Karnataka had its own signal contributions to make in the field of pure literary forms also.

The origin of the word champu itself is obscure ; but Prof. R. S. Mugali thinks that the word is of Kannada origin, in his *History of Kannada Literature*.

Trivikrama's composition in prose and verse, both highly literary and embellished, runs to seven long chapters. He pays compliments to Bāṇa and Subandhu in the beginning. He does not slavishly follow the original *Mahabharata* in his treatment of the Naṭa's story. He has made highly romantic and ingenious innovations of his own. Naṭa's minister Śrutaśeela is assigned an important role here in bringing about the union of Naṭa and Damayanti. There are conventional descriptions of nature and the story ends with Damayanti's rejection of the love-suit of the gods.

Another ornate work from the pen of this author is *Madālasa-champu*. Amoghavarsha I or Nripatunga (814-878 A.D.) was himself a poet of a very high order. A short and sweet philosophical lyric in Sanskrit *Praśnōttara-ratnamālīka* is his composition, though it is sometimes wrongly attributed to Vimala or Sankarāchārya. The verses, in Ārya metre, are all in the form of questions and answers, a figurative device known as 'praśnōttara'. His *Kavirājamārga* in Kannada is modelled on the celebrated *Kāvya-darśa* of Daṇḍin.

A noteworthy work on Indian mathematics written under the patronage of this renowned ruler is Mahāveerāchārya's *Gaṇita-sāra-sangraha*. It is simpler than the work of Brahmagupta and deals with geometrical progression.

The Smṛiti writers Kātyāyana, Āngeerasa, Yama and Vishnu are all usually assigned to this period ; one is not certain whether any of these hailed from Karnataka.

Halāyudha is a writer of a famous lexicon known after his name, besides *Kavirahasya* and *Mritasanjeevini*. The former is really a *dhātu-pāṭha* or list of verbs with meanings, written in verse. It explains the conjugational peculiarities of roots having the same form, and its preface mentions expressly the patronage given to him by Krishna III, the last Rāshtrakūṭa king. The latter is a commentary on the basic text of prosody, Piṅgaḷa's *Chhandah-sūtra*.

This was the golden age which saw the rise of the great Advaita philosopher Śaṅkarāchārya. He was given encouragement to establish his *maṭha* at Srīngēri.

The numerous *bhāṣyās*, or learned commentaries, written by him on the major *Upanishads*, *Brahmasūtras* and the *Bhagavad Geeta*, taken together with his moving devotional hymns (*stōtras*) and manuals of philosophy, started a new age in philosophical thinking and living. Some of his greatest disciples, like Padmapāda, the author of *Panchapādika*, Surēśvara, the author of *Bṛihadāraṇyaka-ślōka-vārttika*, *Taittirīya-ślōkavārttika* and *Naishkarmya-siddhi*, were also settled in Karnataka. The great tradition of Advaita was thus born and nourished in this land.

It is a moot question among scholars whether Maṇḍana Miśra was himself Surēśvara and whether Viśvarūpa was not his other name. The fact is further complicated by the suggested identities of Surēśvara, Umvēka and Bhavabhūti in addition.

The celebrated commentary called *Bālakreeḍa* on *Īājñavalkya-smṛiti* is by Viśvarūpa, who is generally identified with Surēśvara. In the words of M. M. Kane : “ The style of Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkara. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Charakas and Vājasaneyins, the Kāṭhikas, and very often supports his position by quotations from the *Rig-Veda*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads*. Though saturated with the lore of the ‘Pūrvamīmāṃsa’, his philosophical views are indetical with Śaṅkara’s ”.⁶

Sarvajñātman, the great systematiser of Śaṅkara’s thought in his *Samkshēpa-śāriraka*, was a pupil of Surēśvara and is, therefore, to be assigned to this period.

Another very great writer who flourished under the Chālukyas of Lēmula-vāḍa (or Vēmulavāḍa), feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, was the Jaina Sōma-dēvasūri. He continued the champu tradition started by Trivikrama and took it to sublime heights. He wrote his *Yaśastilaka* in 959 A.D., while his patron was camping with his overlord Krishna III at Melpāḍi in the Chittoor District. The work ‘represents a lively picture of India at a time when the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahminical religions were still engaged in a contest that drew towards it the attention, and well-nigh absorbed, the intellectual energies of all thinking men’.⁷ The story is of the hero Yaśōdhara’s different births and sufferings, popular among Jainas, but in the treatment of the same, Sōmadēva has shown such an encyclopaedic genius that a scholar today⁸ could reconstruct all shades of Vedic, Āgamic, Tāntric, and popular thought and wisdom current in the time by dint of patient research on this work. There is nothing secular or religious, social or political, that escapes the far-flung net of the great author. It can be regarded as a unique work in Sanskrit literature.

Sōmadēvasūri was also a very prolific writer and another work which deserves some consideration here is his treatise on politics, the *Neetivākyāmrīta*. It is modelled on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and has been recently translated into Italian. Such is its unique significance as one of the very few books dealing exclusively with politics and state-craft. It has thirty-two chapters dealing, among other things, with the value of life, the sciences, the minister, preceptor, general, envoy, spy, the saptāṅgas (the seven limbs) of a State, judiciary, diplomacy, war and peace.⁹

The other works of this author, not extant today are: *Shaṇṇavati-prakaraṇa*, *Yukti-Chintāmaṇi* and *Mahēndramātali-sanjalpa*.

In the theological field too, the Jainas of this period produced monumental works. Some of the most exhaustive and authoritative commentaries on the Jaina Canon known as *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* were completed under Rāshtrakūṭa patronage. Veerasēna and Jinasēna were teacher and disciple who jointly completed the gigantic commentaries known as *Dhavaḷā* and *Jayadhavaḷā*, together running to some 100,000 slokas.¹⁰

Jinasēna was also master-poet who wrote the magnificent *Ādipurāṇa* dealing with the epic story of Bharata and Bāhubali. It is a *kāvya* and a *purāṇa* in one. The work though very voluminous remained incomplete till it was completed by Jinasēna's gifted pupil Guṇabhadra whose supplementary work is known as *Uttara-purāṇa*. The importance of these works will be realised only if we see how Jinasēna's work set the tradition of Kannada champu-poetry for a period of four centuries, starting from Pampa.

Another literary work of Jinasēna, equally significant, is *Pārśvābhyudaya*, which gives the life-story of Pārśvanātha, and at the same time, by a very ingenious device of samasyā pūraṇa, (a part of a stanza being added to another to complete the sense) incorporated the entire text of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*. For every single line of Kālidāsa, Jinasēna adds three more of his own and achieves the intended meaning relating to Pārśvanātha. This work has proved most useful in deciding Kālidāsa's text and readings.

Asaga's *Vardhamāna-purāṇa* in Sanskrit is also a work written in this period. Asaga was equally great as a poet in Kannada literature. This work is referred to in Jayakeerti's *Chhandōnuśāsana*, which is also a very interesting work on prosody written by a Kannadiga in the 10th century. Besides giving a succinct account of Sanskrit metres, this work devotes a very valuable and significant section to Kannada prosody.

Finally, this survey would be incomplete if the progress achieved by Jaina Logic is not indicated. Just as Surēśvara is the greatest name in the Hindu thought of this period, Vidyānanda is his equal in Jaina thought. He wrote his brilliant

commentary *Ashṭasāhasri* on Samantabhadra's *Āptamimāmsa*, *Āptapariksha*, (an independent work) and other advanced polemical works. Vidyānanda, like Akaṣhanka before him, criticises the doctrines of the Hindu and Buddhist schools of philosophy. Māṇikyanandi's *Parikshā-mukha-sūtra* and Prabhāchandra's *Pramēya-kamala-mārtāṇḍa* are celebrated texts of Jaina philosophy and are assigned to this period.¹¹

FOOT NOTES

1. A.S. Altekar : *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 400.
2. *E.I.*, V., p. 22.
3. S. K. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 86.
4. *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.
5. *E.I.*, IX, p. 28.
6. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmashastra*, Vol. I, p. 252 f.
7. Peterson's Report I, p. 33.
8. Handiqui : *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*.
9. It is printed recently by the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.
10. H. L. Jain, Introduction to *Shatkhandagama*, p. ii.
11. S. C. Vidyabhusana, *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, Pp. 28-33.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE RASHTRAKUTA PERIOD

After the defeat and discomfiture of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, and with the advent of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the political hegemony in the Deccan established by them towards the end of the 8th century A.D., Indian art reached a very high level of achievement as exemplified at Ellōra (Ilāpura) and Elephanta. The Rāshtrakūṭas inherited, to a considerable degree, the artistic traditions of the Chālukyas as reflected in their monuments at Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. They developed their inheritance to new and still higher paths of glory and excellence. Mr. Goswami, the learned editor of the volume on the art of the Rāshtrakūṭas, says that a close study and analysis of the splendid sculptures of Ellōra and Elephanta convince one that art in India found its highest expression and achievement under the Rāshtrakūṭas, rather than the Guptas of North India. It is a compliment to the greatness of both.

In the typical Rāshtrakūṭa culture area, namely Ellōra, we come across the last surviving Buddhist rock-cut Chaitya-shrine known as 'Teen-tāl' and 'Viśvakarma', which are closely related both in design and structure to those of Ajanta and Bāgh. But the Rāshtrakūṭa rock-cut shrines, as exemplified by the Dhumar Lena at Ellōra, are different. The two faiths, Buddhist and Brahminical, required different architectural plans to meet the demands of different forms and modes of worship. The Buddhist form, we may recall, was mainly congregational worship, and an open hall unobstructed by columns had to be provided, as exemplified by the Chaitya halls in Ajanta 16, where a large number of Buddhist worshippers could assemble at a time to pay their homage to the image of the Buddha installed inside the sanctum at the back of the hall. A floor space of nearly 65 feet square had to be kept open without the obstruction of columns for the congregation. In the Rāshtrakūṭa rock-cut shrine, the hall in front of the sanctum was covered by a row of gigantic pillars. Apart from this difference in structural design, the shape and the decoration of the Rāshtrakūṭa pillar differed substantially from those in the Buddhist rock-cut shrines. The typical Rāshtrakūṭa pillar, derived from the Chālukyan style, is a massive square column with its upper part covered by a series of flutings and terminating with a capital of the shape of a compressed cushion. This type of pillar is first met with in rock-cut shrine No. 1 at Bādāmi. Another typical feature which distinguishes the Rāshtrakūṭa rock-cut temple is the absence of a facade at the entrance, while the Buddhist counterpart has either a simple or an elaborate facade.

The resurgence of Śaivism in the Rāshtrakūṭa times was responsible for an outburst of sculptural and architectural activity. Inscriptions refer to the

flight of the boar before the antelope. Saivism is symbolised by the antelope, and Vaishnavism by the boar. Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, was a votary of the famous Mahākāla of Ujjaini. Krishna I, who succeeded Dantidurga, testified his devotion to Śiva by the creation of the world-famous Kailāsa Temple at Ellōra. He is credited with having built eighteen other Śiva temples and also a college where many scholars and Śaiva āchāryas used to reside and propagate and popularise the Śaiva faith. The sixteen forms of Śiva had already been visualized in the art of the Pallavas as a result of the fervent teachings of Appar, Tirujnāna Sambandhar and Sundaramūrti, the great Śaiva saints of Tamil Nāḍ. They permeated the sculpture of the Rāshtrakūṭas at Ellōra and Elephanta. In addition, Śiva as Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect and believed to be an incarnation of Śiva, became popular with the Rāshtrakūṭa sculptors. The Pāśupata sect had several adherents in Karnataka at the time.

The principal monuments of the Rāshtrakūṭas are located at Ellōra, Māḷkhēḍ, Elephanta, Jogēśvari and Maṇḍapēśvara. Ellōra contains eighteen Brahminical shrines and four Jaina ones, not all of them belonging to the same date. The Rāvana-ka-khai and the Daśāvatāra shrines are probably earlier than the Kailāsa Temple.

The Rāvana-ka-khai has four pillars in front and twelve inside the open hall (54' X 55½'). The compartments between the pilasters are filled with relief sculptures.

In front of the shrine, we meet with a pair of tall dvārapālas (door-keepers), the characteristic iconoplastic invention of the Rāshtrakūṭa sculptors, a type which frequently occurs in other rock-cut shrines also, sometimes with a female consort. The example in the Dhumar Lena is perhaps the most conspicuous and outstanding. The Daśāvatāra rock-cut temple is two-storeyed. The ground floor consists of a large hall (97' X 50'), supported by fourteen square pillars. The upper storey, an imposing rectangular hall (105' X 95'), has 54 pillars, arranged in six rows of nine each. The sculptured figures are both Śaiva and Vaishṇava. The death of Hiraṇyakaśipu is shown in a powerful relief. "It would be difficult," writes Dr. Coomaraswamy, "to imagine a more splendid rendering of the well-known theme of the impious king who met his death at the hands of the avenging deity in man-lion form. The hand upon the shoulder, the shrinking figure with the mocking smile that has had no time to fade—what could be more terrible?" The relief is one of the master-pieces of Rāshtrakūṭa art.

Another interesting sculpture is that of Śiva in the *tāṇḍava* dance. He whirls on a pedestal bending his body with the mobility of an *atibhanga* pose, the figure being balanced nicely by the group of four hands on each side. The front right arm is flung across the chest. Pārvati stands on the right watching. The gaṇas provide the music while the dēvas in groups have come down to witness the dance.

The Rāmēśvara is an early rock-cut shrine at the entrance of which stands a colossal image of the river goddess Ganga on her vehicle makara (crocodile). It is the most dignified representation of the goddess, presented in a form of exquisite beauty as she stands in the delicate equilibrium of an *avanga* pose, resting the body on the left leg. Unfortunately, her right hand is broken away, but her left hand is affectionately placed on the head of an attendant who stands in an ecstatic pose with his two hands clasped round his chest. The image has a peculiar head-dress of the shape of a flat cushion, below which the tresses of her hair descend in decorative curls. The charming flying goblin near her head accentuates the serene divinity of the figure. Her vehicle, namely, the mythical makara, with its curling snout and the feathery hind limbs is a masterly presentation of the type, developed from Gupta and Chālukyan prototypes. For grace, dignity and poise, this relief is an outstanding master-piece hardly surpassed by any later representation. The majestic Dhumar Lena at Ellōra is often compared with the Rāshṭrakūṭa sanctuary of Elephanta to which it bears a striking resemblance. But, as Zimmer points out, it is more impressive. It has a large hall (149' X 148') in the form of a cross, supported by twenty-six massive pillars which lend to the shrine a majestic grandeur, which Dr. Burgess has compared with that of Egyptian monuments. In the east end occurs a remarkable representation of the marriage of Siva and Pārvaṭi, which recall to one's mind the immortal verses of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* dealing with the theme.

The Kailāsa Temple at Ellōra is, perhaps, the most magnificent example of rock-cut architecture in India. The epic of its creation may be told in the words of Percy Brown: "The first stage of the work, although laborious, was simple. It consisted in excavating out of the hill-side three huge trenches at right angles, cut down vertically to the level of the base of the hill, thus forming a rectangle 300' X 175'. This operation outlined the shape of the courtyard, and, at the same time, left standing in the middle a large isolated mass of rock over 200 feet long, 100 feet wide and 100 feet high at its apex. Beginning at the top, the process of rough-hewing the irregular mass into shape was next undertaken, but those employed on this 'pointing' were immediately followed by the sculptors, for each portion of the carved detail appears to have been completely finished as the work progressed downwards, thus avoiding any need for scaffolding. Some idea of its magnitude may be conceived when we realise that the ground plan of the Kailāsa approximates in area that of the Parthenon of Athens, and that its height is one and a half times that of the same Greek master-piece. It is something more than a record of artistic form; it is a great spiritual achievement. The Kailāsa is an illustration of one of those rare occasions when men's minds, hearts and hands work in unison towards the consummation of a supreme ideal."

Some of the sculptures of the Kailāsa Temple are most imposing. The theme of Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāsa mountain was a favourite theme for the sculptors and naturally occurs many times at Ellōra. It occurs twice in the Kailāsa Temple itself. Siva and Pāravati are depicted with grace and poise;

their pose is intimate and they are flanked by the door-keepers and a female chauri (whisk) bearer. Down below occurs the squatting figure of Rāvaṇa with outspread hands. On either side of Rāvaṇa are groups of Śivagaṇas. Gods and goddesses are shown descending from the heavens to witness the heroic deed of Rāvaṇa. The whole is a well-knit composition. Other powerful pieces of sculpture in the Kailāsa Temple are Śiva as the killer of Gaṇāsura, Śiva as Tripurāntaka, Śiva dancing in the *lalita* (graceful) pose, and the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati.

The Indra Sabha and the Jagannātha Sabha containing the images of Gommaṭa, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha in the first, and Mahāveera in the second, were probably executed under the munificent patronage of Amoghavarsha. Of course, there is no positive proof.

The final culmination of Rāshṭrakūṭa art was achieved at Elephanta, an island near the harbour of Bombay. The Portuguese who occupied the island for some time destroyed many of the sculptures on the island. The Ardhanāreesvara panel, though badly mutilated, is superb. The male half has two hands, one holding a serpent, the other placed on the head of the bull. Of the two hands of the female half, one holds a mirror, the other a piece of drapery. The whole composition is unique and is crowded with figures of gods.

The figure of Mahēśamūrti, often-times called Trimūrti, is of stupendous and colossal proportions. This three-fold image is 23 feet high and 19½ feet broad. The French critic and art historian, Rene Grousset, wrote on the quality of this great piece of sculpture as follows: "The three countenances of the One Being are here harmonized without a trace of effort; there are few material representations of the divine principle at once as powerful and as well-balanced as this in the art of the whole world. Nay, more, here we have undoubtedly the grandest representation of the pantheist God ever made by the hand of man."

Another magnificent relief flanking the figure of Mahēśamūrti at Elephanta depicts the marriage of Pārvati with Śiva. The father of Pārvati, giving away the bride, stands just behind her. The gods are witnessing the ceremony. Unfortunately, the lower limbs of the figures have been mutilated.

Karl Khandalavala, editor of Dr. V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* (3rd Edition, p. 84) assigns to Elephanta a period not later than 650 A.D.

We may also recall here the sculptured slabs of Māvali, Shimoga District, belonging to the reign of Gōvinda III in the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

Despite the vastness of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, the centres of their artistic activity were only a few. Even their capital Māḷkhēḍ (Mānyakhēṭa) does not possess any imposing monument. It has been sadly ruined : but excavations may perhaps reveal remnants of old structures. Structural temples of the Rāshtrakūṭas are very rare. Hermann Goetz, however, notes that there is a temple of dressed stone at Sandur containing the portrait statues of Indra III and one of his ministers.

CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL HISTORY THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA

LINKS WITH THE EARLIER CHALUKYAS

AT the end of the Chapter on 'The Chālukyas of Bādāmi', it has been stated that the Rāshtrakūṭa King Khaḍgāvalōka Dantidūga, or Dantivarman II, defeated the Bādāmi Chālukya King, Keertivarman II in 754 A.D., and established the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭas,¹ and that the empire of the Bādāmi Chālukyas passed on to the Rāshtrakūṭas for about 219 years from 754 A.D. to 973 A.D. It is difficult to trace the fortunes of the main line of the Bādāmi Chālukyas during this period. From inscriptions we find a number of Chālukya families ruling territories big or small, some as subordinate and some probably as independent rulers. The stone inscription assigned to 900 A.D. at Kotur, in the Belgaum District, mentions a Chālukya prince called Parahitarāja,² who was perhaps one of the Chalukya chieftains in some subordinate position. The Kaḍaba Plates, dated 813 A.D., mention a Chālukya prince Vinayāditya, son of Yaśōvarman and grandson of Balavarman who was ruling Kunigildēśa (Kunigal in the Tumkur District).³ Dr. Fleet does not accept the authenticity of this record.⁴ Another Chālukya Mahāsāmanta named Narasimha is mentioned in a Mysore Inscription.⁵ Still another Chālukya Mahāsāmanta Goggi with the Boar-crest is mentioned in some inscriptions. A hero-stone (veergal) commemorates the death of one of his followers in a battle with some persons named Polukēśi and Būdiga.⁶ Pampa, who wrote *Pampa Bhārata* or *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* in 941-42 A.D., gives a genealogy of his patron Arikēsari II, a Chālukya prince⁷ as follows :

Yuddhamalla ruled over a lakh and a quarter (sapāda laksha) country ; his son was Arikēsari I ; Arikēsari who had the titles, 'Samastalōkāśraya' 'Tribhuvanamalla' and 'Rājatrinētra' was ruling over Vengi and Trikalīnga as a feudatory of Nirupamadēva identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa King, Dhārāvarsha Kalivallabha Nirupama Dhruva.⁸ He is assigned to 770-80 A.D. He had two sons, Narasimha I and Bhadrādēva or Baddega. The son of Narasimha I was Dugdhamalla II ; his son was Bhadrādēva II or Bāddega II. He fought forty-two battles, and had the title 'Undefeated Hero' (Sōladagaṇḍa). He is said to have seized Chālukya Bheema, as if he was entering water and dragging out a crocodile.⁹ Bheema is identified with Bheema I (888-918A.D.) of the Eastern Chālukyas.¹⁰ The

son of Baddega was Yuddhamalla III or Dugdhamalla; his son was Narasimha who defeated the Lāṭas, seven Māḷavas; Gūjjaras, and conquered Mahipāla and fought with the king of Ḍahala country and bathed his horses in the Ganges. He is called Bhadrāṅkuṣa and Lōkāśraya. His popular name is Naraga. He gave a province to Erapa, identified with the Western Ganga King Ereyappa. His wife was Jākavve. Their son was Arikēsari II, who was patron of the poet Pampa and granted as a gift Agrahāra Dharmaūru, which is identified with Dambaḷ, near Gadag of the Dharwar District. Arikēsari is described as protecting a certain King Vijayāditya who took refuge with him, against a king named Gojjiga. Vijayāditya is identified with the Eastern Chālukya boy-king, Vijayāditya, and Gojjiga may be the Rāshtrakūṭa King Suvarṇavarsha Gōvinda IV.¹¹ Dr. Fleet says that this genealogy cannot be fitted with the genealogy of either the Eastern or Western Chālukyas.¹² The authenticity and correctness of the genealogy are not questioned as certain names such as Nirupama, Bheema, and Gojjiga are historical and can be identified. Yuddhamalla, the founder of this branch of the Chālukyas, it is suggested, can be identified with Vinayāditya (680-696 A.D.), son of Vikramāditya II of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. But this suggestion has some flaws. The date of Vinayāditya appears to be too early. Pampa states that Arikēsari I was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Nirupama (780-793 A.D.).¹³ This is not possible if he is a son of Vinayāditya who ruled in 680-696 A.D. The difference is nearly a hundred years.

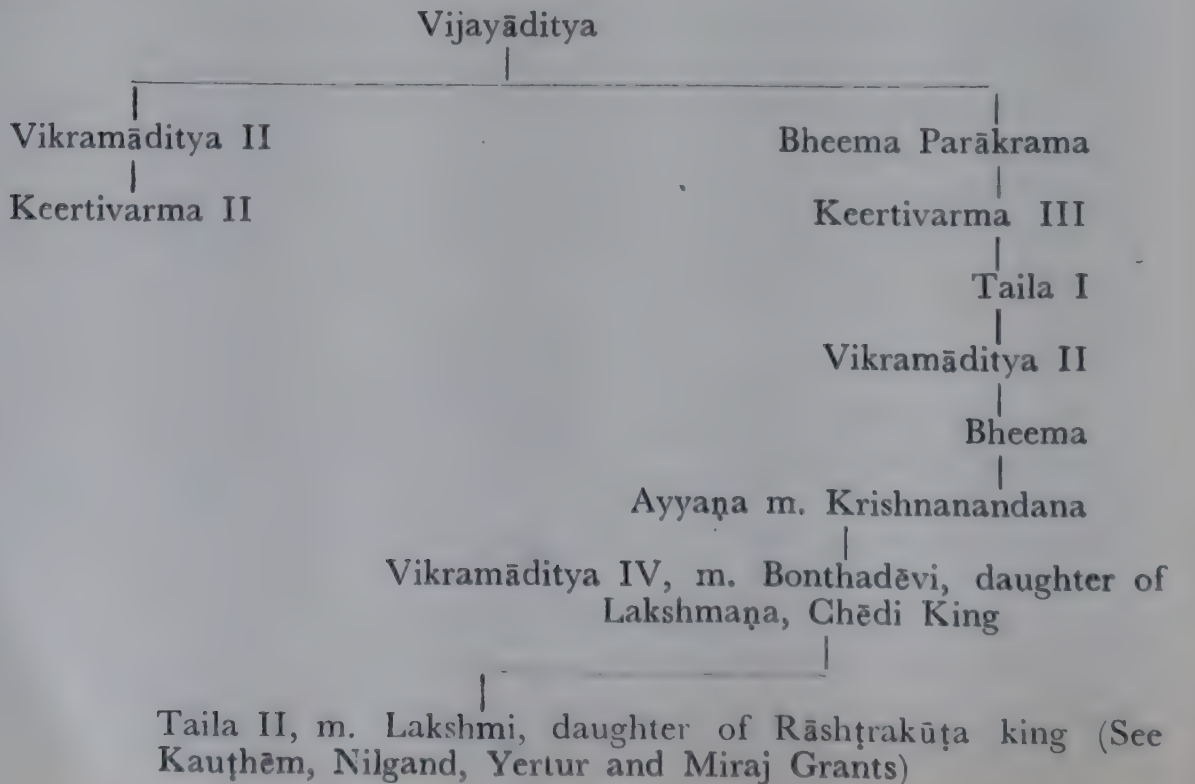
From the copper plates found at Nausari, Surat and Balsar belonging to the Chālukya dynasty of the 7th and 8th centuries, it is found that there was a branch of the Chālukyas ruling the territories in Gujarat as subordinates. This is considered by Dr. Fleet as the third Gujarat Chālukya branch.¹⁴ The founder of this branch, Dhārāśraya Jayasimhavārman, was a son of Pulikēsi II and younger brother of Vikramāditya I. He had three sons, *viz* :

(1) Sryāśraya Śilāditya (692 A.D.), (2) Mangaḷarasa, who was also called Vijayāditya, Yuddhamalla and Jayāśraya (731-732 A.D.) and (3) Avanijanāśraya Pulikēsi (739 A.D.). The relations between Vikramāditya I and Jayasimhavarman appear to have been cordial as the Nausari Grant states that the dignity and prosperity of Jayasimhavarman was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I. Further, the inscriptions show that the three sons of Jayasimhavarman were invested with authority, as they made grants separately at different times. The great achievement ascribed to Avanijanāśraya Pulikēsi is the defeat of Tājikas or Arabs who had destroyed Saindhava, Kachehela, Saurāshtra, Chavōṭaka, Maurya, Gūjara and other kings and who were on their way to Dakṣiṇāpatha to conquer the southern kings. The Vallabhanarēndra, who can be identified with Vijayāditya or Vikramāditya II, conferred on him the titles of 'Dakṣiṇāpatha-sādhāra', 'Chālukya-kulāṅkārā', 'Prithivivallabha', 'Anivārīta-nivartayitṛ', and 'Avanijanāśraya'. Pulikēsi must have added all the territories conquered by the Tājikas to his own and thus extended the boundaries of his kingdom. After the death of Avanijanāśraya, son of his brother, Yuddhamalla or Mangaḷarasa might

have succeeded him and, even after the fall of the main branch in 757 A.D., the members of this branch were perhaps ruling territories in Gujarat and Rajaputana. Some time afterwards, a member of this family might have migrated to Vengi where he might have carved out a kingdom. If Arikēsari of Pampa is a descendant of this Yuddhamalla, also called Vinayāditya or Mangaḷarāja, the objections raised by Dr. Fleet are met. This Vinayāditya or his descendant might have settled in northern Telangaṇa and carved out a kingdom with Bodhana as his capital. Later on, the seat of the country was shifted farther to the east to Lembulavāṭaka, the modern Vēmūlavāḍa in the Andhra State.¹⁵ They made Bodhana as their first capital and then shifted to Vēmūlavāḍa.¹⁶ The members of this branch claim to be Mahāsāmantas and they had matrimonial alliance with the main branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Jākavve, mother of Arikēsari II was sister of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Indra IV. Pampa says that Arikēsari II was affectionately brought up by Indra.¹⁷ It appears that they were powerful and extended their territory considerably, which included the old Hyderabad State and portions of the Dharwar District, known then as Puligēri 1000.

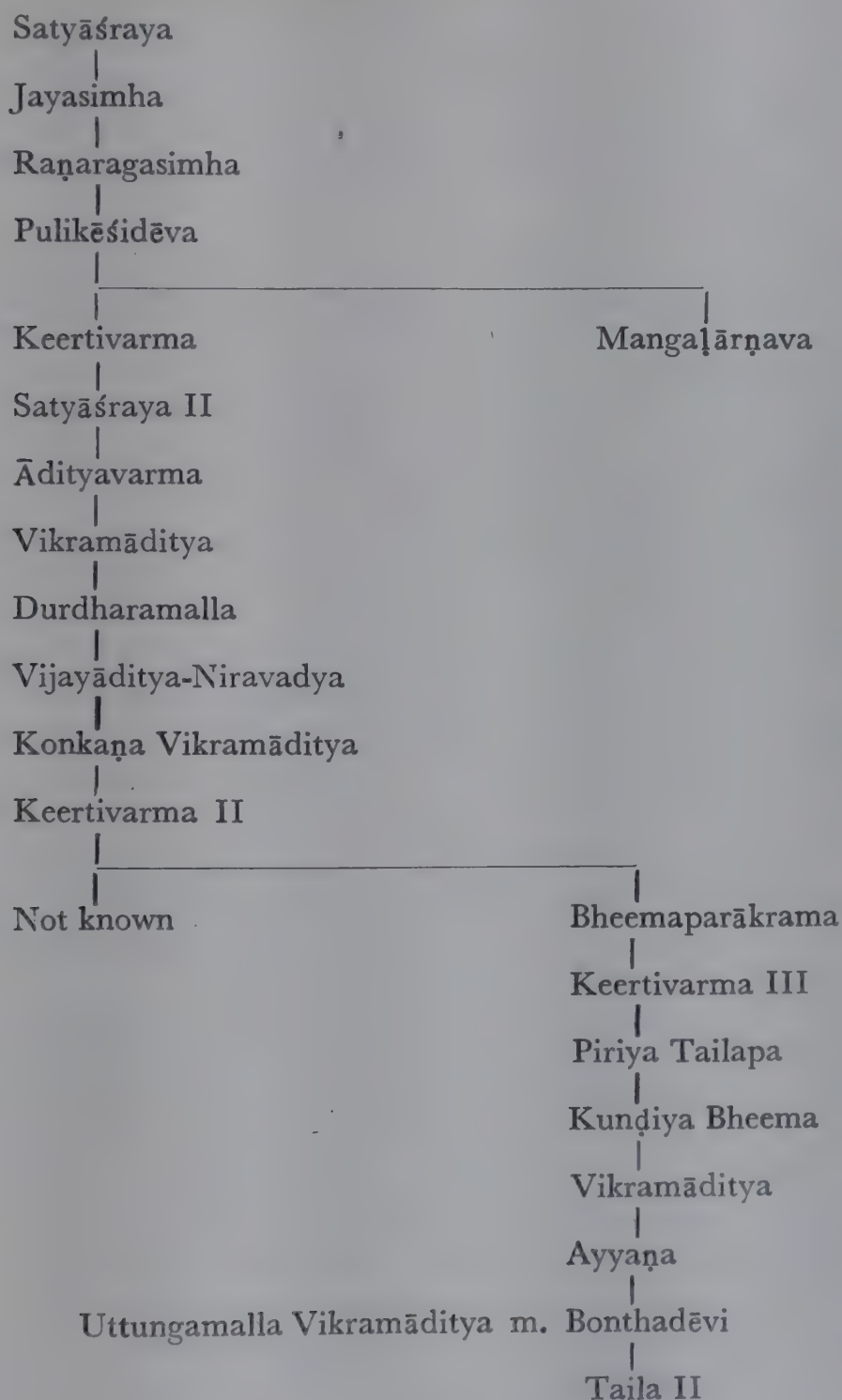
The Kauṭhēm Grant of 1009 A.D.¹⁸ supplies some information regarding the ancestors of the Kalyāṇa Chālūkyas and shows the traditional connection between the Bādāmi Chālūkyas and the Kalyāṇa Chālūkyas. The genealogy of the Kalyāṇa Chālūkyas is Bheema I, Keertivarma III, Taila I, Vikramāditya IV, Āhavamalla, Nūрмаḍi Taila II. Ayyaṇa I improved the fortunes of his family by marrying a daughter of Krishna who is identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa King Krishna II. Vikramāditya IV married Bonthādēvi, daughter of King Lakshmaṇa, the grandson of the Kalachuri King Kokkala I of Tripuri or Tewar.¹⁹

The ancestry of Taila II, founder of the Kalyāṇa Chālūkyas dynasty, is as follows:



THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA

In the *Gadāyuddha*, the great Kannada poet Ranna, who was a contemporary of Taila II, gives the genealogy ²⁰ as follows :



THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA

The mighty empire of the Rāshtrakūṭas dwindled after the defeat of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kokkala or Kakka II by Taila II of the Chālukya branch somewhere in 973 A.D.²¹ The foundations of the empire were already shaken

by Siyaka Harsha of Mālava who defeated Khoṭṭiga, the predecessor of Kakka II. Either Harsha or his successor Munja plundreed Mālkhēḍ, the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas.²²

Taila II who was connected by marriage with the Rāshtrakūṭas and who was a very powerful feudatory took advantage of this event. With the help of some other feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas, he dethroned Kakka II.

The empire again passed to the Chālukya family who claimed to be the direct lineal descendants of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. Tailapa II is called Taila, Tailapayya, Tailappa and Nūrmaḍi Taila. He had the title 'Āhavamalla' (The wrestler in war). His other titles are 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Paramēśvara' and 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka'. He was also known by the epithets 'Samastabhuvanāśraya', 'Sriprithivīvallabha', 'Satyāśrayakula-Tilaka' and 'Chālukyābharaṇa'. His wife was Jākavve, Jakkalādēvi or Jakkala Mahādēvi, daughter of King Bhāmaha, the Raṭṭa, 'the ornament of the family of the Rāshtrakūṭas.'²³ The Miraj Plates state that Bhāmaha was the last king of the Rāshtrakūṭas.²⁴ It is not clear whether it might be another name of Karka. Taila had two sons, Satyāśraya and Daśavarman. Perhaps he ruled from Mālkhēḍ, but later on the seat of Government was transferred to Kalyāṇa by his descendants. From the localities stated in the incipations issued during his reign, it appears that he brought under his control the whole of the southern part of the territories which were held by the Rāshtrakūṭas. His feudatories were: (1) Raṭṭas of Soundatti, lords of Kuṇḍi country;²⁵ (2) Bheemarasa called Tailapanā-ankakāra, (Champion warrior of Tailapa); who was governing Banavāsi 12,000 and Śāntalige 1,000, in the Dharwar District, Kisukāḍa 70, or country round about Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur District;²⁶ (3) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Aparājita of the northern branch of the Śilāhāra family, who was ruling north Konkaṇa, Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts;²⁷ (4) Mahāsāmanta Bhillama II of the Yādava family of Seuṇaḍēśa who actually defeated Munja and was ruling the territories consisting of the modern Aurangabad, Nasik, and Khāndēsh Districts;²⁸ (5) Barapa, a Chālukya prince, who was a general of Taila II, and seized and ruled the Lāṭa country.²⁹ Taila II is said to have conquered the King of Chēdi, the Utkalas and Kings of Chōḷa and Nepal.³⁰ Dr. Fleet does not accept this but says that the statement is an invention of poets.³¹ The whole of Kuntala was subjugated and the records of this family emphatically describe the kings as 'Lords of Kuntala'. Some of the best known and principal divisions of the Kuntala country were the Banavāsi 12,000, the Pānungal 500, Puligere 300, Belavoḷa 300, Kuṇḍi 3,000, Vēnugrāma, or Belgaum, 70, Toragale 6,000, Kelavāḍi (near Bādāmi) 300, Kisukāḍa 70 (near Paṭṭadakal), the Bāgadige (or Bāgalkot) 70 and Tardavāḍi 1,000. In fact, Taila II acquired the whole of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom which was known as the Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country, as is stated in a Chōḷa record.³²

Taila II subdued Munja and killed him. This Munja is identified with Vākpati Munja of Mālava, successor of Siyaka Harsha, who defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa King Khoṭṭiga and plundered Mālkhēd. Munja is claimed to have conquered Taila II, no less than sixteen times before he met his fate at Taila's hands.³³ Munja undertook the final expedition into Taila's territory against the advice of his minister Rudrāditya. He crossed the Godavari and was met and defeated by Taila's army. He was taken prisoner. Taila treated him at first with consideration but, when it was found that Munja attempted to escape, he subjected him to indignities and made him to beg from door to door and finally put him to death.³⁴

The Gangas of Talakāḍ were connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas by marriage and, therefore, they were important feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Mārasimha, the Ganga King, was Governor of Gangavāḍi, 96,000, Purigere 300 and Beḷavoḷa 300 under the Rāshtrakūṭa King Khoṭṭiga. He put Indra, son of Kakka, on the throne against Taila II and tried to re-establish the Rāshtrakūṭa rule soon after 973 A.D., but did not succeed. Perhaps he died in that year and was succeeded by a certain Pāṇchāla who, according to the Muḷgund inscription, was ruling in 974-5 A.D., over the whole country bounded by the eastern, western and southern oceans.³⁵ It appears that Pāṇchālādēva, taking advantage of the confusion created by the defeat of the Rāshtrakūṭas and also by the death of Mārasimha, tried to set himself up as an independent king. Taila II fought with him and killed him in the battle. Ranna, the Kannada poet, refers to this incident.³⁶

Taila II ruled for 24 years (973-997 A.D.) and was succeeded by his eldest son Satyāśraya, probably towards the end of 997 A.D. Satyāśraya ruled from 997 to 1008 A.D. He is also called Sattiga and Sattima.³⁷ He had the titles 'Akaḷankacharita' (of spotless behaviour) and 'Irivabeḍanga' (a wonder among those who pierce their foes). All the territory held by his father Taila II came to him. His Mahāsāmanta, Sōbhanarasa, was governing in 1002 A.D. Beḷavoḷa 300, Puligere 300, Kundur 500 and Kukkanur 30.³⁸ His feudatory, Mahāsāmanta Bheemarāja, also called Tailapana-ankakāra, was still governing all the territories he was governing under Taila II, viz., Banavāsi, Sāntalige and Kisukāḍa in 1005-6 A.D.³⁹ His feudatory Māṇḍalika Raṭṭarāja of the southern branch of Śilāhāras was ruling Konkaṇa.⁴⁰ The Copper Plate Grant from Sangamaner⁴¹ dated 1000 A.D. of Bhīllama II, who was ruling Seuṇadēśa, does not contain the name of Satyāśraya as a supreme ruler, although Bhīllama was a feudatory of Tailapa II. Satyāśraya fought with the Choḷa King, Rājārāja Rājakēsarivarman,⁴² and defeated Rājendra Chōḷa.⁴³ The battle took place perhaps at Tāvareyaghaṭṭa in 1007-8 A.D. His younger brother Daśavarman, also called Yasōvarman, was married to Bhāgyavati or Bhāgalādēvi. He does not seem to have ascended the throne. He had four children, Vikramāditya, Ayyaṇa II, Akkādēvi and Jayasimha II.

Daśavarman's eldest son Vikramāditya V succeeded Satyāśraya in 1009 A.D. He is sometimes called simply Vikrama. He had the title 'Tribhuvana-

mallā'. The records of his reign are : (1) a Copper Plate Grant from Kauṭhēm, Miraj Taluka ^{43a}; (2) an inscription at Sūḍi ⁴⁴; (3) an inscription at Ālur, Dharwar District ⁴⁵; (4) an inscription at Gaḷaganātha.⁴⁶ His feudatory, Iriva-Noḷambādhirāja of the Pallava family, also called Ghaṭeya-ankakāra, who was married to a daughter of Irivabedānga Satyāśraya, was ruling Noḷambavāḍi 30,000, Kengali 500, Ballakunde 300, Kukkanur 30 and five towns in the Māsavāḍi country. The records show that he ruled from 1009 to 1011 A.D.⁴⁷

The next name in the genealogical table is Ayyaṇa, younger brother of Vikramāditya V. No records are available of his reign, which was a short one.

Akkādēvi, younger sister of Vikramāditya and elder sister of Jayasimha II, who was the next ruler is mentioned in many records. She appears to have been a very distinguished person and deserves to be noticed. She is styled 'Guṇada-bedāngi' (a marvel of virtuous qualities), 'Ēkavākya' (she of truthful speech) and 'Raṇabhairadēvi' (a very Bhairavi in battle). She was governing Kisukāḍa 70 in 1021 A. D. She is described, in a record of 1047 A. D., as having laid siege to the fort of Gokāge, ⁴⁸ probably to quell some insurrection. In 1050 A. D., she was governing Kisukāḍa 70, Toragere 6 and Māsavāḍi 140.⁴⁹ Her name appears again in an inscription dated 1053 A. D., as governing Kisukāḍa 70. Vikramapura, identified with Arasibīḍi in Hunagund Taluka, ⁵⁰ appears to have been her seat of government. The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kadamba Tōyimaḍēva who was ruling Banavāsi 12,000 and Pānugal 500 in 1066 A. D., is described as her son.⁵¹ Her husband, therefore, belonged to the family of the Kadambas of Hānagal.

Vikramāditya V was succeeded by his younger brother Jayasimha II in 1018 A. D. He is also called Jagadēkamalla (the sole wrestler of the world). His wife was Suggalādēvi, a disciple of Dēvara Dāsimaṇḍa, a Veeraśaiva saint, who according to *Dēvara Dāsimaṇḍa Purāṇa* ⁵² converted the King to the Lingāyat faith. Jayasimha had a daughter named Hammā or Avvaladēvi, married to Bhillama III of Seuṇadēśa ^{52a}. A number of inscriptions and Copper Plate Grants of Jayasimha's reign are available and they range from April-May 1018 A. D. to October-November, 1042 A. D. He is described to have taken away the glory of the Paramāra King Bhōja of Dhāra, brother's son of Vākpati Munja.⁵³ He defeated the Chōḷas and the Chēras and put to flight the whole confederacy of the Māḷavas.⁵⁴ The Miraj Grant dated 1024 A. D. states that he fought and subdued the mighty Chōḷa, the lord of the five Drāviḍas, and appropriated all possessions of the lord of the seven Konkaṇas ⁵⁵. The Chōḷa King with whom Jayasimha fought was Rajendra Chōḷadēva, also called Madhurāntaka and Parākēsarivarman. His inscriptions claim that he penetrated as far as Banavāsi into Chālukya territory and conquered Idaiturai and took Raṭṭapāḍi.⁵⁶ Among Jayasimha's principal feudatories and officials were : (1) Chaṭṭayya or Chaṭṭaladēva of the family of the Kadambas of Goa; (2) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kundamarasa, called Saṭṭigana Chatta

and called the son of Irivabeḍangadēva, ruling in 1019 A. D. Banavāsi 12,000, Sāntalige 1,000, and Havye 500; (3) the Mahāsāmanta Bhīllama III of the Yādava family of Seuṇadēśa, ruling his hereditary territory from Sindinagar, *i. e.*, Sinnēr in the Nasik District; (4) the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mayūravarma II of the family of the Kadambas of Hānagal ruling in 1034 A. D., Pānungal 500; (5) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tōyimaḍēva, son of Akkāḍēvi, ruling in 1037 A. D., Banavāsi 1,200 and Pānungal 500. His permanent capital is not recorded but Balagamve, Poṭṭalakere and Kollipāke are mentioned as his capitals (nelevīḍu).

Sōmēśvara I succeeded his father Jayasimha II in 1042 A. D. He had the title 'Trailōkyamalla' and 'Āhavamalla'. In the records of his reign four of his wives are mentioned by name: Bāchaladēvi, mother of Sōmēśvara II, Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha III, was probably his first wife.⁵⁷

Another inscription in the same place dated 1098 A.D., mentions Sōmēśvara and Vikramāditya as sons of Bāchaladēvi;⁵⁸ Chandalādēvi or Chandrikādēvi who is called 'Piriyarasi';⁵⁹ Maiḷālādēvi who is also called Piriyarasi (Chief Queen)⁶⁰ and Kētaladevi.⁶¹ There are a number of records belonging to his reign ranging from Śaka 966⁶² (Oct.-Nov. 1044 A.D.) to Śaka 990 (March-April 1068 A.D.). Among his principal feudatories and officers were (1) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mayūravarma II of the Hānagal Kadambas, ruling in 1034 A.D. and 1044 A.D., Pānungal 500; (2) the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Singanadēvarasa, ruling Kisukāḍa 70 and Banavāsi 12,000 and Sāntaḷige 1,000 in 1045 A.D.; (3) the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍarāya, ruling in 1045 A.D. and 1062 A.D. Banavāsi 12,000 from Balligāme; (4) the Hoysala Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vinayāditya ruling in 1045 A.D. a part of Konkaṇa, Talakāḍ and Sāvimala; (5) Jayakeśin I of the family of Kadambas of Goa, ruling his hereditary territory in Konkaṇa in 1052-53 A.D.⁶³

Sōmēśvara associated members of his family with the administration of the country by appointing them as governors and officers in different parts of his country. His wife Maiḷālādēvi is stated in an inscription at Tilavalli dated 1053-54 A.D., as governing Banavāsi 12,000. Another wife of his, Kētaladēvi was governing in 1054 A.D., Ponnavaḍa Agrahāra according to the *Tribhogyābhyanantara Siddhi*.⁶⁴ His eldest son Sōmēśvara II was ruling in 1053 A.D., the Beḷavoḷa 3,000 and Purigere 300.⁶⁵ His second son, Vikramāditya VI in 1055-56 A.D., was in possession of Gangavāḍi 96,000 and Banavāsi 12,000. Harikēśarin of the family of the Kadambas of Hānagal who was Governor of Banavāsi was Vikrama's subordinate.⁶⁶ His third son Jayasimha III was ruling Tardavāḍi 1,000 in 1064 A.D.⁶⁷ His fourth son Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya in 1064 A.D., was ruling Noḷambavāḍi 32,000. He made Kalyāṇa his capital. Bilhaṇa's⁶⁸ *Vikramāṅka-dēvacharita* and an inscription at Kembhāvi⁶⁹ confirm this.

The war with the Chōḷas continued during his reign. The Chōḷa inscriptions record that in the battle at Koppam (1053-4 A.D.), the Chōḷa defeated Sōmēśvara I. From an inscription at Anṇigeri, Dharwar District, dated 1071

we learn that the Chōḷa king was killed in a battle by Sōmēśvara I. Another inscription at Sūḍi, Dharwar District, dated 1061 A.D., narrates that he made a gift on his way back from the victory over the southern countries and the Chōḷas. Bilhaṇa confirms this conquest in his Chronicle.⁷⁰ He says that Sōmēśvara I penetrated into the Chōḷa country as far as its capital Kānchi and drove the ruler into the jungles. the Sōmēśvara I drove Bhōja, Paramāra king of Māḷava from his capital Dhāra and destroyed completely the power of Karṇa, the Kalachuri King of Ḍahala. Of his three sons, Sōmēśvara I chose his second son Vikramāditya, who showed exceptional ability, as Yuvarāja and wanted to pass the crown to him in supersession of his eldest son Sōmēśvara; but Vikramāditya refused the offer on the ground that it did not belong to him by right. Sōmēśvara I then appointed his eldest son Sōmēśvara II as his successor. Vikramāditya set out on a series of military expeditions. Sōmēśvara I was attacked by a malignant fever for which no remedies were found. He made up his mind to end his life. He, therefore, proceeded to Kuravatti, a holy spot on the river Tungabhadra in the Dharwar District, and there he affirmed his faith in Śaivism and ended his life by drowning himself in the sacred river. This must have happened before July-August, 1069 A.D.

Sōmēśvara II succeeded his father in 1068 A.D. and assumed the title 'Bhuvanaikamalla'. There are a number of inscriptions belonging to his reign. They range from July-August 1069 A.D. to August-September 1076 A.D. He ruled for about seven years. His reign was marred by internal dissensions and quarrels with his own brothers. Among his feudatories and officials were: (1) Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Seṇachāndra II of the Yādava dynasty ruling in 1069 A.D., the Seṇadeśa Dēśa; (2) the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Lakshmarasa, who in 1071 A.D. was ruling Beḷavoḷa 300 and Purigeri 300 and re-built the Jaina temples burnt by the Chōḷa King in the reign of Sōmēśvara I; (3) the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Hiri Sandhivigrahin, Manevergaḍe and Daṇḍanāyaka Udayāditya who was in 1071 A.D. at Bankāpur; (4) the Mahāpradhāna Hiri Sandhivigrahin, Sēnādhipati, Kaḍitavergaḍe and Daṇḍanāyaka Baladevayya; (5) the Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati and Daṇḍanāyaka Nākimayya, who in 1074 A.D., was governing Tardavāḍi 1,000; (6) Ganga Permānaḍibhuvanaika Veera Udayāditya, who in 1075 A.D., was governing Banavāsi 12,000, Śāntalige 1,000, Maṇḍali 1,000 and eighteen Agrahāras; (7) the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kartaveerya II of the Raṭṭa family, who was ruling at Saundatti, Kuṇḍi 3,000.

In addition to these officers, his brothers Jayasimha and Vikramāditya VI were also ruling parts of the empire. Jayasimha was entrusted with the rule of the Noḷambavāḍi province and was ruling it in 1072 A.D. from Gouḍavaḍi.⁷¹ Vikramāditya VI appears to have been entrusted with the government of Banavāsi 12,000 in 1074 A.D.⁷² The epigraphic records⁷³ mention that Sōmēśvara II became intoxicated with pride and neglected the welfare of his subjects. Vikramāditya, his younger brother, defeated him in a battle and assumed sovereignty.⁷⁴

Bilhaṇa in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* confirms this. What became of Sōmēśvara II is not known. Probably he ended his life as a prisoner of his brother.

Vikramāditya VI was crowned as King at Kalyāṇa in 1076 A.D., after the defeat of Sōmēśvara II. He started an era of his own, beginning with 9th March, 1076 A.D.⁷⁵ Bilhaṇa calls him in *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* 'Paramardi'⁷⁶ (one who crushes others). He ruled for about fifty years, from 1076 A.D. to 1126 A.D. He was the greatest monarch of this dynasty. His court poet Bilhaṇa has described the glorious reign of Vikrama. There may be poetic exaggeration in describing the hero; yet many of the facts relating to the life of the king are corroborated by epigraphical records. According to Bilhaṇa, Vikrama was a favourite son of Sōmēśvara I, who wanted to appoint him as Yuvarāja in place of his eldest son. During the lifetime of his father, Vikrama distinguished himself in a number of military expeditions. He defeated the Chōḷas repeatedly and plundered Kānchi. He helped the King of Mālava to regain his kingdom. He is said to have subdued the Kalachuris and extended his conquests as far as Bengal and Assam. He overran South India and defeated the King of Kēraḷa. While camping on the Krishna on his way back after the victorious expeditions, Vikrama heard the sad news of the tragic death of his father. He then proceeded to Kalyāṇa to console his brother Sōmēśvara II, who succeeded to the throne. They lived in concord and friendship for some time afterwards. His influence and power were so great as to create jealousy in the heart of his own brother Sōmēśvara. During the lifetime of his father, i.e., in A.D. 1055-56, Vikramāditya was governing Gangavādi 96,000 and Banavāsi 12,000 with Harikēśarin of the Hānagal Kadamba family as a subordinate. This territory was taken away from him and was offered to Lakshmaṇa, his faithful minister, who was given a rank next to the members of the royal family by Sōmēśvara I. In place of this, Vikrama was offered the governorship of Noḷambavāḍi and Sindavāḍi. This change was not liked by Vikrama. Sōmēśvara was persuaded to give back to his brother the same territories as were assigned by his father.⁷⁷ The relations did not much improve. Sōmēśvara became intoxicated with pride and neglected the welfare of his subjects.⁷⁸ He tried to get support from the administration. Negotiations were carried on. Vikrama and Jayasimha came to Kalyāṇa. According to Bilhaṇa, Sōmēśvara tried to harm his brothers. Vikramāditya left Kalyāṇa, taking with him all his followers and Jayasimha who could not be left behind. Sōmēśvara sent a force to capture them but did not succeed in this attempt. The rupture between the brothers continued and their relations remained strained. Vikrama went to Banavāsi and there he spent some time. He felt that he should strengthen his position and so undertook an expedition on those who appeared favourable to his brother. He attacked the Silāhāras of Konkaṇa and subdued them. He then conquered Jayakēśin, of the Kadamba family of Goa, who was the lord of Konkaṇa. He received tributes from him. He then attacked the Ālupas and brought them to submission. He defeated the King of Kēraḷa. After establishing his authority over the whole of Konkaṇa and Kēraḷa, he made up his mind to attack the Chōḷas, the traditional enemies of his family. He crossed the river

Tungabhadra and entered the Chōḷa territory. The time was most suited for invasion. There was a dispute for the Chōḷa throne. Koparakēsarivarma Rājēndradēva was killed in a battle with the Chālukyas, when he invaded the Beḷavoḷa-naḍu shortly before 1060 A.D.⁷⁹ Rājakēsarivarma, otherwise called Veerarajēndradēva I, secured the throne through the help of some nobles. The Vengi Chālukya King Rājiga, or Rājēndra Chōḷa II, claimed the Chōḷa throne as he was a daughter's son of Rājēndra Chōḷa I. In this dispute Rājakēsarivarma was in need of a powerful ally. So he thought it wise to make friendship with Vikramāditya. He offered his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya on condition that Vikrama should shift his camp to the northern bank of the Tungabhadra and that he should render military assistance in times of need. The terms were accepted and the King of the Chōḷas came with his daughter to Vikrama's camp. The marriage was celebrated with pomp and splendour. Rājakēsarivarma returned to Kānchi after the marriage. Shortly afterwards news reached Vikrama that Rājakēsarivarma was put to death and the Chōḷa kingdom was in a state of anarchy. Vikrama went to Kānchi, put down the rebellion and secured the throne for his brother-in-law Parakēsarivarman, also known as Adhirājēndradēva. He returned to his camp on the Tungabhadra. But soon he heard the sad news that his brother-in-law lost his life in a fresh rebellion. Rājiga, the lord of Vengi, another claimant to the throne, seized Kānchi and declared himself King of the Chōḷa country. Vikrama decided to attack Rājiga but the latter made an alliance with Sōmēśvara II. Both decided to attack Vikrama, one from the front, and the other from the rear. They thought Vikrama would be crushed by the pressure of both armies. Vikrama came to know of this strategy and tried to dissuade his brother from this alliance but did not succeed. When Rājiga approached the river Tungabhadra, Vikrama attacked him and fought bravely. At that very moment his brother Sōmēśvara attacked him from behind. Vikrama divided his army into two divisions, one to fight with Rājiga and another with himself as leader to fight Sōmēśvara's army. He defeated his brother's army and captured him. The army of Rājiga was also defeated and fled. Bilhaṇa says that Vikramānka wanted at first to restore his brother to the throne, but he changed his mind and proclaimed himself king. He proceeded to Kalyāṇa, and with the consent of his ministers and high officials established himself there. In this struggle Vikramāditya was helped by the Yādava prince Seuṇachandra II of the Seuṇa country. Hēmādri in his introduction to *Vrata-Khaṇḍa* says that Seuṇachandra saved Vikramāditya from the coalition of his enemies and placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇa.⁸⁰

Vikramāditya's first important act after coronation was to supersede the use of the Śaka era by introducing the Chālukya Vikrama-kāla or Chālukya Vikrama-varsha. The first year of this era was the first year of his reign, i.e., 1076-77 A.D. (Chaitra śukla pratipada, Naḷa Samvatsara, Śaka 999). The epigraphic records say that he rubbed out the Śaka varsha and published his own name under the form of Vikrama-varsha.⁸¹

This era continued for about a hundred years and then disappeared. His successors followed his example and dated their records in their own regnal years. Vikramāditya soon after his accession to the throne made his younger brother, Jayasimha, Yuvarāja and appointed him as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Banavāsi 12,000. He heard that Chandralēkha, probably daughter of Mārasimha, the Silāhāra prince of Karahāṭaka, was exceedingly beautiful, that she wanted to marry Vikrama and that for this purpose 'her' 'svayamvara' had been arranged. Vikrama went there and attended the 'svayamvara' ceremony. Chandalādevi (Chandralēkha) chose Vikrama after rejecting other princes. The marriage of Vikrama with Chandalādevi was celebrated with pomp and splendour. He returned to Kalyāṇa and was living happily for some years.

His younger brother Jayasimha ruled Banavāsi 12,000, Sāntaḷige 1,000 Beḷavoḷa 300, Puligere 300, and Bāsavalli 1,000 as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara up to 1080 A.D. His name does not occur afterwards. So the statement of Bilhaṇa that he rebelled against Vikramāditya may be accepted. Bilhaṇa says that Jayasimha began to meditate treason against his brother. He forcibly collected money from his subjects, made friendship with the enemies of Vikrama and endeavoured even to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramāditya's troops. When all this information came to the knowledge of the King, he tried to dissuade his brother to give up his evil ways, but it was of no use. Jayasimha with his large army and numerous allies encamped on the bank of the Krishna. Vikramāditya then marched against him with his forces. He drove away the enemy groups which harassed him and was encamped on the banks. He surveyed the army of his brother and found that it was large and strong. Then ensued a battle. There was confusion and tumult everywhere; a large number of people were killed on both sides. The hordes of elephants rushed into the rank and file of Vikrama and created confusion. The army of Vikrama was hastily retreating, but with remarkable skill and bravery Vikrama rushed forward on the back of his elephant dealing heavy blows right and left. The enemy elephants turned back and attacked their own men. Jayasimha's army was defeated and he and his followers fled away. Vikrama did not pursue the enemy but took all that was left in the enemy camp and returned to Kalyāṇa. After a time Jayasimha was captured and was brought to the presence of Vikramāditya, who pardoned him. This battle on the banks of the Krishna might have taken place some time after 1080 A.D. Dr. Buhler holds that it took place in 1077 A.D.,⁸² but records dated 1080 A.D. mention Jayasimha as Yuvarāja and a devoted brother.⁸³ After a few years Vikrama heard the news that the King of Vengi, who was in possession of the Chōḷa country, was making preparations to attack the Chālukya empire. He marched with an army to Kānchi and defeated the enemy. The Vengi King ran away. Vikrama perhaps followed him to Vengi, as his records are found in Drākshārāma and other places of the Vengi country.

In the latter part of the reign of Vikramāditya, *i.e.*, about 1117 A.D., a part of his empire was overrun by the army of Vishnuvardhana, the Hoysala prince.

He invaded Uchchangi and the Beļavoļa country and went up to the river Krishna, in the waters of which he bathed his horses. His Daṇḍanāyaka, Gangarāja, is said to have inflicted serious losses in a night attack on the army of Vikramāditya at a place called Kannegal where the army encamped.⁸⁴ Vikramāditya hearing this despatched Achugi II, chieftain of the Sinda dynasty, to put down this rebellion. 'Achugi pursued the Hoysala and prevailed on him to submit, took Göve and Uppinakaṭṭi, burnt them, put Lakshma to flight in war, followed the Pāṇḍya, dispersed the Malepas and seized 'demon' Konkaṇ. Like a demon he swallowed up and vomited forth Bhōja together with his troops which had invaded his countay'.⁸⁵ This description found in the inscriptions implies that either the Kadambas of Goa, the Pāṇḍyas of Noļambavāḍi and the Śilāhāras of Karāḍ and Kolhāpur joined hands with the Hoysalas in the conspiracy against their sovereign or they took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to create trouble on their own account.⁸⁶

Vikramāditya put down all his enemies and established peace and order all over his territory. He was free to devote his attention to cultural activities. Bilhaṇa says that he built a beautiful temple to Vishnu-Kamala-Vilāsi, constructed a large lake and a city called Vikramapura. This is identified with Arasibiḍi in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur District.

Vikramāditya was a great patron of learning. He extended patronage to learned men who sought shelter at his court, among whom was Bilhaṇa, from Kashmir, who lived in his court for about 20 years. Bilhaṇa left his home Kashmir in 1063 A.D., and spent some years in the court of Karṇa, the King of Chēdi. After the fall of Karṇa he went on a pilgrimage to Ramēśvara. He came to Kalyāṇa in 1077 A.D., and was appointed a court poet by Vikramāditya, who conferred on him the title 'Vidyāpati' and presented him with an elephant and a blue umbrella. He wrote his great poem in or about 1085 A.D. Another learned man patronised by Vikramāditya was Vijnānēśvara, the author of *Mitākshara*, a commentary on *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, which is considered an authority on Hindu Law even today in judicial courts. He lived at Kalyāṇa and described the city in the following glowing terms: 'On the surface of the earth there was not, there is not and there will not be a town like Kalyāṇa; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramāṅka seen or heard of; and what more? Vijnānēśvara, the Pandit, does not bear comparison with any other (person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper exist to the end of the Kalpa.'⁸⁷ It is true that Sanskrit poets and pandits often indulge in poetic fancy and conventional hyperbole. But the tone of Vijnānēśvara gives us an impression that he was really an enthusiastic admirer of the King and the city. From this and from the description of Bilhaṇa and also from innumerable grants made by Vikramāditya, it may well be asserted that Vikramāditya was the greatest prince of the Chālukya dynasty.

The records of Vikramāditya are numerous and are spread over a large territory. They mention the names of six wives; they are:

(1) Sāvaladēvi, daughter of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jōgamarasa. He was of Sūryavamśa, was the lord of Darikāḍunāḍa and was also the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Mangaḷavāḍa. She was managing in 1077-78 A.D. the agrahāra of Nareyangal which was given to her for her 'angabhōga'.

(2) Laksmadēvi was 'piriyarasi', the Chief Queen. In 1084-85 A.D., she was ruling eighteen agrahāras and Dambaḷ; in 1109-10 A.D., she was managing the village of Niṭṭasingi; and she was alive in 1125-26 A.D.

(3) Jakkaladēvi, daughter of Tikka of the Kadamba family. In 1093-94 A.D., she was managing the village of Ingunige for the purpose of 'Tribhōgābhyan-tara siddhi'.

(4) Malleyamahādēvi or Malayamatidēvi, who was governing in 1094-95 A.D. the lands attached to the agrahāra of Kiriya Kareyūra.

(5) Chandalādēvi : she is styled 'pirayarasi', Chief Queen, and Agramahā-mahishi. She is also called Chandralēkha and was the daughter of the Śilāhāra prince of Karāḍa. She was the mother of Jayakaṇṇa. She made grants to Kēśava-dēva at the agrahāra of Ruddavāḍi in 1103-1104 A.D.

(6) Mālaladēvi or Mālikā; she was the daughter of the Senabhōga Rāyaṇa. She had a daughter named Maiḷālādēvi who was married to Jayakē-śin II of the Kadamba family.

The records show that Kalyāṇa continued to be the capital. The other places where the King resided and carried on the administration are Banavāsi, Baliigāme, Naḍaviyappana viḍu (1077), Etagiri (1078), Vijayapuri (1091-92), Manneyakēri (1125-26) and Vikramapura.

The following were among the important feudatories and officials as found in the records of the period :

(1) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Keertivarma II of the family of Hānagal ruling Banavāsi 12,000 in 1076-1078 A.D.

(2) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Munja of the Sinda family, ruling in 1082 A.D., the territory in the neighbourhood of Tidagunḍi in the Bijapur District.

(3) The Mahāsāmanta Dhalibhaḍaka, or Dhalibhāṇḍaka, who is described as born in the great Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage, ruling in 1087 A.D., territory in the neighbourhood of Sitābaldi near Nagpur.

(4) The Mahāsāmantādhipati and Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Anantadēva of the Śilāhāra family, ruling in 1095 A.D., the Konkaṇa.

(5) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kārtaveerya II of the Raṭṭa family, ruling in 1096-97 A.D., at Saundatti.

(6) The Mahāsāmanta Ballāḷa I of Hoysala family. His date as recorded in the inscription is 1103 A.D.

(7) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tailapa II of the family of the Kadambas of Hānagal. He was ruling Pānungal 500 in 1103-1104 A.D. and 1107-1108 A.D. and the same territory with Banavāsi 12,000 in 1108-1109 and 1124-1125 A.D. and both territories again in 1125-1126 A.D.

(8) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Yanemarasa of the Haihaya Vamśa with the title of 'Lord of Mahishmati'. He was ruling in 1104-1105 A.D., the territory in the neighbourhood of Kammaravāḍi in the old Hyderabad State.

(9) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarāditya of the Silāhāra family of Karāḍa and Kolhāpur. He was ruling his hereditary territories in 1109 and 1118-1119 A.D.

(10) The Pāṇḍya-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Kāmadēva. He had the title 'Lord of Gōkarṇa, the best of towns' and was styled as the ruler of the Konkaṇarāshṭra.

(11) The Hoysala Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vishnuvardhana. In 1117 A.D., he was ruling Gangavāḍi 96,000.

(12) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Permāḍi of Jimūtavāhana lineage and Khachara race. In 1121-22 A.D., he was ruling Basavur 140.

(13) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍyadēva. He was ruling in 1121-22 A.D., the Noḷambavāḍi 32,000.

(14) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jayakēśin II of the family of the Konkaṇa 900, Palasige 12,000 Pavye, or Havye, 600 and Kāvaḍidvīpa, a lakh and a quarter.

There is an interesting record at Dambaḷ, ⁸⁸ Dharwar District dated 1095 A. D. It mentions a grant to a vihāra of Buddha and Arya Tārādēvi, in that town. It shows that Buddhism was current in the Kannada country as late as the 12th century A. D. Another record dated 1088-89 A. D., mentions that Vikramāditya crossed the river Narmada and conquered kings on the other side of the river. ⁸⁹ Another record, dated 1098 A. D., states that he was still on the bank of the Narmada. ⁹⁰ He had two sons Jayakarṇa and Sōmēśvara and a daughter. He gave his daughter Maiḷaladēvi in marriage to Jayakēśi II. She gave birth to two sons, Sivachitta Permāḍi and Vijayāditya *alias* Vishnuchitta Vāṇibhūshaṇa. The stone inscriptions containing the records of grants made by Maiḷaladēvi and her husband Jayakēśi are found at Narēndra near Dharwar. Jayakarṇa who was born to Chandalādēvi is mentioned in three inscriptions found at Kāligi dated 1102 A. D., at Sindgi dated 1120 A. D., and at Konnur dated 1121 A.D. He is

styled in them as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. As no further records are found, he probably died before his father.

Vikramāditya died in 1126 A. D. at a ripe old age, after a glorious reign of fifty years.

Sōmēśvara, second and surviving son of Vikramāditya, called Sōmēśvara III, ascended the throne in 1126 A. D.,⁹¹ and assumed the title of 'Bhūlōkamalla', (wrestler of the world). He was also styled 'Sarvajna-Chakravarti' (The all-knowing Emperor). A number of inscriptions of his reign are found all over the territory. Many of them are dated in the year of his reign and also the Saka era.

His reign appears to have been a peaceful one. His capital throughout his reign was Kalyāṇa. He was a learned man and wrote an encyclopaedic work called *Abhilashitārtha Chintāmani* or *Mānāsōllāsa* in the fourth year of his reign (1130 A. D.). No military expeditions seem to have been undertaken in his reign, but an inscription at Balligāme mentions that he came to the south in the course of a *digvijaya* and encamped at Hulluniya Teertha.⁹² On the request of Kadamba Taila he made grants to the Kedārēśvara Temple. He had two sons. Perma or Hemmāḍi and Tailapa. Sōmēśvara is described in one of the verses as far superior to the Moon.⁹³ He appears to have died at the end of 1138 A. D., as the latest of his inscriptions is dated in 1138 A. D. The following were among his feudatories and officials as seen from the records of his period :

(1) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Permāḍi of the Kalachurya family. He was governing Tardavāḍi country in 1128 A. D.

(2) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jayakēśin II of the Kadamba family of Goa. He was in 1128 A. D. ruling Konkaṇa 900 and Palasige 12,000.

(3) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tailapa II of the family of the Kadambas of Hānagal. He was in 1129 A. D., ruling Banavāsi 12,000 and Pānungal 500.

(4) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mayūravarma III, son of the Kadamba Taila II. He was ruling the Banavāsi 12,000 and Pānungal 500 and Śāntalige 1,000 in 1131-32 A. D.

(5) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarāditya of the family of the Śilāhāras of Karāḍa and Kolhāpur. He was ruling his hereditary provinces in 1135-56 A. D.

(6) The Hoysala Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vishnuvardhana. He was ruling in 1137 A. D., the Gangavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi and Banavāsi provinces.

(7) Vecra-Paṇḍyadēva. He was ruling in 1138-39 A. D. Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 from his residence at the hill fort of Uchchangidurga.

Sōmēśvara III was succeeded by his eldest son Perma or Hemmāḍi who assumed the title of Jagadēkamalla II. His inscriptions style him as 'Pratāpa

Chakravarti', 'the Valorous Emperor'. He ascended the throne at the end of 1138 A.D. or early in 1139 A.D. The earliest of his inscriptions is dated June-July 1139 A.D., in the second year of his reign. His reign extended to twelve years, i.e., up to 1149. His reign appears to have been peaceful. There are a number of records belonging to his reign. He was ruling from Kalyāṇa, his hereditary capital. His records mention the following as some of his officers and feudatories:

(1) The Mahāsāmanta. Seupadēva of the Yādava family of the Seupadēśa. He was ruling his hereditary province in 1142 A.D.

(2) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kappadēvarasa. He is described as a son of the 'crowned queen'.⁹⁴

(3) The Mahāpradhāna, Senādhipati Kannada Sandhivigraha and Hiriya Daṇḍanāyaka Baṃmanayya or Baṃmadēvarasa. In 1143-44 A.D., he was governing the Banavāsi 12,000. In the year 1144-45 A.D., he was ruling Tardavādi 100, Beḷavoḷa 300, Huligere 300, Pānungal 500 and Halasige 12,000.

(4) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijayāditya of the Silhāras of Karaṇḍa and Kolhāpur. He was ruling his hereditary province.

(5) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jagadēkamalla Permāḍi of the Sinda family. He was ruling in 1144-45 A.D. Kisukāḍa 70, Bāgaṣige 70, Kelavāḍi 300, and Nareyangal 12.

(6) The Mahāpradhāna, Herilāḷa-Sandhivigraha, Senādhipati, Daṇḍanāyaka Kēśirāja, or Kēśimayya. In 1147-48 A.D., he was governing the Beḷavoḷa, 300 Palasige 12,000, and Pānungal 500.

(7) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Veera Pāṇḍyadēva. He was ruling Nolambavādi 32,000.

(8) The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva of Sāntara family of Paṭṭi Pombuchchapura. He was ruling Sēruvinatuḍu in 1149 A.D., which is located by Mr. Rice somewhere in the Kanara District.

Jagaddēva and Jayakēśi II of the family of the Kadambas of Goa were sons of the two uterine sisters Chaṭṭaladēvi and Bījāladēvi.⁹⁵ Bījāḷa or Bījāṇa of the Kalachuri family was holding a high office in the reign of Jagadēkamalla. Vijaya Pāṇḍyadēva was ruling Nolambavādi under Bījāṇa. Hoysala Vishnuvardhana created trouble again in his reign. He attacked the territories of his neighbours, and extended the boundary of his kingdom. Permāḍi I of the Sinda family was again entrusted with the work of putting down the rebellion. He vanquished Kulasekharāṅka, besieged Chaṭṭa and pursued Jayakēśi. He besieged Dōrasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas and took Bēḷur. Bījiga, (Vishnuvardhana) fled to the mountain Vahadi.

The records do not give us any information about the wives or sons or daughters of Jagadekamalla. His latest record is dated 24th December 1149 A.D.⁹⁶

Taila III, younger brother of Jagadekamalla II, succeeded to the throne. He is also called Tailapa and Nirmagi Taila. He assumed the title of 'Trailokyamalla' and is styled Chalukya Chakravartin. He ascended the throne in 1150 A.D. Kalachuri Bijjala was a powerful minister during his father's reign and was consolidating his power. Many of the feudatories were inclined to obey Bijjala. Tailapa got on well with him for some years and ruled from Kalyana up to 1155 A.D.⁹⁷ He was recognised as a paramount sovereign in 1155 A.D.⁹⁸ From the Kakatiya and Balligame Inscriptions it is learnt that Prtlaraja of the Kakatiya dynasty fought with Tailapa and captured him. He let him off through his devotion to the Chalukya sovereign.⁹⁹ This incident perhaps helped Bijjala to win over to his side more officers. Taila, in order to escape from the grip of Bijjala, left Kalyana and fled to Appigeri in 1157 A.D. Bijjala marched against him and Tailapa went further south to Banavasi.¹⁰⁰ The influence of Tailapa began to wane from 1155 A.D. Many of the feudatories and officers of the Chalukya empire accepted Bijjala as their sovereign; however there were some who remained faithful to Tailapa and his son. The Annamkonda Inscription of Rudradēva dated 10th January, 1163 A.D. mentions the death of Tailapa III. The twelfth year of the reign of Taila III was 1161 A.D. This is the latest date connected with the reign of Taila III. So Taila must have died some time after this date and before 9th January, 1163, the date of the Annamkonda Inscription.

After the death of Taila III, Bijjala assumed all the titles of an independent sovereign and claimed all the territories of the Chalukya empire. He and his sons held the throne up to 1183 A.D.

The rule of the Kalachuri dynasty beginning with Bijjala is dealt with in a separate section below.

Some among the feudatories were not reconciled to Bijjala's usurpation. The Sinda Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chaṇḍa II claims to be a feudatory of Taila III in 1163 A.D.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Pāṇḍya Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vṛjaya Pāṇḍyadēva and Bijjaladēva and Vikramadēva of the Sinda family show their inclination towards the Chalukya dynasty.¹⁰² They entertained hopes that the Chalukya sovereignty would be restored.

During the lifetime of Bijjala and during the reign of his successors Sōvidēva, or Sōmēśvara, and Sankarna the struggle to regain the Chalukya power went on up to 1183 A.D., when Sōmēśvara IV, son of Tailapa, asserted his power after defeating the Kalachuri king. Sōmēśvara is also called 'Veera-Sōmēśvara' and assumed the title of 'Trailokyanamalla'. Sōmēśvara used his access to a mantrin and Daṇḍanāyaka Brahma, son of Kama or Karupa. The

name of Brahma appears in the inscriptions in various ways as Bamma, Bammāna, Bammayya, Bammārāsa and Bammidēva. He is also styled as 'Chālukya-Rājya-Pratiṣṭhāpaka' (the establisher of Chālukya sovereignty).¹⁰³ His father Kāva or Kāvaṇa was a Daṇḍanāyaka of the Kalachurya King Sankama. He is described in the Harihara Inscription as 'Kalachurya-Rājya-Samuddharaṇa', (the upraiser of the Kalachurya sovereignty).¹⁰⁴ He is also described as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Sankamat.¹⁰⁵

The records of Sōmēśvara IV are not many. He is styled as 'Chālukya Chakravarti' and 'Chālukya Pratāpa Chakravarti'. He established himself at Aṇṇigeri at first and subsequently secured the capital of Kalyāṇa.

The latest date for Sōmēśvara IV is the 25th December 1189 A.D.¹⁰⁶ King Bhillama of the Dēvagiri Yādava dynasty had by this time captured the northern and eastern portions of the Chālukya kingdom.¹⁰⁷ The Hoysalas under Veera Ballāḷa II appropriated the southern portions. The Gadag record¹⁰⁸ mentions that the Hoysala King defeated the general Brahma and acquired sovereignty. While the Hoysalas from the south and the Yādavas from the north were pushing to extend their territories, Sōmēśvara IV retained sovereign power over but a little portion of the hereditary territory. He appears to have died soon afterwards. With him the dynasty of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa came to an end.

FOOT NOTES

1. Samangad Grant: *I.A.*, Vol. XI, P. 108.
2. *I.A.*, Vol. XX, P. 69.
3. *I.A.*, Vol. XXI, P. 18.
4. Dr. Fleet: *D.K.D.*, P. 399, Note 7.
5. *E.C.*, Vol. I, Mysore, No. 35.
6. *E.C.*, Vol. I, Mysore, Nos. 36, 37, 41 and 44.
7. Pampa's *Vikramarjuna Vijaya*, Asvasa 1, verses 15-50.
8. Dr. Altekar: *Rashtrakutas*, P. 51, F.N. 11.
9. Pampa: *Vikramarjuna Vijaya*, Asvasa 1, Stanza 26.
10. Dr. D. C. Ganguly: *The Eastern Chalukyas*, Pp. 67-68.
11. *Ibid.*, P. 75.
12. Dr. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 381.
13. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *The Eastern Chalukyas*, P. 85.
14. Dr. Fleet: *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 364 and Table of the Dynasty attached to P. 336.

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA

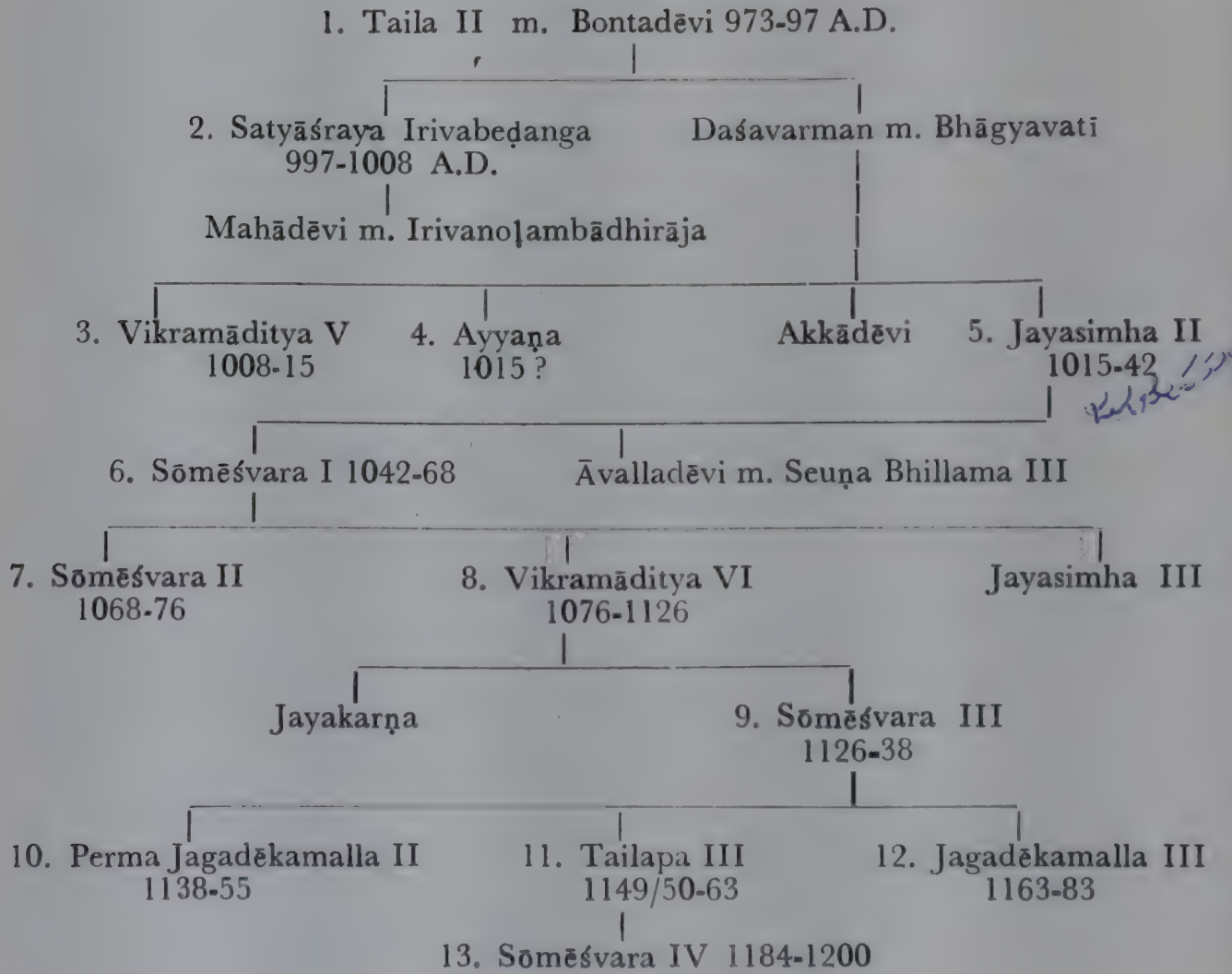
15. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya : *Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, P. 126.
16. Vemulavada Inscription : *H.J.A.H.R.S.*
17. Pampa : *Vikramarjuna Vijaya*, 1, 5, 44.
18. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, P. 15.
19. *Vide* : Kauthem, Nilgund, Yevur and Miraj Grants.
20. Ranna : *Gadayuddha*, Chapter II, prose passage after verse 7.
21. The inscription found at the Vœcranarayana Temple at Gadag dated 1098 A.D. fixes the commencement of the reign of Taila II from the Srimukha Samvatsara which falls in Saka Samvat 896 current. It reads : "He plucked up and destroyed the Rattas, killed the valiant Munja, took the head of Panchala in battle and possessed himself of the regal dignity of the Chalukyas and then reigned for twenty-four years beginning with the 'Srimukha'". Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 426.
22. *E.I.*, Vol. I, P. 225-26.
23. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, P. 19.
24. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. III, P. 262, st. 30-35 ; *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, P. 15-17.
25. *J.B.B.R.A.S. Soc.* Vol. X, P. 204.
26. Nilgund, Dharwar District and Talgund Mysore Inscriptions. Fleet : P. S. and O.C. Ins., No. 214.
27. Bhandar Grant : *E.I.*, Vol. III, P. 269.
28. Sangamaner Grant : *E.I.*, Vol. II, P. 214-15.
29. *I.A.*, Vol. XII, P. 196.
30. *I.A.*, Vol. V, P. 17 and VIII, P. 15.
31. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 431.
32. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Pp. 63, 65.
33. *E.I.*, Vol. I, P. 227.
34. Merutinga's *Bhoja Prabandha* and *Bhojacharita* by Rajavallabha ; *E.I.*, Vol. I, P. 227.
35. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 307.
36. *Gadayuddha*, Ch. II. After verse 7 ; *Ajita Teerthankara Purana*, Al. 41-44.
37. P. S. and O.C. Insc. Nos. 178, 219 and 116.
38. *I.A.*, Vol. II, P. 297.
39. *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, Pp. 30-33.
40. *E.I.*, Vol. III, P. 292.
41. *E.I.*, II, P. 212.
42. *S.I.I.* Vol. I, Pp. 51, 52, 63, 112 ; Vol. II, Pp. 2, 13.
43. Hottur Inscr.
- 43a. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, P. 15.
44. *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 37.
45. *K.D.I.*, P. 38.
46. *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 40.
47. Saumya Samvatsara 931 to Virodhikrit Samvatsara 933.
48. Arasibidi Inscription.
49. Sudi Inscription.
50. Arasibidi Inscription.
51. Hottur Inscription.
52. See also *Basava-purana*, Ch. II and *Chennabasava-purana*, Ch. VII, 10. The name of Suggaladevi occurs in an inscription at Hipparagi.
- 52a. *I.A.*, Vol. XII, P. 122.
53. *E.I.*, Vol. I, Pp. 223, 230 ; Balligame Inscription *E.C.*
54. *I.A.*, Vol. XVII, P. 17.
55. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, P. 18.
56. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Pp. 51, 52, 95, 96, 113.

57. Inscription at Trikutesvar Temple, Gadag, dated 1102 A.D., 27th year of Chalukya Vikrama Kala.
58. *I.A.*, Vol. II, P. 297.
59. Chief Queen, Nimbargi Inscription, dated 1047-48 A.D. *Karn. Desa. Inscr.*, Vol. I, P. 92.
60. Tilavalli Inscription, dated 1053-54 A.D. *Karn. Desa. Inscr.*, Vol. I, P. 122.
61. Honavada Inscr : *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, P. 268.
62. Oct.-Nov. 1044 A.D.
63. Gudikatti Inscr. Sampagaon Taluk, Belgaum District. Earliest Inscription which indicates the use of numerical words to express an epigraphic date in Western India. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, B. 439.
64. Honavada Inscription : *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, P. 271.
65. Mulgund Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 122.
66. Bankapur, Inscription : *K.I.A.*, P. 200.
67. Devur Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 173.
68. *Vikramankadeva Charita*.
69. *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 177.
70. *Vikramankadeva Charita*.
71. Jatinga Ramesvara Inscription, Chitaldrug. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 443.
72. Niralgi Inscription : *D.K.D.P.*, 444.
73. Gadag Inscription, dated 1098 A.D. *D.P.*, 444 and 426.
74. Kalgi Inscription : *D.K.D.*, P. 444.
75. Chaitra Sukla 1, Nala Samvatsara, Saka Samvat 999. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 446. His name appears as Vikramanka 'Sun of Valour' and 'Kali-Vikrama'. 'Vikrama of Kali age or Brave Vikrama'. He had the title 'Tribhuvanamalla'. He is also called 'Perma' derived from Kannada word Per-great, Skt-Maha, Permadi, equivalent to Skt, Mahapada. The word Pada in the compound shows the greatness or the holiness of a person to whose name it is added—e.g., Gauda-Pada, Bhagavatpada.
76. *Vikramanka Charita*.
77. Nilalgi Inscription, dated October 1074. Dr. Fleet : *D.K.D.P.*, 44.
78. Gadag Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 370.
79. Sudi Inscription ; Annigeri Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 216.
80. *Early History of Dekhan* : Bhandarkar : *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 224.
81. Gadag Inscription, dated 1098 A.D. ; Yadarave Inscription, dated 1094-95 A.D.
82. Introduction to *Vikramankadeva Charita*, P. 43.
83. *E.C.*, Vol. VII, Shikaripur 297 ; *E.C.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 297.
84. Inscription at Sravanabelagola, Intro. 39 ; *E.C.*, 2nd Vol.
85. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, Pp. 24, 244, 269.
86. *I.A.*, Vol. II, P. 302.
87. Bhandarkar : *History of the Dekhan* : *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 220.
88. *I.A.*, X, P. 185.
89. Yalavatti Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. I, P. 315.
90. Nimbaragi Inscription : *K.D.I.* Vol. I, P. 92.
91. Parabhava Samvatsara Saka Samvat, 1049.
92. *E.C.*, Vol. VII, Shikaripur No. 100.
93. *Sasana Padyamanjari*, P. 65-6.
94. *Pattamahishiyaranugam (Sasana Padyamanjari)*.
95. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 458, note 2.
96. Fleet : *D.K.D.*, P. 459.
97. Kembhavi Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. II, P. 4.
98. PSOCI : No. 181 : Mysore Inscriptions, No. 45, P. 100 : *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 460.
99. *I.A.*, Vol. XI, Pp. 120/B.

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA

100. *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, P. 16.
101. Pattadakal Inscription : *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, P. 259.
102. Devanagari Inscription : *E.C.*, Chitaldurg. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 463.
Aihole Inscription : *I.A.*, Vol. IX, P. 96.
103. Annigeri Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. II, P. 37.
104. *E.C.*, Harihar.
105. Samagra Senagresaram : *I.A.*, Vol. V, P. 46.
106. Hanagal Inscription : *K.D.I.*, Vol. II, P. 49.
107. Inscriptions at Muttigi and Annigeri.
108. *I.A.*, Vol. II, P. 299.

GENEALOGY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆA



THE KALACHURIS OF KALYANA

The usual term used for the dynasty is Kalachuri, but other terms such as Katachuri, Kalatsūri, Katatchuri, Kalichuri are also found in the inscriptions. It is difficult to trace the origin of this word. In the Bandalike Inscription dated 1174 A.D., there is an interesting account about the derivation of the word Kalachuri. Sōma, the founder of the family was a disciple of Aśvatthāman, son of Drōṇāchārya. He was advised by his guru to grow a beard and moustaches as sharp as a razor and to pose himself as a Brāhmin. He was thus saved by his guru from the wrath of Paraśurāma who had vowed to kill all Kshatriyas. The family assumed the name Kalli (whiskers and moustaches) and Churi ('Kshuri'—razor), or Kalachuri. In the Harihara Inscription of the period of Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, dated 1170 A.D., (*E.C.*, XI, Dg. 42), the origin of the family is traced to Śiva. The Kalachuris are described in their inscriptions as born out of Śiva's own being (*Sivāmsā sambhūta*).

The Kalachuris of northern India were split up into several branches and were ruling different parts of central and northern India. One branch was ruling from Sarayūpura. They were called Kalachuris of Gōrakhpur. Another was ruling from Ratnapur. They were called Kalachuris of Ratnapur or Tumman. It was split up into two, one the Raipur branch and the other the Ratnapur branch. Another branch, which was most important, was ruling from Tripuri, the modern Tewar near Jabbalpur in Vindhya Pradesh, the vast territory called Ḍahala-maṇḍala. They are called Kalachuris of Chēdi. There is still one more branch known from inscriptions. The members of this branch are known as Kalachuris of Mahishmati. This appears to be the earliest. The first historical known person of this branch is assigned to 550-571 A. D. In or about 650, the Sarayūpura branch came into existence. The first person of this branch is Sankaragaṇa I assigned to 620-650 A. D. The third branch called Chēdi Kalachuryas started with Vāmaraj or Vāmadēvarāja in or about 675 A. D., and the last Ratnapur branch came into existence in or about 1000 A. D., with Kalinga-rāja as its originator. All these branches claim common origin. Their lineage is Brahma, Atri, Sōma (Moon), Budha, Pururavas, Ayus, Nahusha, Yayāti, Yadu, Sahasradā, Haihaya, Kārtaveerya, Arjuna, etc. In the 6th century A. D., a member of the Kalachuri family occupied Kalanjara in order to overrun gradually and conquer Ayōmukha. In this family, 'the crest jewel of the three worlds', was born Sankaragaṇa to whom, Śiva, being pleased instantly granted his own emblems, *i.e.*, Bull, etc. Kalanjara, the fort, which is in the Banda District, 90 miles west south-west of Allahabad, has been sacred to Śiva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in North India (*vide: Padmapurāṇa*,) Svargakhaṇḍa, Adhyāya 39, verse 54). The Kalachuris claim Kalanjara as their house (*Kalanjara puravarādhiś-*

varāh) and their descent from the Haihaya race. The first known historical person, Krishnarāja (550-571 A.D.), his son Sankaragaṇa, and his grandson Buddharāja were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara in his Paśupati aspect. ('ajanmanah ēva Paśupati-samāśrayaparāh': Vadner Plates of Buddharāja, dated 610 A.D., *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV Pt. I., Ed. by V. V. Mirasi).

The earliest mention of the Kalachuris is found in the undated Nerur Copper Grant and Mahākūṭa Inscription dated, 602 A.D., of Mangaleśa and the Aihoḷe 'praśasti', dated 634 A.D. of Pulikēśi II. In these it is said that Mangaleśa, the Bādāmi Chālukya King, defeated Buddharāja, son of Sankaragaṇa, and obtained in the battle-field the hand of the lady Kalachuri Śrī. From contemporary Kalachuri inscriptions it is found that a branch of the Kalachuri dynasty was ruling territories in Gujarat, Khāndēśh and Mālava. Buddharāja, defeated by Mangaleśa, belongs to this branch of the Kalachuris.

There was a Bijjaḷadēva, a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Sōmēśvara I. He was ruling the territory round about Uttangidurga in the Bellary District in 1064 A.D. In the reign of Perma Jagadēkamalla, there was a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Rēvarasa, who was governing the neighbourhood of Yevur. He claimed descent from the Haihaya race and called himself the lord of Mahishmati. In the 11th and 12th centuries, a branch of the Kalachuri family was ruling the Tardavāḍi province, comprising a part of the modern Bijapur and Sholapur Districts as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, with Mangalavāḍa as their seat of government. Mangalavāḍa is identified with Mangaḷavēdhe, a village near Pandharpur, in the Sholapur District. This is the Kalachuri branch which played an important part in the history of the Deccan in the 12th century A.D.

The ancestor of Bijjaḷa, who established the Kalachuri reign at Kalyāṇa, was a member of the Chēdi Kalachuri royal family or its branch. The Kannada inscriptions of Bijjaḷa and his descendants lend support to this theory. An inscription at Muttage, Bijapur District, dated 1170 A.D., contains the following information: "All the kings of Kalachuri line were emperors. Some of them were not powerful; therefore they were reduced to the position of Māṇḍalikas. Bijjaḷa considered that Māṇḍalikatva below the dignity of his family. By the power of his arms he became Chakravarti, universal emperor." (*I.N.K.K.*, P. 31). The Kadlivāḍa Inscription, dated 1163 and the Harihar Inscription, dated 1162 A.D. support this. From these inscriptions it is seen that Bijjaḷa and his successors were conscious of the greatness of the Kalachuri family and that they were not content with a subordinate position as Māṇḍalikas.

The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa were obviously scions of the Chēdi Kalachuri family, but it is not clear when they settled in Karnataka and to which branch of the family they belonged. From their Kannada inscriptions information regarding their ancestry can be traced to a few generations only and that too not in a clear way. The Chaḍachāṇa Inscription of the time of Sōmēśvara I, dated 1057 A.D., mentions Bijjarasa, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Mangalavāḍa. His titles

were 'Kalanjara puravarādhiśvara', 'Kalachurya kulakamala-mārtāṇḍa', etc. These clearly prove that he was an ancestor of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa and was ruling from Mangalavāḍa in 1057 A.D. According to another inscription in the same place, Kannamarasa or Krishnarāja Maṇḍalēśvara, was ruling from Mangalavāḍa, won 57 battles and killed 12 brave officers (manneyaru). It is dated 1067 A.D. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, Nos. 37,133). The Harihara Inscription of the time of Bijjaḷa, dated 1162 A.D., contains the following information :

“ A certain Brahmin girl conceived by Śiva in a dream and bore a son, Krishna, who slew in Kalanjara an evil-minded king who was a cannibal. Krishna, who followed the profession of a barber, took possession of the nine lakh Dahala country. After many kings of his line had ruled there, Kannamadēva appeared. He had two sons Bijja and Rāja. Bijja ruled the country. Rāja had four sons, Ammugi, Śankhavarma, Kannara and Jōgama. Ammugi ruled first and was followed by Jōgama who was also called Tarikada Jōgama and ruled from Mangalavaḍa. He had a son, Permādi, whose son was Bijjaḷadēva ”.

We may start the authentic genealogy of the family from Bijjarasa, Kannama and Jōgama, the father-in-law of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. Jōgama's son, Permāḍi, was a contemporary of Sōmēśvara III and was ruling from Mangalavāḍa in 1228 A.D., the Tardavāḍi, or Taddevāḍi, 1000. He is called Permāḍi-Paramardi, or Hemmaḍirāya. His son was Bijjaḷa, the most powerful among the Kalyāṇa Kalachuris. His other names are Bijja, Bijjaḷa, Vijjaḷa and Bijjaṇa. His name first appears in the Bijapur Inscription assigned to 1142 A.D., as 'Bijjaḷa Kshōṇipāla', with his officer Maitarayya whom he appointed to govern Tardavāḍi. He was called Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara only. But later on he is described as Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpradhāna. An inscription of Valsang calls Chandalādēvi, queen of Vikramāditya as Bijjaḷa's grandmother, (muttabbe).

After the death of Jagadēkamalla in or about 1150 A.D., Tailapa III ascended the throne of Kalyāṇa as emperor. By this time we find from inscriptions that Bijjaḷa was already powerful. The Harihara Grant of the period of Jagadēkamalla mentions a subordinate of Bijjaḷa, Veerapāṇḍyadēva, who was ruling Noḷambavāḍi 3,200. An inscription at Harihara of the time of Taila III mentions Kasapayyanāyaka, the Governor of Banavāsi 12,000 and a subordinate of Bijjaḷa. This indicates that although the emperor was Jagadēkamalla or Taila, Bijjaḷa appointed governors to such important territories as Noḷambavāḍi and Banavāsi provinces and the governors owed allegiance to Bijjaḷa. It is said that Bijjaḷa protected the whole of the Chālukya army. In other words, he was Commander-in-chief and had in his hands the reins of the Chālukya empire as soon as Taila ascended the throne. It also appears that Bijjaḷa was gaining strength by getting the support of important feudatories of the Chālukyas. In or about 1154-55 A.D., Tailapa III undertook an expedition to punish the Kākatiya King, Prōla, who had refused to pay tribute. In this he was captured,

was spared and was released by the intervention of some of the loyal subordinate chiefs of Taila. Bijjaḷa did not make an attempt to save his king. Instead, it is stated, that he went with the army to Kalyāṇa. Tailapa, when released by Prōla, did not go to Kalyāṇa. Perhaps he suspected Bijjaḷa. He went to Anṇigeri, Dharwar District, and made it his headquarters for some time and then went to Banavāsi. Bijjaḷa practically became ruler of the Chālukya empire and assumed the title 'The Wrestler of Three Worlds' (Tribhuvanamalla) and the designation of 'Bhujabala-chakravarti' (Powerful Emperor) and 'Kalachuri chakravarti', both combined into 'Kalachuryabhujabala-Chakravarti'. This process appears to have been completed in 1156-57 A.D. Tailapa III appears to have lived up to 1161 A.D. From 1155 to 1161, during the period when Taila III was living as a nominal emperor, Bijjaḷa consolidated his power and was the *de facto* ruler of the Chālukya empire. After the death of Taila III, he became the *de jure* ruler also and assumed all the royal titles and introduced an era of his own. He proclaimed himself an emperor and assumed high-sounding titles as recorded in his inscriptions, like 'Mahārājādhirāja', 'Kalanja Puravarādhīśvara', 'Suvarṇa-Vrashadhvaḷa', 'Damaruka-turyunirghōshaṇa', and so on.

Bijjaḷa was a very able ruler and kept his subordinates under check. He introduced reforms in administration. His reign is noted for the revival of Saivism, now known as Veeraśaivism or the Lingāyat sect. The leader of this movement was Sri Basavēśvara who was his Minister. Sri Basavēśvara was born at Bāgevāḍi, Bijapur District. Mādarasa and Mādalāmbike were the names of his father and mother. They were pious Saivas of the Ārādhya Brāhmaṇa caste, holding a very high and respectable position in their native place. He was named Basava (derived from Sanskrit 'Vrishabha'), as he was believed to have been born through the grace of Nandi, the Vāhana (vehicle) of Śiva. He was brought up in the pure and holy atmosphere of Saiva culture. It is said he received his education under the guidance of a Saiva teacher. His fame as a great devotee of Śiva spread far and wide. His maternal uncle, Baladēva, who was an important officer of King Bijjaḷa, gave him his daughter, Gangādēvi, in marriage. The position of Sri Basavēśvara was improved on account of this marriage and he was offered a high administrative office by Bijjaḷa. He proved an able, efficient and trusted officer, and after the death of Baladēva was promoted gradually to the office of Prime Minister, Commander-in-chief and Treasurer, second in power to the King himself. He improved the administration, enriched the treasury and helped the devotees of Śiva. In the beginning, Bijjaḷa was pleased and did not interfere with him. Hearing of the saintly character of Sri Basavēśvara and his partiality to and patronage of Saiva devotees, people from different parts of India flocked around him. All of them were free-thinkers and disregarded caste and many of the ceremonial observances prevalent in society. They all helped Sri Basavēśvara in propagating the new ideas among the people. The religious, political and social conditions of the period were quite favourable for reform and the teachings of Sri Basavēśvara and the Śivaśaraṇas of that time went home to the masses. Sri Basavēśvara became very popular and was

looked upon by the people as a saint and an incarnation of Nandi, the vehicle of Siva.

The new teaching was not liked by the orthodox section. They complained to the king. The king also by this time probably felt jealous of the growing importance of Sri Basavēśvara. Realising the attitude of the king, Sri Basavēśvara handed over charge of his office and left Kalyāṇa. He then went to Kappaḍi, or Kūḍalasangama, sacred to his titular deity, where, it is said, he became absorbed in the Deity, *i.e.*, died, soon after in the latter half of 1167 A.D. The opponents were not satisfied with the departure of Sri Basavēśvara. They wanted to exterminate the movement started and patronised by him. So the king began to harass and persecute Sri Basavēśvara's followers living in Kalyāṇa. There were two pious devotees (Śiva-bhaktas) named Haraḷayya and Madhuvayya. Haraḷayya was an 'untouchable', and Madhuvayya was a Brahmin. The son of Haraḷayya married the daughter of Madhuvayya. The orthodox section took strong objection and complained to King Bijjaḷa against this violation of the Dharmaśāstra. The king caused them to be blinded and killed. The people sympathetic to the reform movement became angry and demanded justice. There was an open rebellion against the king. Then followed disorder and the king was killed. This happened in the latter part of the year 1167 A.D.

Bijjaḷa had two daughters and four or five sons. Sōmēśvara or Sōvidēva, Sankama, Āhavamalla or Veeranārāyaṇa and Singhaṇa were his sons. It appears that there was a dispute about the succession to the throne after the death of Bijjaḷa among Mailugi, Karmidēva and Sōvidēva. Sōvidēva, or Sōyidēva, ascended the throne in 1167. He is also called Sōmēśvara, and Rāyamurāri Sōyidēva. His inscriptions are found in the vast area from Kalyāṇa to Baḷḷigāme. Sōvidēva was then governing some territories included in Tarḍavāḍi in the Bijapur District as a prince (kshitipa suta). The Chickalagi Inscription (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 135) refers to the joint rule of Bijjaḷa and Kumāra Mailugi. It is dated 14th October 1157 A.D. The Kongaguli Inscription (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 143) dated in Bijjaḷa's regnal year 11, (13th July 1166) calls him 'Kumāra Mailugi'. These two inscriptions show that Kumāra Mailugi was associated with Bijjaḷa in ruling some part of the territory from 1157 A.D. He is described in the Harihara Inscription of the time of Sankama as a brother of Bijjaḷa, who was 'well-versed in all arts, and possessed all good qualities and was shining with Lady Earth in his arms' (*E.C.*, Vol. XI, Davanagere 44). Inscription No. 50 of Honnāḷi, Shimoga District, (*E.C.*, Vol. VII, P. 394) refers to Mailugi as a brother of Bijjaḷa. So naturally he might have attempted to secure the throne for himself. It is likely there was a struggle between him and Sōvidēva, who was associated with Bijjaḷa in ruling certain parts of the kingdom from 1165 A.D. This view is supported by the Kuttagi Inscription (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 115), dated in the 4th regnal year of Sōvidēva (1170). It states that Mailugidēva occupied the whole of the Kalachuri kingdom (aśēsharājyamam). His subordinate Kāśimayya, son of Gōpālanāyaka of Vasiṣṭha gōtra, who was Daṇḍanāyaka, Mahāpradhāna and Senāpati, deserted

him and joined Sōvidēva. Sōvidēva, perhaps with the help of such officers, put down Mailugi, but we hear about Mailugi again asserting his right. Tenehalli Inscription (*S.I.I.*, XX, No. 164) which records a gift of income derived from cess states that the date of the inscription, 2nd November 1176, is the second regnal year of Kalachuri Bhujabala Chakravarti Mailugi. Another inscription, preserved in the Bijapur Archæological Museum (Slab No. 56), states that Kalachurya Pratāpa Chakravarti Mallikārjuna (Mailugi) was ruling happily his prosperous kingdom from Masanūr which was the seat of government ('neleveedu') in Saka 1096. But from the available inscriptions of Sōvidēva it is clear that he was supported and accepted as king by the majority of officers and was in possession of all territories from Kalyāṇa to Banavāsi. The Baḷligāme Inscription (*D.K.D.*, Page 478), assigned to 24th April 1168, says that while still happily reigning over the earth, Bijjaḷa transferred the burden of his government to his favourite son, Sōvidēva. This inscription belongs to the first year of Sōmēśvara and records the gifts made by his supporter. In order to show that Bijjaḷa nominated Sōvidēva as his successor, the phrase 'transferred the government to his favourite son' might have been inserted. Dr. Fleet interprets this as referring to the abdication of Bijjaḷa. This appears to be doubtful. The date of this inscription is, however, irregular. The last available date of Bijjaḷa according to the Arsibīḍi Inscription is the 12th regnal year, Sarvajit (1167 A.D.) (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 108, Pp. 237-238). This Sarvajit year is also the first regnal year of Sōvidēva. Bijjaḷa was still living then, or his regnal year continued to be counted. The latest date of Sōvidēva is the full moon day of the month Māgha of the Durmukhi Samvatsara, corresponding to the English date 16th January 1177 A.D., his tenth year. His queen Savaladēvi was highly skilled in music and dancing. She displayed her accomplishments in public (*B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, Pp. 272 and 279).

Sōvidēva was succeeded by his younger brother Sankama. He assumed all the titles of Sōvidēva. One of his titles was 'Niśśanka-Malla', (the wrestler free from apprehension). His earliest date is the new moon day of Bhādrapada of the Viḷambi Samvatsara S.S. 1100 corresponding to 13th September A.D. But his accession to the throne was probably in 1177 A.D. His latest date is the month Pusha of Śārvari Samvatsara, 5th year of his reign, corresponding to 24th December 1180 A.D.

Sankama was succeeded by his younger brother whose name is not mentioned, but he is known by his title 'Āhavamalla Vceranārāyana'. His records show that he assumed all the titles of his predecessors. His earliest date is Kārtika Śārvari Samvatsara, corresponding to October-November, 1180 A.D. It is possible he was associated in administration with his brother. He was, it seems, in charge of the southern region. His latest date is Bhādrapada Krishna 13th of Śōbhakrit, corresponding approximately to 17th September, 1183 A.D.

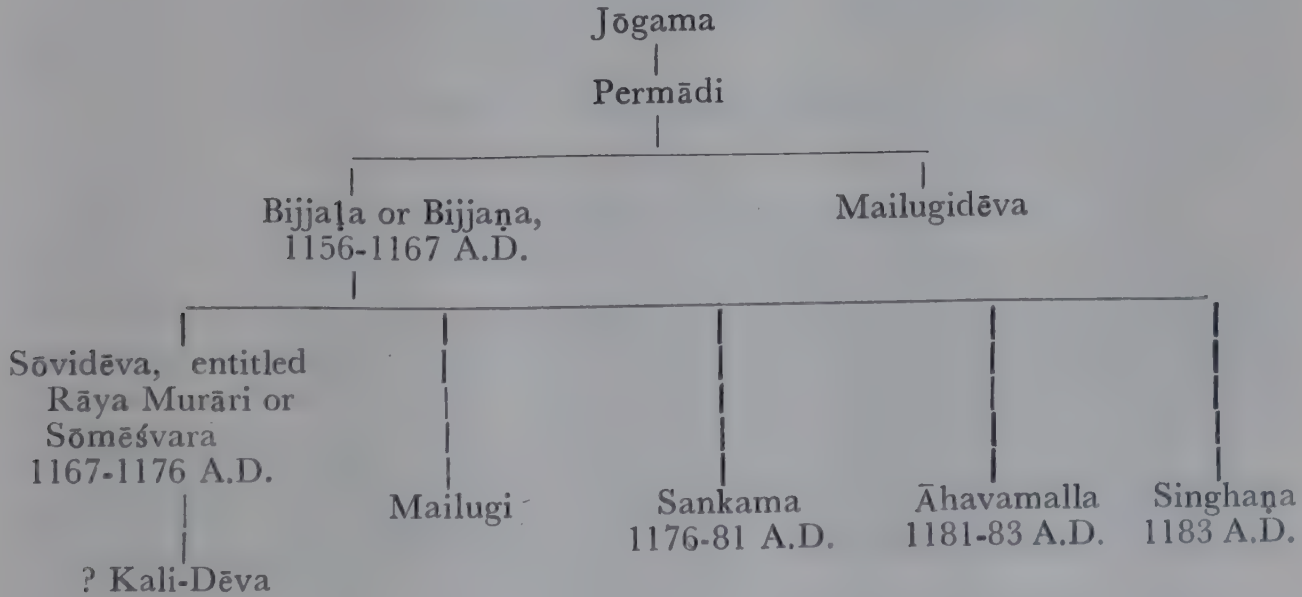
Āhavamalla was succeeded by his younger brother Singhaṇa, who assumed the paramount titles of his predecessors. Not much is known about him. In

1183 A.D., the sovereignty was restored to the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV by Daṇḍanāyaka Barma or Barmarasa.

The rule of the Kalachuryas, although short so far as the period of duration is concerned, covering a period of about 26 years, is eventful and important in the history of the Deccan. The advent of Kalachuri rule contributed to the fall of the mighty Chālukya empire and gave rise to the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra. It saw the revival of the Śaiva faith in the form of Veeraśaivism. The rise of Veeraśaivism also contributed to eclipse Buddhism and Jainism. It became a popular religion and continued to be so for centuries afterwards touching the heart of the masses.

GENEALOGY OF THE KALACHURIS

Dr. S. R. G.



SOME MINOR DYNASTIES

THE KADAMBAS OF GOA

Of all the branches of the Kadamba family, the Kadambas of Goa were the most successful rulers with an unbroken line of kings for nearly three centuries. The family had the hereditary title of 'Banavāsi-puravarādhiśvara', and was heralded by the musical instrument 'permatti'. Their lānchhana (coat of arms) was the lion, and the banner the vānara-mahādhvaja. Their coins and the crest bear the legends 'Śrī Maḷege Bhairava' and 'Māḷavara Māri'. Their family God was Śiva, under the name Sapta-Kōṭiśvara. But they also worshipped Vishnu in the form of Narasimha and Varāha. Gōkarṇēśvara and Ajjādēvi also figure as family gods of some of the kings of the family.

The family is stated to have originated from one Jayanta, otherwise called Trilōchana Kadamba. Goa has been considered as the traditional capital of the dynasty. But Anilāpura and Chandrāpura were also the capitals of the family. Anilāpura is probably Alnāvar in the Dharwar District, and Chadrāpura is Chandor, Salsette, Goa. In later days, we find Kundūra and Sampagaḍi as temporary capitals. Kundūra is Narēndra in Dharwar Taluka and Sampagaḍi may be Biḍi in the Khānāpur Taluka.

The traditional dominion of the family comprised of the two provinces Konkaṇa 900 and Palasige 12,000. Part of this country was previously under the dominion of the Bhōjas during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries and under the southern Silāhāras later on. At intervals the family claimed sway over Kāvaḍi-dvīpa, Pānungal 500, Kotakuli 30, Pavye 500 and Vēnugrame 70.

Of the first king Shāsthā I, also known as Kaṇṭakāchārya, we learn from the Marcella Plates and the Gaṇadēvi Inscription that he was well-versed in dharma and artha, and that he re-established several kings who had lost their kingdoms.

From the same two records, we learn that the next king Nāgavarma was a performer of meritorious deeds, a man of vast learning, valour and discrimination and a great artist.

Guvaladēva I, son of Nāgavarma, was a powerful king and had a considerable naval force. He has been called Vyāghramārin, *i.e.*, slayer of the tiger. He seems to have undertaken pilgrimage to the temple of Sōmanātha in Sau-rāśhṭra.

Born in about 983 A. D. and known to be living up to 1072 A. D., Shāsthā II, *alias* Chaṭṭayya, was the son of Guvaladēva I. His capital seems to have been

Chandrapura. He was noted for his great physical strength and for his feats of bringing elephants in rut under control.

As to his military exploits, the Gaṇadēvi Inscription mentions that he conquered the kings of Saurāshṭra, Anga, Kaṭṭiṅga, Māḷava, Mahārāshṭra, Andhra, Vindhya, Kānchi and Kēraḷa, which is probably a poetic exaggeration. He also defeated the kings of Simhaḷa, Pārasika and Kanakadvīpa in naval engagements. The Narēndra Inscription of Jayakēśi II refers to him as Paśchimāmbōdhipati, *i.e.*, a master of the western ocean. The same inscription mentions that he raised a bridge of vessels up to Lanka (island of Goa) and that he had an army of well-equipped soldiers carried in vessels. He made a sea-borne journey to Prabhāsa-Paṭṭana in Saurāshṭra.

The Marcella Plates of his son Guvaladēva II mention that he visited Gōkarṇa, worshipped Mahālakshmi going to Kolhāpur and at the temple of Mahādēva at Ṭhāna, besides visiting the Sōmanātha Temple in Saurāshṭra. He has been called a dharmāvatāra and is said to have become an ascetic.

Shāstha had two sons. The first was Guvaladēva and the second Jayakēśi.

Owing to his religious temperament Shāstha appears to have abdicated in favour of his sons during his lifetime.

Son of Shāstha and Akka, born in about 1008 A.D., Guvaladēva had distinguished himself in the wars with the kings of the 'Seven Malayas'. He seems to have been virtually the king from about 1035 A.D. to 1050 A.D., while his father was living. He seems to have died young about 1050 A.D.

Born in about 1010 A.D., Jayakēśi I was a worthy son of a worthy father. He seems to have taken up the reins of administration by about 1050 A.D., from his elder brother, Guvaladēva. He conquered the Silāhāras of South Kanara the erstwhile rulers of Goa, and the Silāhāras of North Konkaṇa. The capitals were at Chandrapura and Anilāpura. Goa was also established as a permanent capital by him, as Goa has a natural harbour, affording more facilities for a coastal power than either Chandrapura or Anilāpura.

The name of his queen was Boppādēvi, who, it is said, was ruling along with her husband according to the Nulvi Inscription of 1072 A.D.

As to the military exploits of Jayakēśi I, the Panji Plates mention that he defeated the Pāṇḍya and the Paramāra, the Lāṭa, the Chōḷa, the Pallava and the people living in the hills of Kishkindha. It also mentions that his armies were active on the high seas, and that he had an array of battle-ships. The Halsi Epigraph mentions that he established the Chālukya in his own kingdom and conquered the Ālupas and assembled the Kadambas. The Narēndra Inscription mentions that he made Keerttīrāja of Banavāsi to confine himself to his territory and that

he speedily checked the onrush of the Chōḷas. The Kirihasige and other grants mention that he brought about friendship between the Chālukya and the Chōḷa kings at Kānchi, and thus became famous as a 'Rāyapitāmaha'.

The affairs of the south are linked during this period with the fortunes of Vikramāditya VI. When Vikramāditya VI came to the country of Jayakēśi, the latter offered his daughter to Vikramāditya and became related to the would-be monarch in about 1075 A.D. Vikramāditya turned towards Kēraḷa and Ālupa after the matrimonial alliance with Jayakēśi. Jayakēśi seems to have accompanied him in these southern expeditions. Jayakēśi must have taken a leading part in the events leading to the restoration of the Chālukya power at Kālyāṇa in 1076 A.D.

Like his father, Jayakēśi was a man of a religious and charitable disposition. He performed several sacrifices, and was a great patron of learning.

The reign of Jayakēśi appears to have come to an end abruptly.

Jayakēśi had two sons and two daughters. One of his daughters Mayanalladēvi was married to Karṇa I, of the Chālukyas of Anhilvāda. His second daughter was married to Vikramāditya VI. His sons were Guvaladēva III and Vijayāditya.

Born in about 1050 A.D., Guvaladēva came to the throne by 1078 A.D. His dominion was Konkaṇa 900 and Palasige 12,000 up to about 1095 A.D. Between 1095 A.D. and 1103 A.D., he seems to have lost some of his dominions. In the Kadroḷḷi Inscription of the king (1098 A.D.), the dominion is mentioned as comprising only of Palasige 12,000. Achugi II, the Sindha prince, is stated to have taken Gōve (Goa), dispersed the Malepas and seized Konkaṇa. He is also stated to have consigned Gōve to flames. The Trikutēśvara Inscription at Gadag (1102 A.D.) mentions that Mahāpradhāna Bhivaṇṇayya Nāyaka was administering the Palasige 12,000 province. The Lakshmēśvar Inscription (1102 A.D.) also confirms the statement. An inscription at Tambūr states that Vikramāditya VI gave the Palasige country as a dowry to Jayakēśi II, son of his brother Vijayāditya. But the Mukkal Inscription 1103 A.D. gives the dominion of Guvaladēva as Konkaṇa 900 and Palasige 12,000. Thus, by 1103 A.D., Guvaladēva seems to have regained his sway over both the provinces. During the last days of the king, his dominion seems to have been extended considerably so as to include Kāvaḍidvipa and some other neighbouring tracts, perhaps through the aggressive policy of his nephew, Jayakēśi II. The capital was at Anilāpura (1082 A.D.) and at Goa later on.

Vijayāditya I, the younger brother of Guvaladēva III, did not rule at all. The Degave Inscription of Permāḍidēva refers to the naval expeditions of Vijayāditya to several dvīpas with a number of vessels and states that he was a great warrior. Vijayāditya had four issues, of whom the second was Jayakēśi II.

Born in about 1080 A.D., Jayakēśi II is one of the illustrious rulers of the family. He was a feudatory of three monarchs, *viz.*, Vikramāditya VI, Sōmēśvara III and Jagadēkamalla II.

We have records of the king at Narēndra (1122 A.D.) and at Momigaṭṭi (1124 A.D.), during the lifetime of the reigning King Guvaladēva, his uncle. From 1125 A.D., we get a number of inscriptions of Jayakēśi II up to 1144 A.D. The extent of his dominion as mentioned in the Narēndra Inscription would correspond to the malenāḍu (hill) tracts of the Dharwar and the Belgaum Districts, the whole of Karwar, Ratnagiri, Kolāba and Ṭhāna Districts together with Goa territory and the erstwhile Sāvantvāḍi State, the largest ever claimed by the Kadambas of Goa.

Kundūra was the capital of Jayakēśi II and of his wife Maiḷāladēvi up to 1125 A.D. Thereafter Goa was his capital until the close of his reign.

Jayakēśi had three issues, the last of whom was Vijayāditya.

Of all the princesses of the Kadamba family of Goa, Maiḷāladēvi is undoubtedly the most celebrated one. Apart from her position as a daughter of a mighty monarch, Vikramaditya VI, she was the wife of a successful ruler and a woman of outstanding qualities.

She was born in about 1086 A.D. Her marriage with Jayakēśi took place by about 1103 A.D. It is interesting to note that the village Kanakur was granted by Guvaladēva III on the occasion of her marriage, for the expenses of burning incense before God Sōmanātha of Saurāshṭra. She brought with her as a wedding gift the Palasige country to her husband's family. During the last days of Guvaladēva, she and her husband were ruling the country from Kundūra. In fact, Kundūra continued to be the capital of Maiḷāladēvi for a long period, even after her husband assumed powers at Goa. From this place she ruled the tracts assigned to her by her husband in the Dharwar, Kalghaṭgi and Hubli Talukas.

She got a temple of Kēśavadēva constructed at Gugikaṭṭi in Dharwar Taluka in the year 1124 A.D. We do not hear about Jayakēśi after 1147 A.D. But Maiḷāladēvi continued to live long after her husband. In the year 1147 A.D., she was about 60 years old. She had seen the best of days during the lifetime of her husband. But even afterwards she was treated with great devotion and affection by her sons Permāḍidēva and Vijayāditya. She was being consulted by them while grants were being issued. A temple in her name, *viz.*, the Maiḷālēśvara Temple, was constructed in the village Dummagaḷḷi in the Kalghaṭgi Taluka.

Permāḍidēva came to the throne in the year 1147-48 A.D. He was born in about 1110 A.D. He had distinguished himself early in his life and his first record at Hunsikaṭṭi (1142 A.D.), speaks of him in glowing terms. This was the

period when his father Jayakēśi was still living and ruling. His first record as a ruler is from Belvantar (1149 A.D.) in the Kalghaṭgi Taluka and his last record is from Nulvi (1185-86 A.D.), in the Hubli Taluka. In between these dates we have numerous records of the king.

He had three regions under his dominion, *viz.*, Palasige 12,000, Konkaṇa 900 and Kāvaḍi-dvīpa, a lakh-and-a quarter country from the beginning of his reign. But by about 1154 A.D., the Kāvaḍi-dvīpa country was lost to him. This position continued upto 1162 A.D., from which time up to 1166 A.D., he again exercised sway over Kāvaḍi-dvīpa. The country was lost after a few years, from 1174 A.D., perhaps once for all, for the Kadamba family.

The capital of the king was at Chandrapura and Gōve throughout his reign. A third place by name Sampagaḍi (Bīḍi in Khānāpur Taluka) is also mentioned as a capital of the king in the Siddāpur Inscription (1158 A.D.).

He was a devoted feudatory of the Chālukyas up to the year 1156 A.D., when the Chālukyan power was usurped by Bijjaḷa. The imperial power of Bijjaḷa was not, however, acknowledged by Permāḍidēva and he continued to rule his dominions independently until the rise of the Chālukyan power again under Sōmēśvara IV, from 1183 A.D. onwards.

Permāḍidēva was a great devotee of God Śiva. He bore the epithet Siva-chitta. He was learned, kind, of lofty character, generous and brave. He has been called Sarvajnāvatāra owing to his erudition in various branches of learning. The epithet given to him, *viz.* 'Paschima-samudrādhiśvara in various inscriptions would show that he had maintained his sea power.

In spite of the tumultuous conditions in the Kuntala country, the provinces under Permāḍidēva enjoyed peace and there was considerable literary and cultural activity, as is evidenced by numerous epigraphical records (more than twenty) of the period of Permāḍidēva and Vijayāditya. In the Hasarambi Inscription of the king (1171 A.D.) we come across a lady working as a revenue officer. This is a unique reference and it would show that it was not unusual to appoint women to various offices under Government.

Kamalādevi was the senior queen of Permāḍidēva. Her name has been immortalised by the elaborately carved temple of Śrī Kamala-Nārāyaṇa got constructed by her at Dēgaon, a village in the Sampgaon Taluka of the Belgaum District.

The younger brother of Permāḍidēva, Vijayāditya II, has been mentioned along with Permāḍideva throughout his reign with equal honour and distinction except for the regnal titles. It was a rare combination of brothers. It was due to this unique combination that the Kadambas of Goa continued to rule independently against all odds and held the position for the best part of a

century more from 1156 A.D. (the date of usurpation by Bijjala) up to 1257 A.D., the date of the Budarsingi Grant of Chaṭṭayya.

Vijayāditya has been generally referred to as Yuvarāja-kumāra or Kumāra. As to his personal accomplishments, Vijayāditya had acquired mastery over the various arts of warfare, music and musical instruments, poetics, Smritis and Purāṇas. He was, therefore, known as 'bahuvidyādhara'. He was taking keen interest in literature (sahitya-nityōtsava), for which he was known as Vāṇi-Bhūśhaṇa-bhūmipāla'. He was a devout worshipper of Gokaṇṇēśvara. He had a handsome personality and was possessed of great valour. His special epithet was 'Vishnuchitta'.

Son of Vijayāditya, Jayakēśi III came to the throne in 1187-88 A.D. He was born in about 1150 A.D. He continued to hold the hereditary provinces of Halasige 12,000 and Konkaṇa 900 from the beginning till the end of his reign. He owed allegiance to Sōmēśvara IV during the life of the latter. His capital continued to be at Goa.

During the days of the rule of Jayakēśi III, there was a triangular struggle for supremacy over the Kannada country amongst the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra and the Chālukya monarch, Sōmēśvara IV. Sōmēśvara was not successful against the rising powers of the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysalas in the south. He seems to have fought unsuccessful battles with Bhillama and Veera Ballāḷa and retired to Goa in the Kadamba country to seek refuge with Jayakēśi III. It does great credit to Jayakēśi III that he held his own against the powerful forces of Bhillama and Veera Ballāḷa and their successors for well-nigh half a century (1187-88 A.D. to 1225-26 A.D.)

The tutelary deity of Jayakēśi was Sapta-Koṭiśvaradēva. His catholic outlook is, however, seen from the fact that he got the beautiful idol of god Varāhadēva established in front of god Narasimha at Halsi and made elaborate arrangements for the temple establishment and the celebration of festivals. His last known record is from Muttage dated 1233 A.D.

Vajradēva ruled during the lifetime of his father from about 1215 A.D. to 1225 A.D. He seems to have died young, as we find his younger brother Tribhuvana-malla ruling from the year 1226-27 A.D.

Tribhuvanamalla, like his father Jayakēśi III, continued to rule countries inherited by him from the year 1226-27 A.D. During his period, the Yādava monarch Singhaṇa made some inroads into the boundaries of his territory. Vichana, a general of Singhaṇa, claims to have conquered the Kadambas (1237-38 A.D.). But the admission by the Yādava record that the Kadambas were glorious in the Konkaṇa would show that Tribhuvanamalla was a competent and powerful ruler.

Tribhuvanamalla continued to rule much longer. His Katnur Grant is dated 1242 A.D. He must have ruled at least up to that year.

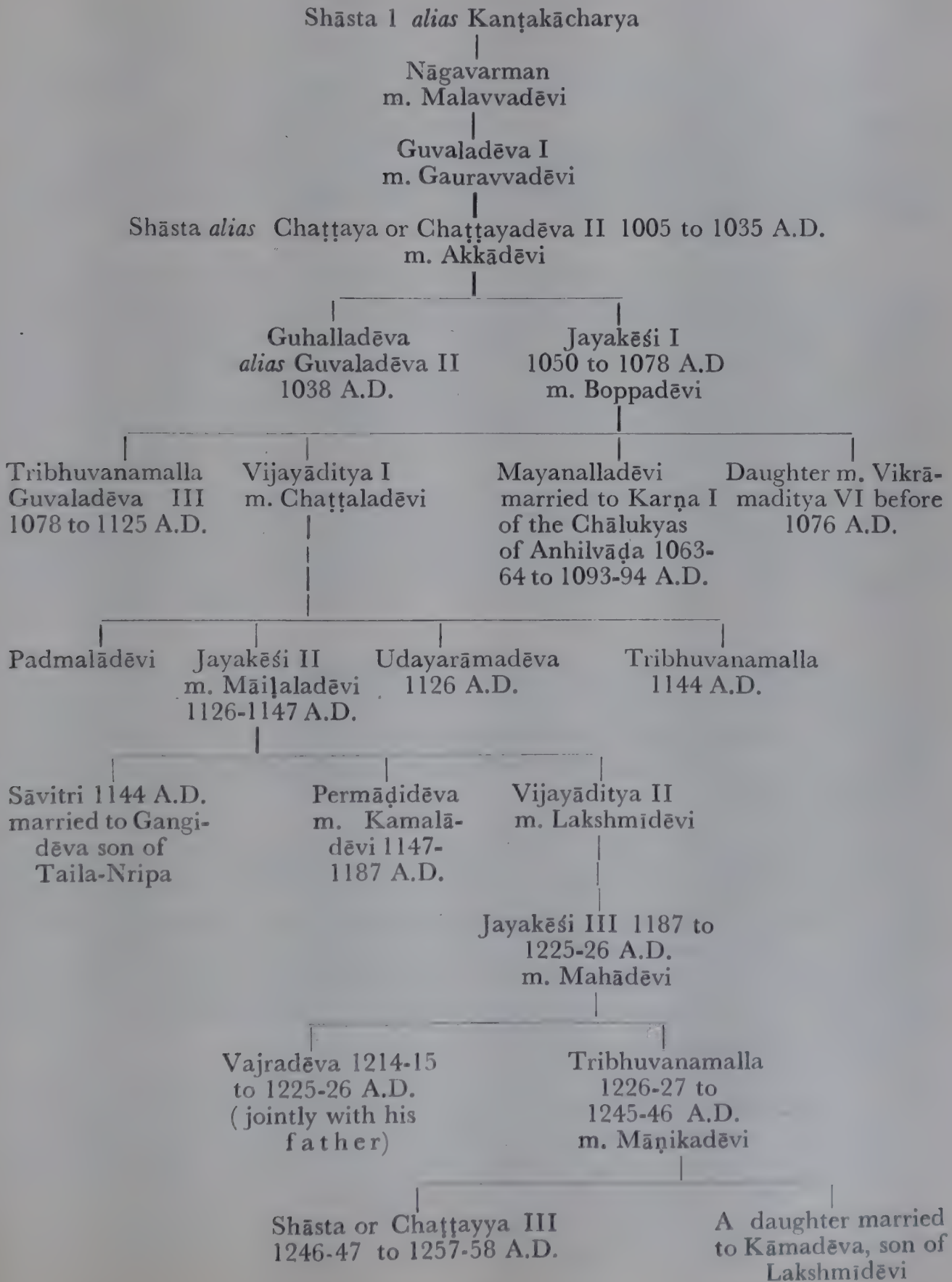
Shāsta III, *alias* Chaṭṭayya, son of Tribhuvanamalla, started his reign from 1246-47 A.D. He seems to have been assisted substantially by his brother-in-law Kāmadēva in getting his throne, as the latter has been called as the 'establisher of Shāsta'.

He was a great devotee of God Sankara, his tutelary deity being Sapta-Kōṭisvaradēva. He was bounteous, truthful, valiant and well-versed in literature. His Budarsingi Charter quotes a vachana from Siddharāmanāthadēva, a social worker, saint and a vachanakāra of the 12th century and a contemporary of Basava. The teachings of Siddharāma appear to have become popular in this area, which is rather distant from Sonnalige (Sholapur).

The contemporary monarch wielding sovereign power all around the Kadamba territory was Yādava Krishna. Under the Yādavas, Mahāpradhāna Bachirāja was administering the country from Pulikerenagara (Lakshmēśvar) in 1247 A.D. near the eastern boundary of Chaṭṭayya. It was owing to his persistence and considerable military strength that Chaṭṭayya held his own so long. The records that have come down to us are from the eastern border areas in Hubli Taluka as well as Goa proper. Chaṭṭayya also continued to maintain his naval force as learnt from the epithet 'Paschimasamudra-adhipati' given to him in the Budarsingi Grant. But he seems to have been the last king of this great family, for we do not hear anything more of this house after the Budarsingi Grant.

The territory came under the rule of the Yādavas, and later of Muslim conquerors from the north. It ultimately passed into the hands of the Portuguese by the end of the 15th century.

GENEALOGY OF THE KADAMBAS OF GOA



THE RATTAS OF SAUNDATTI

The Raṭṭas of Saundatti ruled the Kuṇḍi 3,000 province, which was a division of the Kuntala country for about three hundred years (930 A. D. to 1230 A. D.), first as vassals of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, then under the Western Chālukyas and the Kalachuris and, lastly, as independent princes, until they were vanquished by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.

Kuṇḍi 3,000 province comprised mostly the Belgaum District, excluding the Athaṇi Taluka, the Khānapur Taluka and the southern parts of the Sampagaon Taluka. Kārtaveerya I is stated to have fixed its boundaries in 980 A. D. The kingdom of the Raṭṭas was bounded by the dominions of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur on the west, the Kalachuris of Mangaḷavēdhe on the north and the Kadambas of Goa on the south. The eastern boundary seems to have been restricted to the present Belgaum District. The Nesargi Inscription described the Kuṇḍināḍ as blessed with abundant fruits and fertile crops ever flourishing and never failing. It describes its people as excellent on account of the splendid integrity of their conduct. From the Terdāḷ Inscription we learn that temples of Budha (Buddha), Mādhava, Arka (Sun), Sankara and Jina were founded in great numbers in the country.

The capital of the dynasty was at Saundatti, headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Belgaum District, which is also called by its Sanskritised appellation of Sugandhavarti. Towards the close of their career, the Raṭṭas shifted the seat of Government to Belgaum, which is mentioned as Vēlugarāme or Vēṇugarāma.

The Raṭṭas came to the fore through a person named Prithivīrāma, a disciple in the Kareya sect of the Jainas, founded by the teacher Mailapatēertha. He was raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain by the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Krishna III. This family consists of four names Merada, his son, Prithivīrāma, his son Pittuga and his son Śāntivarman. A record of Śāntivarman at Saundatti, dated 980 A. D., represents him as a feudatory of Taila, founder of the revived Western Chālukya dynasty.

A second family of the Raṭṭas starts with Nanna. This family continued to rule up to the first quarter to the thirteenth century. We have several records of this family all over the Belgaum District and neighbouring territory. The first record of the period of Kārtaveerya I is dated 980 A. D. It refers to him as ruling the Kuṇḍi 3,000 province as a feudatory of Taila. He seems to be the real founder of the second Raṭṭa family.

The eldest son of Raṭṭa was Dāyima, who extended the kingdom. He was a resourceful and adventurous king. He has been called 'Raṭṭara Mēru'. The younger son was Kaṇṇa, a valiant and generous prince.

The next king is Eraga *alias* Ereyarāma. He was an accomplished prince, and specialised in instrumental music. His Mantūr Inscription, dated 1040 A. D., speaks of him as a feudatory of the Western Chālukya monarch, Jayasimha II.

The two brothers Kaṇṇakaira II and Kārtaveerya II seem to have ruled jointly, as their records overlap one another. Kaṇṇa was skilled in music and dancing. Two records of Kārtaveerya II of 1087 A. D. represent him as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.

Of the time of Kārtaveerya III, also called Kaṭṭa or Kaṭṭama, we have several records. The one at Ēkāmbē in Chikkōḍi Taluka dated 1165 A. D. refers to the rule of Bijjaḷa, showing thereby that the Raṭṭas had been subservient to the Kalachuri rule. Another inscription represents Kārtaveerya as ruling the Kunḍi 3,000 province as a feudatory of Sōvidēva, son of Bijjaḷa, in the year 1170 A. D.

Lakshmidēva I *alias* Lakshmaṇa, is referred to in an inscription at Hannikēri in the Sampagaon Taluka, dated 1209 A. D. The wife of Lakshmidēva, Chandālādēvi, or Chandrikādēvi, was an accomplished lady, a devout Jaina and charitable by nature.

The two brothers Kārtaveerya IV and Mallikārjuna are generally referred to as King and Yuvarāja respectively. We have several records of these brothers mentioning the capital as Vēlugrama, *i.e.*, Belgaum, describing him as enjoying 'sāmrājya', or complete sovereignty. It seems that during the struggle between the Hoysalas and the Yādavas, the Raṭṭas assumed an independent position and shifted their capital from Saundatti to Belgaum. It is noteworthy that in the year 1187 A.D. Bhāyidēva, son of Tējugidēva, both famous generals during the last years of the Kalachuris and the early years of Sōmēśvara IV, is stated to be ruling the Kunḍi 3,000 province, as a gift from Sōmēśvara IV. Two inscriptions from Belgaum proper, now kept in the British Museum in London, supply the date 1204 A.D. for Kārtaveerya IV. The inscriptions which are in Kannada are remarkable for their poetical composition and describe Belgaum as a flourishing town, having merchants from the Lāṭa and Kēraḷa countries. References to the Kapilēśvara Temple, still existing, and to various lanes in the town and several merchant classes and guilds are found in it. The poet Pārśvapandita states in his *Pārśvanātha-purāṇa* that he completed the work in 1222 A.D., under the patronage of Kārtaveerya.

Lakshmidēva II, son of Kārtaveerya and Mādēvi, is known from his Saundatti record dated 1228 A.D. He is stated to be ruling from his capital at

Vēṇugrāma. This inscription relates how Kēśirāja, having three times visited and vowed strict vows at the shrine of God Mallikārjuna at Sṛīśaila, brought back with him a Linga made out of the rock of the sacred hill, and set it up in a temple of Mallināthadēva, which he erected in the name of his father, by the tank of Nāgarakere, outside the town of Sugandhavarti. This is the last mention of the dynasty. The Haraḥaḥḥi Grant of 1238 A.D., specifically mentions that Vichāṇa, Singhaṇa's viceroy for the southern provinces had conquered the Raṭṭas.

The Raṭṭas were great patrons of learning. Under the patronage of Kārtaveerya IV, Bālachandra, Pārśvapandita, Munichandra and Guṇavarma II composed their great works. Bālachandra also composed the texts of the Belgaum Inscriptions. Pārśva wrote *Pārśvanātha-purāṇa* and composed the text of the inscription at Kalhoḷe. Munichandra was the preceptor of Kārtaveerya and 'Sāstra sikshā-guru' to his son Lakshmidēva. He was also the minister of the latter king. Mādirāja composed the extensive and fine inscription at Saundatti (1228 A.D.). Other poets under Raṭṭa patronage were Rudrabhaṭṭa and Sṛīdhara, ancestor of Mādirāja. Rudrabhaṭṭa was actually given a principality of eighteen villages by Kaṇṇa.

The Raṭṭas were mostly Jainas by faith. During their period several Jaina temples were constructed by them or their subordinates. Kārtaveerya III granted lands, etc., for the Nēminātha Jinālaya constructed at Ēkāmba by Kaliyaṇṇa, minister of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya.

Though the Jaina faith was generally professed by the Raṭṭas, we find a mention of a Hindu god being worshipped by one of their kings. Thus Kārtaveerya IV has been called 'Samārādhita-Mahālinga' in his Kalhoḷe and other inscriptions. Instances of Hindu temples being built in the kingdom of the Raṭṭas are not rare. Thus at Nēsarige, Bāchayanāyaka, son of Hebbayanāyaka, who has been called a devoted servant of Kārtaveerya IV, constructed the Hebbēśvara Temple, and his wife Māyidēvi constructed two temples of Madinikēśvara and Siddhēśvara in the same place. As regards Śaivism, references to the Pāśupatas, the Kālāmukhas, Suddha-śaivas and Jangama-Linga point to the prevalence of the various aspects of the Śaiva faith towards the close of Raṭṭa rule.

THE SINDAS OF YELBURGA

The capital of this feudatory family was at Erambarage, the modern Yelburga in the Raichur District. The country ruled by them comprised the south-eastern part of the Bijapur District, the north-eastern part of the Dharwar District and the divisions of Kisukāḍ 70 (area headed by Paṭṭadakal), Kēlavāḍi 3,000 (area headed by Kēlavāḍi), Bāgaḍe 70 (area headed by Bāgalkōṭ) and Nareyangal 12 (area headed by Naregal). This country along with some other tracts, further east in the Raichur and Bellary Districts was called the Sindavāḍi.

This family came to prominence in the days of the Western Chālukyas. Thus, Singa II is described as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara ruling the Kisukāḍ 70 under Sōmēśvara II in 1076 A.D. in an inscription at Niḍagunḍi in Rōṇ Taluka, Dharwar District.

Achugi II was one of the powerful feudatories of Vikramāditya VI, being called Tribhuvanamalladēva-Kēsari. The records of the family describe that he vanquished one Jaggu, pursued and prevailed against the Hoysalas, took Gōve (Goa), put Lakshmana to flight in war, caused the Pāṇḍyas to retreat, dispersed the Malepas, seized upon Konkaṇa, set fire to Gōve (Goa) and Uppinakaṭṭe, and repulsed Bhōja who invaded his country.

Of the time of Permāḍi I, eldest son of Achugi II, we have records representing him as a feudatory of Bhūlōkamalla and of Jagadēkamalla. His capital was at Erambarage. The records claim that he vanquished Kulasēkharāṅka, killed Chaṭṭa in a battle, pursued Jayakēśi and seized the insignia and other treasures of the Hoysalas. He is also said to have besieged Dōrasamudra, pursued Vishnuvardhana up to Bēlāpura (modern Bēlūr) and after taking Bēlāpura, pursued him further up to the mountain-pass Vahadi.

An inscription at Paṭṭadakal (1163 A. D.) refers to Chāvunḍa II as a feudatory of Taila III. His dominion comprised Kisukāḍ 76, Bāgaḍige 70, Kēlavāḍi 300 and several other areas. It mentions that Dēmaladēvi, the senior queen of Chāvunḍa, and his sons Achugi III and Permāḍi II by her, were governing the tracts of Kisuvoḷaḷ (Paṭṭadakal).

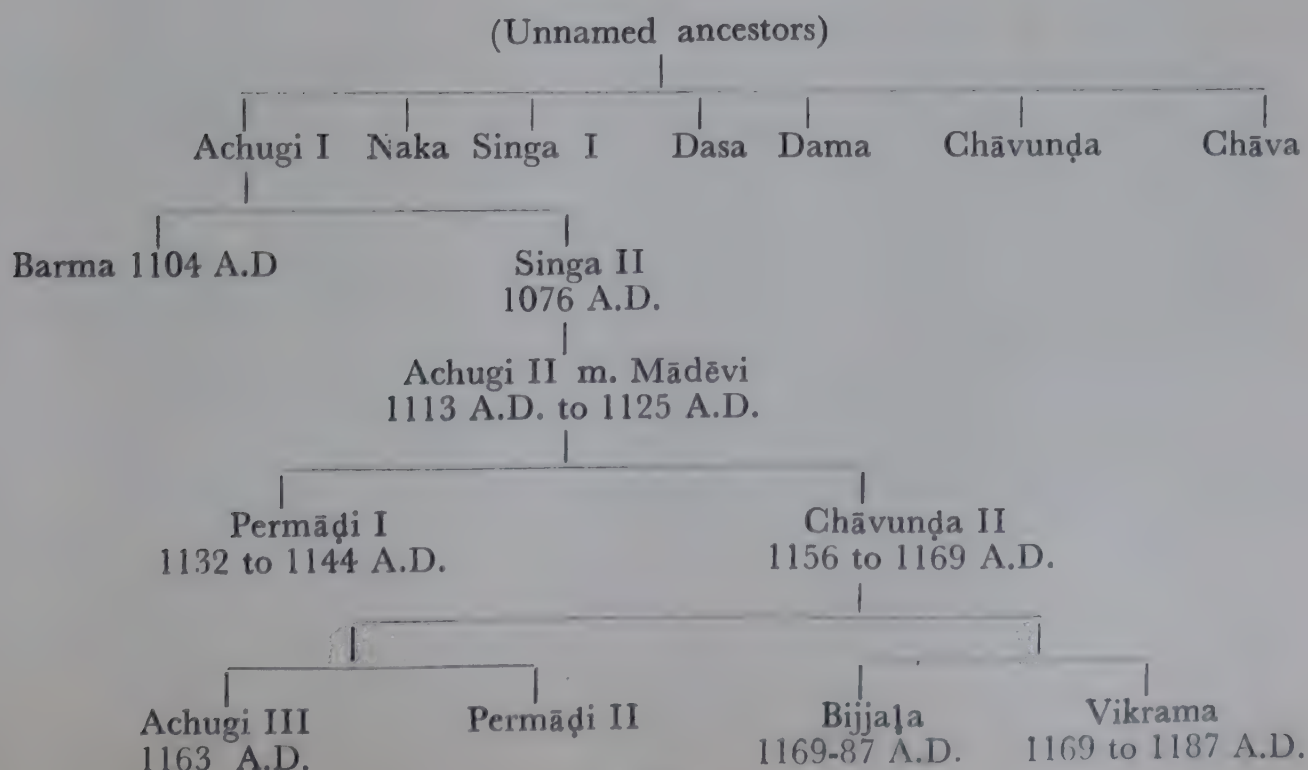
Of the period of Bijjaḷa and Vikkayya we have several records, mentioning that they were ruling the tracts of Kisukāḍ, Bāgaḍige and Kēlavāḍi. An inscription at Niḍagunḍi (1171 A. D.) represents the two branches as feudatories of Rāya Murāri Sōvidēva, son of Bijjaḷa.

An inscription at Kallūr, Yelburgi Taluka, takes us to the reign of Somēśvara IV, and the two brothers are stated to be ruling from Eramberavi (same as Erambarage) as feudatories of Sōmēśvara IV.

An inscription at Benachamaṭṭi (1187 A.D.), records grants by the two brothers to God Telligēśvara of Erambarage, while they were ruling the divisions of Kisukād, Bgaḍige, Kēlavāḍi, Nareyangal 12 and Karivāḍi 30. Two more references to this Sinda family may be mentioned here. The Kalakappanaguḍḍa (Rōṇ Taluka) Inscription mentions that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Achidēvarasa of the Sinda family made certain grants in the 10th year of Sōmēśvara IV, which may fall in about 1194 A.D. He appears to be Achugi III. Another inscription on the same stone refers to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramādityadēva of the Sinda family as a governor under Yādava Singhaṇa in the year 1220 A.D. Whether this Vikramāditya would be Vikkayya or some other person is not known. At any rate by 1220 A.D., the hereditary rule of the family had come to a close.

In an inscription (1179 A.D.), at Kukkanūr (Yelburgi Taluka) we find an interesting account of the royal preceptors of this Sinda family. They were Śaiva divines of the Kālāmukha sect. Thus, Vighrahēśvara is stated to be a disciple of Sōmēśvarāchārya. These two divines are also mentioned in the Sūḍi Inscription of 1084 A.D. They are stated to be the Āchāryas of the Nagarēśvara Temple of Sunḍi (Sūḍi) in the line of the Kālāmukhas.

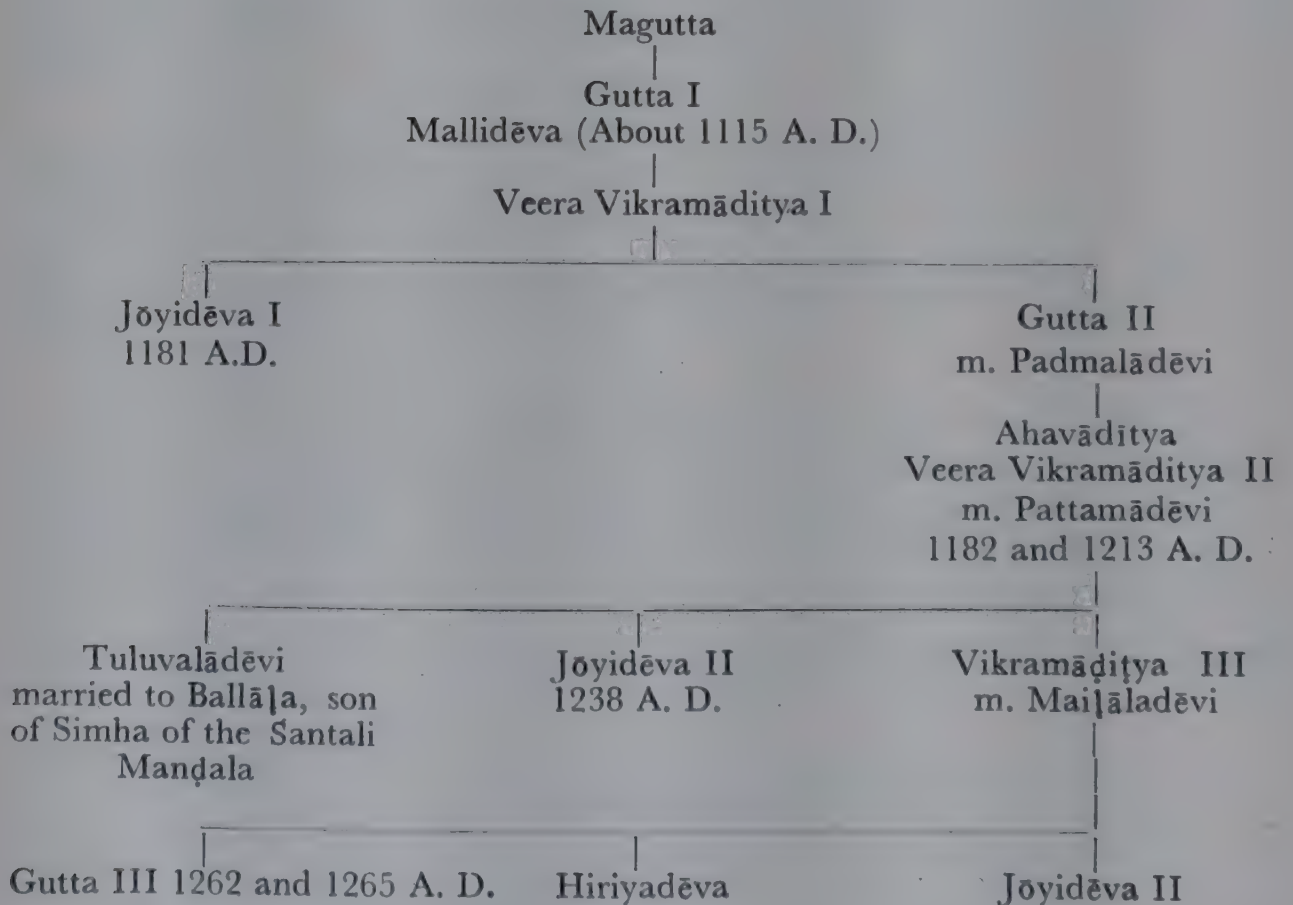
GENEALOGY OF THE SINDAS OF YELBURGA



THE GUTTAS OF GUTTAL

The Guttas claimed descent from Chandragupta and Vikramāditya of Ujjaini. They had the hereditary title of 'Ujjaini-puravarādhiśvara.' Their chief town was Gutta-voḷaḷ, *i. e.*, Guttal in the Karajgi Taluka of the Dharwar District. They ruled the area round about Guttal and occasionally some neighbouring tracts during the 12th century and part of the 13th centuries.

GENEALOGY OF THE GUTTAS OF GUTTAL



THE SILAHARAS

Besides the well-known families of Silāhāras of North Konkaṇa, South Konkaṇa and Kolhāpur, we have several families all over the northern parts of Bombay Karnataka and adjoining areas. The original place of most of these families was the ancient city of Tagara, referred to by Ptolemy and the author of *Periplus* and identified with Ter in the Osmanabad District.

The Silāhāras attributed to themselves the lineage of Jimūtavāhana, a Vidyādhara prince. Their banner was Suvārṇa-garuḍadhvaja.

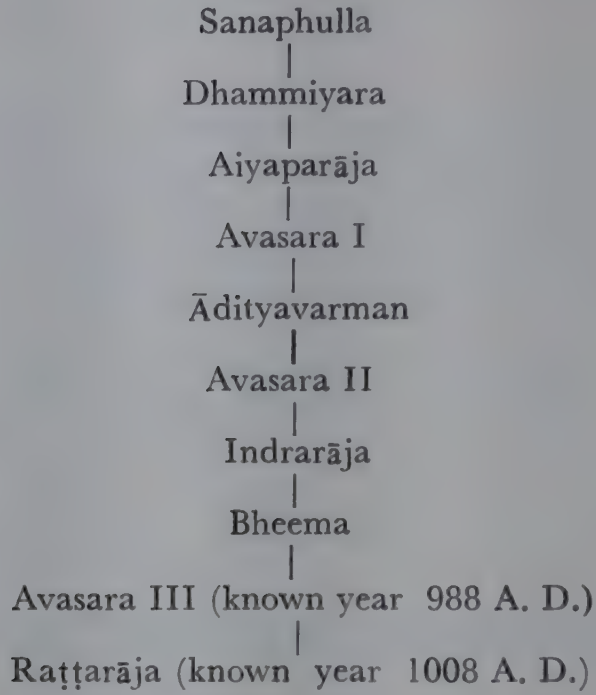
THE SILAHARAS OF SOUTH KONKANA

This branch claims descent from the kings of Simhaḷa (Goa) and may have, therefore, hailed from Goa.

The branch was first known from the Kharepaṭan Plates of Raṭṭarāja, the last king, which records the grant of some villages to God Avvēśvara (Īśvara temple named after a woman called Avva). Its first king Sanaphulla was a favourite of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Krishna I (754-782 A. D.) Dhammiyara, the next king, founded a great strong-hold named Vālipaṭṭaṇa, on the western sea-coast. Aiyaparāja had a victory at Chandrapura. Avasara II aided the rulers born at Chemulya and Chandrapura. Bheema distinguished himself by seizing the Chandramaṇḍala. Avasara III made grants of villages while he was ruling from Bēlinagara (same as Vālipaṭṭaṇa referred to above), in 988 A. D. in the reign of Tailapa. (Chikkōḍi Copper Plates). Raṭṭarāja (1008 A. D.) was a feudatory of Iriva-beḍanga Śatyāśraya.

The country held by this branch comprised Konkaṇā 900, Irīḍige country including the erstwhile Sāvantvāḍi State and the Ratnagiri District.

GENEALOGY OF THE SILĀHĀRAS OF SOUTH KONKAṆA



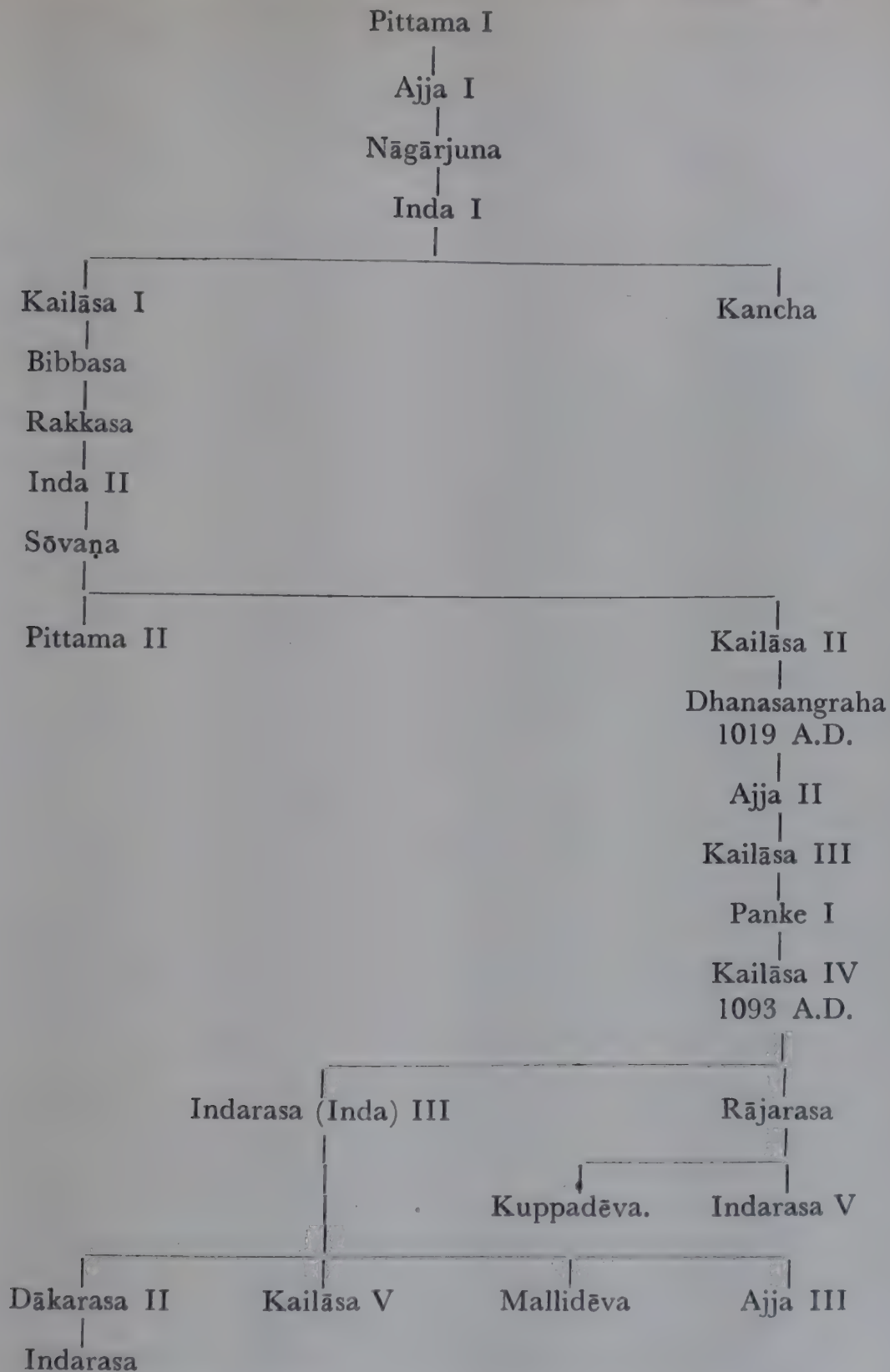
THE SILAHARAS OF AKKALKOT

Though the oldest of the 'Silāhāra' houses, this family has come to light only recently. Its tutelary deity was Goddess Chāmunḍikādēvi. Its dominion comprised the Arikulge-nāḍ (Akkalkōṭ area) in the Anandūr 300. The name of the family is mentioned as Selara. In one of the inscriptions the family calls itself as Vijayapura-varādhīśvara, *i.e.*, lord of Bijapur. It traces its history from the first king Pittama (about 735 A. D.) to seventeen generations (to about 1125 A.D.)

An inscription at Akkalkōṭ represents Kavilarasa IV as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara under Vikramāditya VI in 1093 A.D. Another inscription at the same place mentions that his queen was Chandalādēvi and that his son Indarasa III was ruling under Vikramāditya VI in 1114 A. D. A third inscription mentions Indarasa III in 1122 A. D. along with his brother, sons, nephews and a grandson.

An inscription at Rugi in Indi Taluka (Bijapur District) refers to Mahāmandalēśvara Dhanasangraha in 1019 A. D. under Jagadēkamalla-Jaya-simha. Another inscription at Taḍavalaga, Sindagi Taluka refers to Dhanasangraha and his father Kailāsa. These kings appear to be from the Akkalkōṭ stock, being fifth and sixth in generation prior to Indarasa.

GENEALOGY OF THE SILĀHĀRAS OF AKKALKŌṬ



SILAHARAS AND OTHER BRANCHES

Other stray families of the Silāhāras have been found at Elamela (Alamēla in Sindagi Taluka), Bijapur, Hāvēri in the Dharwar District, Tērdal in the Jamkhandi Taluka, Rāmateertha in the Athaṇi Taluka, etc.

Almost all the inscriptions of the Silāhāra families in the Bombay and the old Hyderabad Karnataka areas are unpublished. Their systematic study in detail is a keenly felt desideratum.

THE CHOLAS IN KARNATAKA

The Chōlas held sway over a great portion of South India, south of the Tungabhadra, after the decline of the Pallavas. Their conflicts with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas for over three centuries from about 900 A.D., provide the highlights of the political history of South India during this period. The defeat of Aparājita, the last Pallava King in 897 A.D., at the hands of Chōla Āditya I (871-907 A.D.) marked the end of Pallava rule. This made the Ganga Prithivīpati II acknowledge Āditya I as his suzerain. Āditya married one of the daughters of Rāshtrakūṭa King Krishna II (880-915 A.D.) and had a son Kannaradēva by her. Krishna II was interested in seeing this son ascend the throne instead of Parāntaka, who actually succeeded in 907 A.D., on the death of Āditya. The Chōlas were growing in power and pressing on the Bāṇas (who ruled over portions of the present Anantapur and Chittoor Districts) and the Vaidumbas (who ruled over portions of Andhra, east and north of the present Chittoor District). The Rāshtrakūṭas, therefore, found the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas their willing allies : but the battle fought at Tiruvallam (North Arcot District) some time before 916 A.D. went against the Rāshtrakūṭas. Parāntaka with the help of Prithivīpati II gained a decisive victory. As a result, the Bāṇas accepted the overlordship of the Gangas. Parāntaka lost a powerful feudatory with the death of Prithivīpati in 940 A.D. The Bāṇas and Vaidumbas were already on the side of the Rāshtrakūṭas; the Ganga Būtuga II, who married the sister of Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III, strengthened the Rāshtrakūṭas further. The Chōla monarch had, therefore, to take special precautions to protect his northern and north-western borders. So Parāntaka sent his son Rājāditya to garrison Tonḍaimaṇḍalam.

Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III Akālarsha, and his Western Ganga subordinate and brother-in-law, Būtuga II, opposed Rājāditya in a campaign which began in 946 A.D. In 949 A.D. the famous battle at Takkōlam took place. The Tamil inscriptions claim that Rājāditya was the victor, but died in the battlefield. The Ātkūr Kannada Inscription says that in the battle of Takkōlam, Ganga Būtuga 'made the howdah of the elephant his battlefield,' that is, he leaped from his elephant's back into the howdah of Rājāditya's elephant and there killed Rājāditya. The *Yaśastilaka Champu* of Sōmadēva says that Krishna overcame the Pāṇḍyas, Simhaḷa, Aucha and Chēra and installing a Jayastambha at Ramēśvara returned to Karnataka in 960 A.D. The inscriptions of Krishna in Tamil are found as far east as Bahur near Pondicherry and south up to Madurai ; and he assumed the title, 'the conqueror of Kānchi and Tanjore'. As long as Krishna was alive Parāntaka made no attempt to raid the Karnataka country. Chōla rule suffered an eclipse for nearly 30 years, during which period Krishna III (Kannarasa) was acknowledged as overlord. He did not disturb the well-planned adminis-

trative arrangements set up by the earlier Chōḷa rulers. It is interesting to note that the famous Uttaramēru Inscription, which describes the setting up of village committees for local administration, belong to this period.

After the Rāshtrakūṭa power began to decline under Khoṭṭiga and Kamma, Taila II established the Kalyāṇa Chālukya line in 973 A.D. In the Chōḷa line also there followed a period of weakness until the accession of Rājarāja Chōḷa in 985 A.D. Rājarāja was growing in power even as early as 969-970 A.D., but preferred a subordinate role under Uttama Chōḷa. Rājarāja had been the Yuvarāja for more than ten years and, when requested by the people, he ascended the throne. After defeating the Pāṇḍya Amara Bhujanga, he proceeded against Karnataka. He claims to have overrun Gangavāḍi, Kūḍumalaināḍu, Noḷambavāḍi and Taḍigaippāḍi on his way to Vengi and Kaḷinga.

The Chōḷa policy in respect of the Eastern Chālukyas was to support Vimalāditya and Kundavva's line against Mēdavva's line supported by the Western Chālukyas. The Chōḷa inscriptions say that Chōḷa Rājarāja's army had 900,000 men and defeated the Western Chālukya Satyāśraya. Satyāśraya Irivabeḍanga Āhavamalla, however, claims that by 1006 A.D., he had already captured Chēbrōlu for his father Tailapa II from Rājendra Chōḷa who led the campaign of the Chōḷas. Rājarāja I passed away in 1016 A. D., and was succeeded by Rājendra Chōḷa I, who had been Yuvarāja from 1012 A. D. The Chōḷas had by that time overrun the western and southern parts of Karnataka. Rājarāja's empire included Taḍigaippāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Kūḍumalaināḍu and Raṭṭapāḍi (7½ lakhs) in Karnataka. The Chōḷa inscriptions between Rājendra's third and sixth years claim that he had conquered Iḍaitturaināḍu, Banavāsi, Kollippākkai (the gateway of the south), Mannaikaḍakkam, Taḍigaippāḍi, etc. Iḍaitturaināḍu is the Raichur doab according to Dr. Fleet. Mannaikaḍakkam was identified with Manne in the Bangalore District by Rice and with Mānyakhēṭa by S. K. Iyengar. Banavāsi was in the possession of the Kadamba subordinates of the Western Chālukyas. Raṭṭapāḍi and Taḍigaippāḍi comprised territories in the Dharwar and Bijapur Districts. Gangavāḍi and Noḷambavāḍi correspond to the modern Kōlar and Chitradurga Districts. The Chikka Kerur Inscription of Āhavamalla Irivabeḍanga claims that the King subdued the south by 935 A. D., before he marched on Munja Utpala of Māḷava. Āhavamalla Satyāśraya invaded Vengi and in 1006 A.D. installed Śaktivarman there. Then the Chōḷas drove out Śaktivarman and placed Rājarāja Narēndra on the throne. In the reigns of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya V and Ayyaṇa II, the Chōḷas again invaded Karnataka. Jayasimha II, who succeeded to the Chālukya throne in 1014 A. D., had to fight in the north with Bhōja of Māḷava and in the south with Rājendra Chōḷa between 1017 and 1021 A. D. An inscription claims that in 1017 A.D. the Chōḷa maṇḍalanātha Apramēya defeated Poysala, Nāgaṇṇa, Manjuga and others. The battle with Chālukya Jayasimha is said to have been fought at Muyyangi or Musangi (Maski). The Kannada inscriptions and literature assert that Jayasimha victoriously drove out the Chōḷas who had caused immense damage

to the temples and the people. The Balligāme Inscription of Jayasimha dated 1028 A. D. says that Jayasimha had defeated Bhōja of Dhārā and Rājendra Chōḷa. Durgasimha of the Kannada *Panchatantra*, Chandrarāja of *Madana Tilaka*, Vādiraja of *Yasōdhara Charita*, Vādibhasimha, Nāgavarma, all unanimously testify to the victory of Jayasimha over the Chōḷas and have given him the title 'Chōlōgra Kālānala'. The claim made by the Chōḷas of an attack on Banavāsi is not supported by Kannada inscriptions. Rājendra's raids were confined only to the eastern borders of Karnataka.

Rājendra I was succeeded by Rājādhirāja (1018-1053 A. D.). The war against Karnataka began in 1044 A. D., against Somēśvara I. The Maṇimangalam Inscription claims that the Chōḷa King burnt the palace at Kampili near Hampi and defeated Kandaran, Dinakaran, Nāraṇan, Gaṇavadi and Madhusūdanan, probably Western Chālukya generals.

Rājendra II (1052-1064 A. D.) helped his elder brother Rājādhirāja in another expedition against the Chālukyas. In the battle of Koppam, 'a celebrated teertha' on the river Krishna about 30 miles towards south-east of Kolhāpur, now Khidrapur, Rājādhirāja was killed by Sōmēśvara. The Chōḷas fled but the Tamil inscriptions claim that Rājendra II rallied the Chōḷa army and, though wounded by arrows in the shoulders and thighs, won the fight and killed many great warriors in the Chālukya army. The Chōḷas also captured Sattiavvai, Sangavve and other queens. Rājendra then did an unprecedented thing ; he crowned himself on the battlefield. Then he pushed on towards Kolhāpur where he planted a Pillar of Victory, 'Jayastambha'. Then he is said to have returned to the Chōḷa capital Gangapuri (Gangaikonda Chōḷapuram). The elder brother Rājādhirāja is also called 'Āhavamalla Kulāntaka', 'Kalyāṇapuramgonda Chōḷa' and 'Vijaya Rājendra'. The Chōḷa expedition seems to have concluded by 1059 A.D.

A few years later Somēśvara renewed the war and claims to have killed the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya who had invaded Beḷavoḷa and destroyed the Jaina temples.

The Chōḷa General Brahmādhirāja fought with Pulikēśi at Pulimeṭṭi. Somēśvara repulsed the Chōḷas and made a pilgrimage to Śrīśailam with his queen in 1057 A.D.

In 1063 A.D., Rājendra II attacked Vikramāditya and Jayasimha in Gangavāḍi. Vikrama had been appointed by Somēśvara I to rule over Banavāsi, Noḷambavāḍi and Gangavāḍi. Vikrama had marched into Vengi and driven out Vijayāditya VII who sought refuge with Rājendra Chōḷa. The Maṇimangalam Inscription of Veera-Rājendra I says, " Rājendra drove from Gangvāḍi into the Tungabhadra the Mahāsāmantas along with Vikkalan. He destroyed the great army which Vikkalan had despatched to Vengināḍu ; cut off the head of the corpse of Mahādandanāyaka Chāvundarāja, severed the nose of

Chāvundarāja's only daughter Nāgalai who was the queen of Irrugayyan. The enemy met and fought a third time. The two sons of Āhavamalla who were called Vikkalan and Singanan were defeated at Kūdala-sangamam on the turbid river. He cut to pieces Singanan, the King of Kōśalai. Madhuvanan, Vikkalan and Singanan fled. Āhavamalla fled before them. The Chōḷa seized Āhavamalla's wives, treasures, the Boar banner, the elephant Pushpaka, etc.'

Veerarājēndra claims to have set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikal after burning Kampili. Western Chālukya Vikramāditya was now consolidating his power and married the daughter of Veerarājēndra (the sister of Adhirājēndra) and concluded a treaty with the Chōḷas.

Somēśvara I Āhavamalla renewed hostilities by sending a written challenge to the Chōḷa King to come and fight at the same place, Karaḍikal, on a fixed day.

The Chōḷa inscriptions say that when Veerarājēndra arrived at the appointed place, Karaḍikal (called Karaṇḍai in Tamil inscriptions), the Chālukya failed to meet him. The Chālukya was greatly troubled in mind. He is supposed to have said, "It is much better to die than to live in disgrace". He decided that the same Kūḍal, where previously his sons and himself had turned their backs and were routed, should be the next battlefield.

Not seeing the King of the Ballabhas (*i. e.*, Chālukyas) arrive at 'Kandai' (Karaḍikkal?) he waited one month after the appointed day.

'The Chōḷa King subdued Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakhs. He planted on the bank of the Tungabhadra a pillar of his victory with the male Tiger crest'. (Maṇimangala Inscription of Veerarājēndra, *S.I.I.*, III, Pt. 1, p. 64). Some Tamil historians have accused Sōmēśvara of cowardice but Kannada inscriptions reveal the real reason.

Sōmēśvara had an incurable fever. Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita* says that failing to get any cure, Sōmēśvara declared his faith in Śiva and resolved to die by drowning in the Tungabhadra, at Hulluni Teertha.

Vikramāditya was carrying on intrigues against his elder brother Sōmēśvara II who had legitimately succeeded to the throne. Vikrama had allied himself by marriage with the Chōḷas. Sōmēśvara II attacked the Chōḷas at Gutti (probably Chandragutti, Shimoga District) but had to retreat. Veerarājēndra bestowed Raṭṭapāḍi on his son-in-law Vikramāditya. The assumption by some Tamil historians that there was a division of the Chālukya empire between Vikramāditya and Sōmēśvara II is not, however, supported by Kannada inscriptions. Veerarājēndra passed away in 1070 A. D. His son Adhirāja succeeded him in the same year. Vikramāditya seems to have gone to Kānchi to support his brother-in-law Adhirāja. But Vikrama's elder brother Sōmēśvara II supported Rājiga Kulōttunga Chōḷa to the throne in 1070 A. D. Sōmēśvara II ruled from 1068 to 1076 A.D.

His younger brothers Vikrama and Jayasimha were consolidating their power in Banavāsi and southern Karnataka during this period. In about 1072 A. D. Vikrama rebelled against his brother and a battle was fought on the Tungabhadra. Sōmēśvara was deserted by Kulōttunga Chōḷa and became a prisoner of Vikramāditya and was probably put to death. Vikramāditya claims that he wanted his elder brother to continue to rule but God Śiva himself appeared in a dream and ordered him to ascend the throne according to Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita*.

In 1098 A. D., Kulōttunga claims to have driven Vikkalan from Nangali (in the Kolar District) to the Tungabhadra and Maṇalūr. Gangamaṇḍala passed into Chōḷa hands for about eight years. The Hoysala Vishnuvardhana in 1116 A.D. won back the territory by defeating the Chōḷa generals Aḍiyama, Dāmōdara and Narasimhavarma.

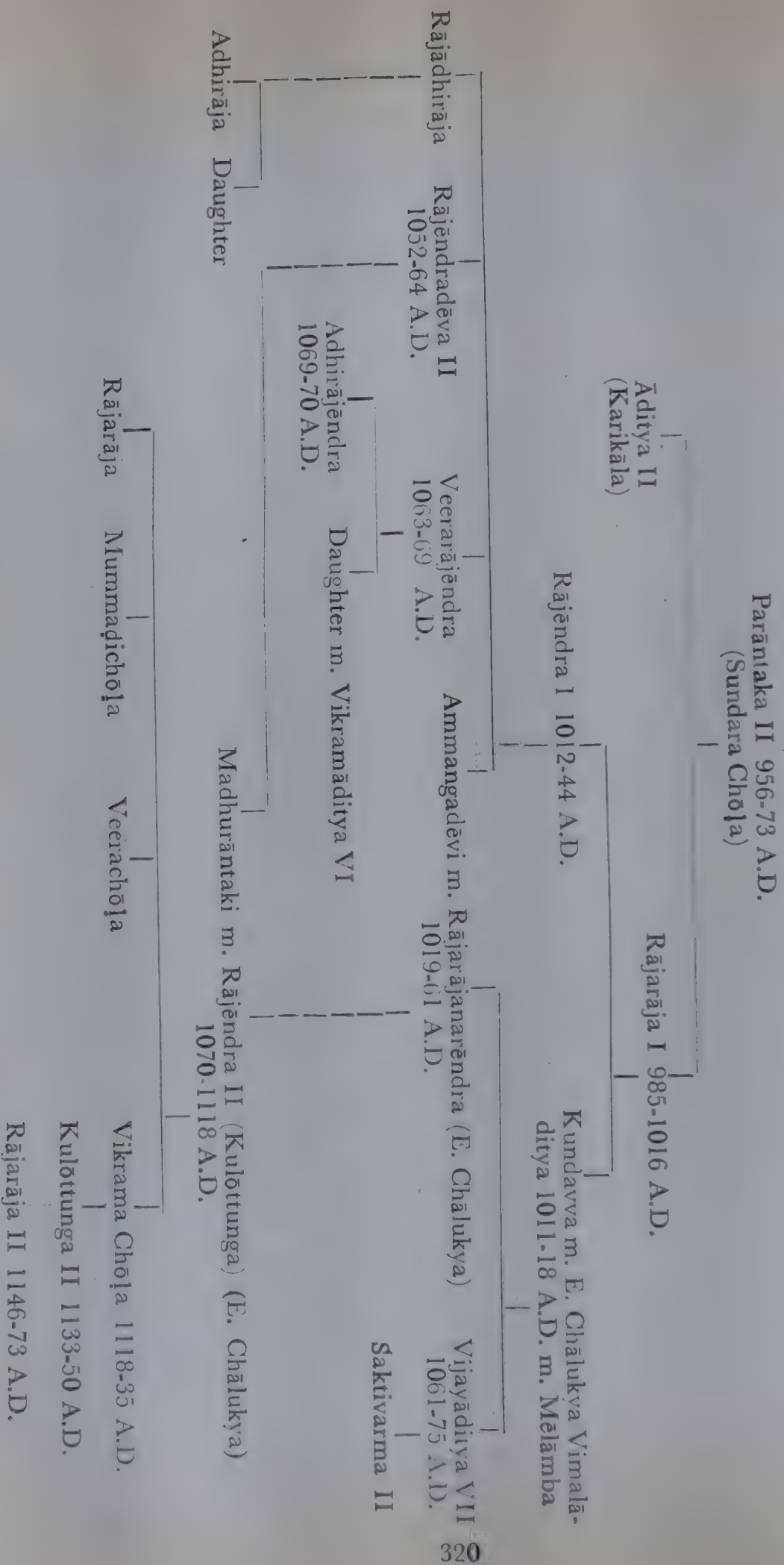
Kulōttunga Chōḷa died in 1121 A.D. and Vikrama Chōḷa succeeded him. His subordinate Nambayya is said to have been the 'lord of Koḷḷippāke' ruling the 6000 province south of the Krishna (*E.I.*, VI, p. 225). Vikramāditya VI seems to have taken the offensive against the Chōḷas. Vikrama Chōḷa was forced to fly to Kānchi from Vengi. The Chālukya generals Anantapāla and Gōvindarasa are found ruling over Vengi from 1118 to 1126 A.D. Veera Chōḷa was now the ruler at Jananāthanagari (Rājamahēndri). The Western Chālukya inscriptions at Vengi extend from 1099 A.D. to 1127 A.D.

The Chōḷa power began to decline about the same time as that of the Western Chālukyas. In Karnataka, the Hoysalas in the south, the Kalachuryas in Kalyāṇa and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri acquired dominance. The Kākatīyas of Waraṅgaḷ, who had been subordinates of the Western Chālukyas, became independent from the time of Gaṇapati. The Chōḷa empire similarly broke up. The Telugu districts came under the rule of the Velanāḍu Chōḷas, the Matsyas of Oḍḍavāḍi and the Kākatīyas. The Chōḷas after Vikrama Chōḷa (1118-1135 A.D.), under Kulōttunga II (1135-1145 A.D.), Rājarāja II (1145-1173 A.D.) and Rājādhirāja II, (1168-1179 A.D.) did not interfere seriously in Karnataka politics. The Hoysalas had effectively driven out the Chōḷas beyond the eastern borders of Karnataka. The Hoysalas now began aggression into the Tamil country. Hoysala Veeraballāḷa by his victory over Bhillama of Dēvagiri at the battle of Soraṭūr in 1110 A.D. had assumed imperial titles like the 'Lord of the southern ocean', 'Paramēśvara', was consolidating his territory south of the Krishna river, and began to interfere in Chōḷa affairs.

Hoysala Veeraballāḷa II claims to have set on the throne Rājarāja (1146-1173 A.D.), who was at war with Rajēndra II. Rudrabhaṭṭa in his *Jagannātha Vijaya* gives the title 'Rājā Rāja Pratishṭhāniratam' to Veeraballāḷa.

The inscriptions of Veeraballāḷa are found at Jambukēśvaram and Tiruvānaikkāval. The Chōḷas made a matrimonial alliance with the Hoysalas. Hoysala Sōmēśvara established a capital at Kaṇṇanūr Koppam on the Kāveri opposite Srīrangam, fought with the Pāṇḍyas, Jaṭāvarma Sundara and Māravarma Sundara. The Chōḷa royal line ended with Rājarāja III and Rajēndra III. The Chōḷas who had troubled Karnataka for centuries together were themselves forced to seek the protection of the Hoysalas after the 12th century.

GENEALOGY OF THE CHŌLAS



THE ALUPAS

The Ālupas are mentioned in the Aihole Inscription, in conjunction with the Gangas, as being subjugated by Pulikēśin II, about 608 A.D: under the same name, in the Sorab Grant of Vinayāditya dated 692 A.D., which records that while camping at the village of Chitrasēḍu in the Toramara 'vishaya', he granted the village of Salivoge, in the Eḍevoḷal 'vishaya', at the request of the Mahārāja Chitravāhana, son of the Ālupa ruler, Guṇasāgara (*I.A.*, Vol XIX, p. 152): under the name of Ālupas in the Harihar Grant of the same king, dated in 694 A.D., which speaks of them, with the Gangas, as hereditary servants of the Western Chālukyas, and records that Vinayāditya granted the village of Kirukagamasi in the Eḍevoḷal 'vishaya', at the request of an unnamed Ālupa chief (*I.A.*, Vol VII, p. 303): and under the name of Ālupas again, as foes of the Western Chālukyas in later times, in a record of the Kadambas of Goa, which says that they were conquered by Jayakēśin I (about 1052-53 A.D.); (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol IX, p. 282); and in the *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita* of Bilhaṇa—Dr. Buhler's Edition, V. 26; see also *I.A.*, V, p. 320). Who the Ālupas precisely were has still to be ascertained. But if they are identical with the Ālupas who are included among the hostile peoples whose kings, according to the Mahākuṭa Pillar Inscription, were conquered by Keertivarman I, between 567 A.D. and 597 A.D. (*I.A.*, Vol. XIX, Pp. 14-19), then as Ālūka, an eiphet of Sēsha, the chief of the Serpent race, we may, perhaps, have in them a division of the Nāgas. (*I.A.*, Vol XIX, p. 281 and note 2). And the passages in the grants of Vinayāditya seem to indicate that they had the feudatory government of the Eḍevoḷal 'vishaya', which lay just on the north-east of Banavāsi, and may perhaps be identified with the Eḍenād 70 of other records. *

* Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested in *Early History of the Dekhan*, 1884, p. 31, note 3: 'that the name of the family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of 'Alupa' on the Malabar coast.' Dr. Buhler also says (*I.A.*, Vol. V, p. 320, note) 'that Alupa is apparently a town on the coast. But I cannot trace any authority for this.'

THE SENAVARAS

The Sēnāvaras were a Jaina family who ruled in the western part of the Chikmagalur District. The first Sēnāvara King was Chitravāhana (690 A. D.), who was a contemporary of the Āḷuva King, Chitravāhana. Another Sēnāvara King ruled Banavāsi about 1010 A. D. From the inscriptions we learn that they belonged to the Khachanavamśa; and had the Phaṇidhvaja (Serpent ensign) and the Lion crest. They were lords of Kuḍalūrpura. The important Sēnāvara kings were Jeevitavara, his son Jimūtavāhana and his son Mārasimha.

Sūrya and Āditya, Sēnāvara princes, were special ministers of Vikramāditya (1128 A.D.).

THE SANTARAS

These kings are mentioned for the first time during the time of Chālukya Vinayāditya, at the end of the 7th century. The first king was Jayasangraha, who was the lord of the city of Mathura. He is said to have belonged to Ugravamśa, which was related to the Yaduvamśa. His descendants were called Sāntas. The Sāntara kingdom was founded by Jindattarāya of Ugravamśa. The Sāntaras are identified with Paṭṭipombuchcha, the modern Humcha in Nagar Taluk (Shimoga District). Pombuchcha was their capital which they might have taken from the Āḷuvas. Jinadatta was the son of Raha who is said to have become a cannibal. Jinadatta is said to have come to the south bringing with him the image of Padmāvati. It is said that through the grace of Padmāvati, Jinadatta got the power of transmuting iron into gold. He subdued the local chiefs and took the name Sāntara. His descendants ruled over Sāntalige 1000, which corresponds to modern Teerthahaḷḷi and its surroundings. Jinadatta conquered lands up to Kalasa (Mūḍigere Taluk) and to Govardhanagiri (Sagar Taluk), which he named after Govardhana of Muttra. The capital was moved to Kalasa and later on to Kārkaḷa in South Kanara. These rulers became Lingāyats and adopted the title Bhairarasu Woḍeyar.

About 830 A.D., we hear of two early Sāntara kings, Srikēśi and Jayakēśi, the contemporaries of Rashtrakūṭa Nripatunga. The connected genealogy begins with Vikrama Sāntara, who assumed the titles 'Kandukāchārya' and 'Dānavinōda'. He formed the Sāntalige 1000 kingdom. About 920 A.D., a Sāntara king (whose

name is not given) was defeated by the Noḷambas and he was killed by the Ganga King Prithivīpati. In 1062 and 1066 A.D. Veera Sāntara and Bhujabala Sāntara are said to have freed their kingdoms probably from the Chālukyas. Veera Sāntara built many Jaina temples. His wife Chāgaladēvi also built a temple, dedicated a basadi in her own name, Chāgalēśvara, and performed mahādāna. Her mother Arasikabbe was also a liberal donor. Veera Sāntara's Mahāpradhāna was Brahmādhiraṇṇa Kālidāsa. Veera Sāntara ruled over Banavāsi, Sānatalige, Kadambalige, Noḷambavadi 32,000, Kogali, and Suidavāḍi. His Governor Chāmundaṛāyasa set up the Gandabhērunda Pillar at Banavāsi in 1047 A. D. We have a glorious description of the Sāntara kingdom as a land of plenty. Guṇaraja is said to have been a very famous king who built an agrahāra at Andhasura (Anandapur).

Nanni Sāntara, brother of Bhujabala, is described as a greater personality than Ganga Būtuga Permāḍi. One Jagadēva was beaten off by the Hoysala rulers Ballāḷa I, and Biṭṭidēva in 1104 A.D.

From 1209 A.D., the Sāntara kingdom became the Kalasa kingdom with Kalasa as its capital. From 1246 to 1231 A.D., there were two queens Jakala and Kaḷala Mahādēvis.

Then the Sāntaras call themselves Veerapāṇḍyas and Bhāirarasas. Ballāḷa III's contemporary was Pāṇḍyadēva. In 1432 A.D., Veerapāṇḍya Sāntara erected the gigantic statue of Gommaṭa at Kārkala. From 1565 A.D. this kingdom is called Kalasa-Kārkala kingdom or the 'Kingdom above and below the Ghats'. These kings took the title 'Ari Rāya Gaṇḍara Davani'. (Cattle rope to the champions over kings). When emperor 'Bhujabala Rāya' Veeranasimha invaded Tulunāḍ, Bhairarasa fled. When the imperial armies left, Bhairarasa returned. The last work of the Bhairarasas was the creation of the big Gommaṭa image at Yēṇur in South Kanara in 1603 A.D.

THE INSTITUTION OF MAHAMANDALESVARAS

The institution of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was of great significance in the mediaeval days when there was no national instinct in the modern sense. People bore allegiance to the immediate ruler regardless of nationality. These feudatory families preserved the culture of the locality and, in a way, assisted the stability of the political power of the imperial rulers. They fostered the art and literature of the country. Many of the master-pieces of Kannada literature and architecture were completed under one or the other of the feudatories. They were repositories of military strength and the array of generals and commanders under them was impressive. Leadership in all walks of life, education, religion, ethics, business and trade, administration, military science, fine arts including music and dancing etc., was being developed in so many provincial capitals and towns under the feudatories. Life was carried on with vision, courage and conviction and was dynamic, owing to keen competition and constant conflict. This institution of the feudatories was, however, liquidated by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. They appointed provincial governors in place of feudatory rulers. The result was that when the imperial power of the Yādavas collapsed under the pressure of Muslim kings from the north, there was none to oppose them throughout the kingdom of the Yādavas, and the Muslims became masters of the Deccan at one stroke, as it were. The Kannada country which had wielded political power for more than a thousand years in the Deccan, exerting powerful influence in all directions, north, south, east and west of India, had to be a political non-entity under the Bahmani and the later Muslim dynasties so far as the country north of the Tungabhadra was concerned. Had the great Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras been preserved by the Yādavas, the political independence of the country would not have been lost so easily, and the Muslim powers would have had to fight for every bit of land with the great and powerful feudatories. And our art and literature, which grew poorer and poorer as centuries rolled on, without princeley patronage, would not have been so insipid until they were revived in modern days after the impact of western culture.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

(THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA PERIOD)

The 11th and 12th centuries were a period of great religious ferment in Karnataka. The Kāḷāmukha sect of the Pāśupata school of Saivism flourished in the country. Lakulīśa, the founder of the Kāḷāmukha Pāśupata creed, is often mentioned in Kannada inscriptions. He was succeeded by a line of illustrious teachers. He is said to belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The Pāśupata religion was monistic theism with Śiva, or Paramaśiva, in His beneficent as well as destructive aspects, as the supreme object of adoration. He was the Paśupati—the Lord of Paśu (animal passions), and the human being was a Paśu to be controlled by a Pāśa (rope). Paramaśiva was the transcendental aspect, while His consort Śakti was the immanent aspect. This religion developed a full-fledged system of ethics, metaphysics and rituals, and tended to encourage severe ascetic practices among its adherents.

Saivism gathered into its fold many adherents not only from the common people but from royal households. We learn, for instance, that Suggalādēvi, the wife of Jayasimha II, converted her husband from the Jaina to the Śaiva faith. The Śaiva teachers were not only learned men but led exemplary lives of austerity and utter spiritual dedication. That won for them the spontaneous reverence and adoration of Śaivas as well as followers of all faiths. This was so because *tapas* (penance), *dhyāna* (meditation), and *Swādhyāya* (religious study) were attributes held in high esteem by spiritual aspirants in all forms of religions, originating in India, viz, Jaina, Buddhist, Śaiva or Vaishnava. This accounts for the large-hearted tolerance, and mutual respect that was a feature of the times. It finds eloquent expression in the inscriptions of the period.

The advent of Rāmānuja in South Karnataka and the conversion of Bīṭṭi-dēva to the Vaishnava faith gave a fillip to the building of Vaishnava shrines which were gems of architecture and at the same time became community centres. There all classes of people met and participated in worship, celebrations and festivals. These latter included music and dance. All this artistic expression was woven round the concept of God as a Personal Being; and the artist as a devotee dwelt on the inexhaustible glories and manifestations of beauty and grace of the Supreme Being. Vaishnavism, in its ceremonials and rituals, evoked and chastened the emotions of its votaries, and gave the vision of the 'True, the Good' and the Beautiful in life and in God's creation. This tended to the enrichment of the life

of the community, and made an appeal that was somewhat different, if not the reverse of, the approach of the Jaina and Saivite teachers who might be said to be more puritanical in their outlook.

The rise and growth of Veeraśaivism was another major event in the 12th century. The ground may be said to have been prepared by the propagation of the Pāśupata faith and the missionary and educational activities of Kāḷāmukha teachers, about whom we learn a great deal from the inscriptions of the period. We hear of a master of the Kāḷāmukha sect in 1136 A. D., in Haḷēbid, the Hoysala capital, where the influence of Vaishnavism was so pronounced. It is noteworthy that religious teachers and their message spread all over the country, crossing political boundaries; and kings and noblemen of those times considered it an act of merit to make endowments to temples outside their own political jurisdiction and even outside their own individual religious faith. We have records of numerous such endowments in Śravaṇabelagoḷa, Baḷḷigāme and other places.

Basava's own dedicated life and utter devotion to God, soon attracted all classes to Veeraśaivism and engendered a revival of Śiva Bhakti. The wearing of the Linga, the symbol of Śiva, on the body, and daily, and even hourly, meditation on and worship of the same introduced a ritual which could be easily followed by all. The new religious revival in the form of Veeraśaivism admitted all people to its fold irrespective of caste, class or sex, thus aiming at a caste-less society. It had tremendous sociological repercussions. The movement released new energies latent in the community, and soon gathered great momentum. It became a mass movement, and adopted spoken Kannada for its articulation and expression. This resulted in the mighty promotion of a significant but simple literary form which was called the 'Vachana'. It was characterised by directness, brevity and simplicity and a somewhat rhythmic and aphoristic expression without any metrical form. Numerous preachers called Śaraṇas went all over the country popularising the Vachanas and established mass contact. They carried the message of the new movement and exhorted people to lead righteous and godly lives.

Amidst all this ferment, and the rise, growth and even propagation of different faiths, it is remarkable that one never comes across any instance of conflict, bigotry, fanaticism or persecution. Many of the rulers were adherents of Śaivism, but they extended their whole-hearted patronage to Jainism. They were also quite tolerant and very helpful to Buddhism, though its influence was rapidly on the wane. The Vedic religion and the many Vedantic schools of thought received great and impartial encouragement.

During the period of Sōmēśvara I, Śaivism made much headway. Vikramāditya VI had probably favoured Jainism in the beginning of his career, but later became a devout follower of Śaivism. But we find practically no cases of religious persecution either by the rulers or the people.

The court of King Jayasimha of the Chālukya dynasty was called the birthplace of Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning. Jaina gurus like Vādibhasimha and Vādirāja, Vedantins like Nāgavarma, Saivas like Dēvara Dāsimayya, Sankara Dāsimayya and Lakuṣīśvara and their works testify to the then rich and varied religious life and to the development of philosophical literature during this period.

Vijnāneśvara, the author of *Mitākshara*, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya VI. His was an important treatise on law based on the *Yājñavalkya smṛiti*. The law-givers of the period laid down and developed law on moral and spiritual foundations rather than on religion, bearing testimony to the intense but free development of ethics as well as of religion and philosophy.

During this period we come across instances not only of toleration of other faiths but also of instances which show that a single individual was equally devoted to diverse faiths. The Bēlūr Inscription of Jayasimha, dated 1022 A.D., is extremely interesting, 'The donor Akkādevī is described . . . as practising the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta, *i.e.*, Vishnu, and Rudra. The temple that she had erected was for Tripurusha, *i.e.*, Vishnu, Brahma and Mahēśa. This lady had not only made an attempt to synthesize Hindu cults but also all the main religious movements of the time, *viz.*, Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavism, and Saivism. This is a remarkable example, though, of course an exception, showing the extent to which the people felt the urge for synthesis and harmony in religious and social life. Another striking instance of the spirit of 'live and let live' practised by the leaders of the community may be cited. In an inscription dated 1129 A.D., there is a eulogy of the people of Balligāme who are described as 'hospitable to strangers, men wedded to truth of speech (not given to prevarication or double dealing), prudent and devoted to Dharma'. And the inscription proceeds. "Hari-Hara Kamalāsana Vitarāga Baudhālayangalindina Vasundharegeseva panchaśaradantire panchamaṭhagaḷesevuvā paṭṭaṇadō!" (There the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitarāga, Buddha, like the five streams of the world shine as the five maṭhas in the city).

In other words, all these different faiths with their aspiration for a divine life and wedded to Dharma flow like five streams fertilising the spirit of man and without any conflict with one another.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(During the Rāshtrakūta and the later Chālukya periods)

In India of olden days social life and economic conditions underwent little change generally, and traditional patterns and ways of life persisted from generation to generation and even from century to century. They continued irrespective of political and dynastic changes that took place in the country.

A picture of social and economic conditions that obtained up to about the 10th century has been presented in earlier chapters. When we come to the period of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, we come across more records throwing light on contemporary life. They furnish interesting details. But fundamentally and in broad outlines there is not much difference between the picture presented of the earlier times and what is presented below about the conditions obtaining to the end of the 12th century. The additional information available is, however, of value and makes the picture more comprehensive.

During the long period of 600 years from the 6th century A.D., to the 12th century A.D., South India including Karnataka was free from any foreign invasion. So there was no hindrance to the continuation and development of a common culture. There were, no doubt, constant internal quarrels and wars among dynasties that were ruling this part of the country, but they did not come in the way of the continuity of cultural pattern and the ordinary mode of life of the people. South India, that is, the peninsula south of the Vindhya which in early days consisted predominantly of people who are supposed to have inherited Dravidian culture, was almost completely Aryanised by the 6th century. There was a mingling of races; and Aryan culture, intermixed with non-Aryan elements, was generally adopted. The intermixing was so thorough that it was not possible to distinguish what was Aryan and what was non-Aryan. The majority of the people were followers of the Vedic religion, which, by this time, might be called Hinduism. The Buddhists and Jainas, who had made Karnataka their home, freely mixed with the people and lived in harmony with them. The most important feature of this age was religious freedom and tolerance. The rulers were tolerant and allowed all communities to follow their own faith and convictions. Members of the royal family worshipped Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist deities and followed the common tenets of these religions. In the early inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, the protection of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa, Kārtikēya and Sapṭamātrikas is invoked. Some style themselves as 'Parama Bhāgavata', while some as 'Parama Māhēśvara'. Mangaleśa, who called himself a Parama Bhāgavata and caused the Bādāmi Vaishnava cave to be constructed, celebrated his victory over

the Kalachuris at Mahākūṭa in the presence of Makutēśvara and granted villages to the deity. In one of the inscriptions, his brother Keertivarma calls himself 'Parama Māhēśvara', a great devotee of Śiva. Harsha or Silāditya, a contemporary of Pulikēśi II, had leanings towards Buddhism, although his father Prabhākara Vardhana was a devotee of Śiva. Ravikeerti, minister of Pulikēśi, was a Jain who calls himself in the Aihole praśasti as a bosom friend of the king (paramāptavata). The Gangas of Talakāḍ, who had matrimonial relations with the Bādāmi Chālukyas, were Jains.

VARNASHRAMA DHARMA

However the hold of the Varnāśrama Dharma on the people in general was considerable, though the firm grip of Śruti and Smṛiti on society was getting loose, and new Smṛitis were being composed incorporating social changes. Still Hindu society recognised the four main castes (varṇas), a number of sub-castes and other social groups. A section of the Brahmins were orthodox. Some Brahmins occupied very high places and observed strictly the sixfold duties (ṣaṭkarma) prescribed by the Śrutis and Smṛitis, namely, yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpāna, dāna, and parigraha. They were devoted to the study of the Vedas, the performance of religious rituals, the exposition of philosophic doctrines and the teaching of the sacred texts. They were considered as custodians of religious lore. The section commanded respect from the public and Government and was the recipient of grants of lands and villages etc., as is evident from a number of available Copper Plate Grants of this period. Another section of Brahmins studied law, literature, astronomy, medicine, state-craft, etc., which are supposed to be and are included in secular lore. Able people from this section were appointed as officers in the State service.

In the Chālukya and Rāshṭrākūṭa periods a number of Brahmins were Mahāpradhānas and Daṇḍanāyakas and fought battles for their kings. In the 11th century the Brahmins, according to Alberuni (11th century), were carrying on trade in clothes and betelnuts by employing a Vaiśya to do business for them. Most of the land-grants given to Brahmins and temples were tax-free. Capital punishment was not to be inflicted on Brahmins. Alberuni corroborates that the Brahmins were not given the extreme penalty of the law (Alberuni's *India*, Tr. by Sachau, p. 162). The killing of a Brahmin (Brahmahatya) was regarded as a heinous crime.

Next came the Kshatriyas whose main function was to fight the enemy; to protect and govern the people. According to Arab writers, during this period the ruling Kshatriya class was called 'Satkshatriyas' (the 'subkufrias' of the Arab writers). (Elliot and Dawson: *History*, I, p. 16). They were held in higher regard than the Brahmins. Satkshatriyas may be compared to the Rājanyas who formed

members of the royal family or aristocracy descended from a royal stock. The Jainas and Bauddhas contended that Kshatriyas were superior to Brahmins. The kings, though some of them were of doubtful origin, claimed pure Kshatriyahood and traced their descent to some divinity such as the Sun or Moon, and to the twice-born (dvijas). The writers of Smritis assign to Kshatriyas also the threefold duties, *viz.*, to study the Vedas, to perform religious rituals and to give alms, and include them in the class of the twice-born (dvijas).

The ordinary Kshatriyas occupied a lower position than the Satkshatriyas and Brahmins. At this period the Kshatriyas observed all the rituals prescribed for the twice-born (dvijas), but they studied the Vedas less and less. Alberuni states that Kshatriyas perform ceremonies such as offerings to the fire according to the rules of the Purāṇas, indicating that they lost the religious privilege of performing rituals according to Vedic rules. In the Copper Plate Grants and inscriptions of the 8th century and afterwards, the gōtras of kings are missing. This shows that Vedic orthodoxy was losing its hold and perhaps even persons who were not sure about their gōtras became kings and rulers.

The Vaiśyas, or merchant class, formed the third group and carried on extensive trade within and even outside the State and the country. The trade was guaranteed and safe transport facilities for goods were provided. They were included among the twice-born and were enjoined by the Smritis to perform three out of the six duties (karmas) like the Kshatriyas. But during this period, like the Kshatriyas they too abandoned the Vedic rituals and were lowered in their status. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (I, 11,4) states that the status of a Vaiśya was equal to that of a Sūdra, as both were marrying indiscriminately and following similar professions like service and tilling the land. Alberuni mentions that the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras, both were forbidden to recite the Vedas. They were permitted by earlier Smritis to follow the military profession in addition to their trade, etc. There were during this period a number of merchant guilds (Veerabananju), which maintained their own militia to safeguard their transport services.

The fourth class called the Sūdras formed the largest group and supplied all the needs of society, such as labour, production, service etc. But all the Smriti writers are unanimous that the Sūdras were not permitted to read and recite the Vedas. They were to achieve their salvation by serving the three upper classes. But during the period this restriction was considerably slackened. Later Smritis like *Jātakarma*, *Aśanasa* and *Laghu Vishnu* classify the Sūdras as pious Sūdras (Sachchhūdras) and ordinary Sūdras (Asachchhūdras). The pious Sūdras were given the privilege of Śrāddha-samskāras and Pākayajna. Sōmedēva, a Jaina writer of the period, mentions in his *Neetivākyāmrta* (VII, 12) that the internal and external purity qualifies a Sūdra to attend to the performance of his religious duties towards gods, Brahmins and for his ascetic life. It appears that they could not use the Vedic mantras, called Śrauta mantras, but they could use the Paurāṇika ones,

called Smārta mantras, in their religious ceremonies. They were admitted freely to the military service, as is evident from a number of hero-stones (veergals) of the period available in Karnataka even today. Many of them rose to the rank of military leaders and petty rulers. Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsiang) mentions two Sūdra kings who were ruling in India during his days. The service of the twice-born, the only profession of the Sūdras, ceased to be in force even before this period and they were allowed to follow other professions. Bṛhadyama, Dēvala, Usānas, the writers of law books (Smritis), say that the ordinary, and not the exceptional, vocations of this caste are trade, crafts and industry. They were recruited in large numbers to the infantry and the military career, which naturally brought the throne within the reach of this class. The maxim that a Sūdra cannot own property became a dead letter. Still there was a large section among them whose lot remained almost the same as was described in the old Smritis. Many of them were treated as semi-untouchables; some had to live outside the cities and villages as untouchables. From all that is said above, it is clear that the rules of the caste system (chāturvarṇya vyavasthā) were no longer rigid and had undergone considerable change. Hindu society, although it claimed to rest on the caste system, accepted and promoted the changes and thus helped the progress of society. The great Śankarāchārya, who is said to have lived in this period, had made the pregnant remark in his *Brahmasūtra Bhāshya* (1-3, 33) that the castes were no longer following their prescribed duties and functions.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN:

Besides the ladies of high society, there was by no means the inconsiderable world of courtesans (sūleyar) who enlivened life in the large cities, had duties assigned to them in temples during the daily worship and on occasions of festivals, and were *par excellence* the custodians of the art of music and dance. They certainly enjoyed much wider latitude in society than other women and their presence brought sunshine and delight to society in those days.

Sanskrit literature, especially dramatic literature, throws a flood of light on the social conditions of those days. Although the *Daśarūpaka*, a work on the dramatic art, lays down certain stringent rules, the dramas give a clear picture of the society of the period. It is evident from this literature that literary and cultural education was not confined to the upper classes only. The maid-servants and other servants employed in the royal harem and palaces knew reading and writing and could cite examples and stories from the Purāṇas and the *Mahabharata*. The language used by the lower classes of society was Prākṛit, which suited very well for composing poems. The *Bṛhalkathā* of Guṇāḍhya and Dandīn's *Daśakumāra charita* give us a picture of the society of the period in India, and though they do not refer to a particular area, the conditions depicted therein may also be applied to Karnataka.

TESTIMONY OF FOREIGN VISITORS :

Yuvan Chwang (Hiuen Tsiang), the Chinese traveller who visited the kingdom of Pulikēśi about 640 A. D., gives us a graphic picture of the people and society. It is very valuable information as he was an eye-witness. It is worthwhile to reproduce here a relevant portion of it :

“ In this country, therefore, the troops and cavalry are carefully equipped and the rules of warfare thoroughly understood and observed. They gave warnings to the enemy before attacking. He (the king) is of the race of Tsa-ti-li (Kshatriya) ; his name is Pu-loki-she : his ideas are broad and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect devotion. The climate is warm. Their manners are simple and honest. They are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insults them they will risk their life to wipe out that affront. If one applies to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to run to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy, after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a General has lost a battle, instead of punishing corporally they make him wear women's clothes, and, by that, force him to sacrifice his own life. The State maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate themselves and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. Whenever the army commences a campaign their brave men march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The King proud of possessing these men and elephants despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms.” (*I.A.*, VII., p. 190). From Itsing, another Chinese traveller, who visited India at the end of the 7th century A.D., we learn that students who completed their education in the Valabhi University proceeded to the royal courts to get appointed to the administrative posts. In the same way, famous education centres of Karnataka like Managoli, Salotgi, Bādāmi, Aihole might have supplied competent administrators and officers to the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and their feudatories.

Art, industry and trade were spread among all, all over the country. They were in a fairly advanced and prosperous condition. The stone monuments of the period which survive even today intact, give us an idea about the excellence attained in art and architecture and sculpture.

TEMPLES AND PUBLIC UTILITIES :

In the social economy of the Deccan, temples served a very useful purpose. All the fine arts flourished around them. They provided employment for the best technical skill available in the land. A large number of scholars and holy men were fed every day. Alms were distributed to needy persons. The Bādāmi Inscription of Mangaleśa records the gift of a village, Lanjigēśvara, for 'Nārāyaṇa bali' (offering to ascetics) for the feeding of sixteen Brahmins and ascetics (parivrājakas) every day.

The Lakshmēśvara Inscription of Vikramāditya II (*I.A.*, VI-363) and the Adur Inscription of Keertivarman II (*K.I.*, I, 7-8) mention alms-houses (dānaśāla). Vijayāditya allowed certain privileges to temple musicians (gandharvas) and Lōkamahādēvi confirmed them (Paṭṭadakal Inscription: *I.A.*, X, p 166). Naṭas (dancers) were also patronised and honoured. The 'hostile actors' (para-naṭa) and actors who became famous by crooked means (kuṭilonnata-naṭa) are also mentioned. One Achalan has put his name at the end of two beautiful verses in Arya metre. These verses carved on the temple wall are eloquent mementos of an exciting chapter in the history of dancing in Karnataka in ancient days. It is evident from these verses that Bharatanāṭya secured a decisive victory over rival schools of dancing. It seems there were other schools of dancing in addition to Bharatanāṭya. One of the Bādāmi Cave Inscriptions of the time of Mangaleśa records gifts to garland-makers who supplied flowers to the temple. (*I.A.*, X, p. 60). Temples were centres for the diffusion of Aryan culture. They attracted people not only to worship and pay homage to deities but also to listen to the holy scriptures (purāṇa-puṇyākathā) and be educated in religious precepts, ethics and philosophy. Free education from the primary stage to the present university degree stage was given in schools (Vidyā mandiras) attached to temples. Dāna (charity) was considered as a means to achieve heaven (svarga) and to earn divine favour. Rich people gave large sums of money to build temples, to finance schools, to sink wells, to construct tanks and to endow free feeding houses. Classes existed based on professions, such as shoe-makers, basket-makers, fishermen, washermen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, hunters, flower-sellers, etc. Pilgrimages were popular and the cow was universally revered as a sacred animal. In the imprecatory verses of an old Kannada inscription, for instance, it is stated that he who destroyed the object of charity would go to hell to which a person who killed cows and Brahmins would go (Gō-Brāhmaṇaṇa kondona lōkakke sandōn).

We know more about the higher strata of society while we do not know much about the life of common people. Among the four Āśramas, the Grihastha (householder) was the mainstay of social life. The verse from Nāgayi Inscription describes Kālidāsa as the purest householder (*H.A.S.*, VII, Pp. 11-12; V, 31). In this inscription the acts considered to bring the highest good here and in the

next world are stated. Feeding of the thousand Brahmins at Prayāga and at Kurukshetra and a gift of a cow at Vāraṇasi were considered as most meritorious acts (*S. I. I.*, Vol. 75, 11-12-13, dated 787) and, similarly, protecting a gift brings merit equal to that acquired by the performance of a thousand Aśvamēdhas at Vāraṇasi and by the gift at a thousand cows adorned on the horns and hoofs with five varieties of precious stones (*S. I. I.*, IX, (1), 102 : 11-27-9). Jainas also believed in the idea of getting merit by raising a Mahādhvaja at Teerthasthāna. (The Dambaḷ Inscription, dated 1059, A. D. *S. I.*, I. V, 94-1-13). It was considered the duty of the well-to-do to give charity (dāna); the list included water (udaka), gold (suvarṇa), food (anna), cow (gō), land (bhūmi), oxen (vṛsha), knowledge of various kinds (vividha vidyā), and maidens given away in marriage (kanyā). Another inscription of Vikramāditya II, dated 1057 A. D., states that Kēśirāja bestowed all these and constructed a temple of god Śiva., (*E. I.*, XVI, Pp. 84-85 and 87-88-89). To protect the charity given by others brings greater merit than giving charity. The property of temples if taken away or despoiled is more powerful than poison, because poison kills one man while in the other case, *i. e.*, dēvasva, the whole family and descendants of the despoiler will be destroyed. All these imprectory verses show the implicit faith of the people in the power of gods and religion. The people believed that spiritual merit was better than worldly wealth.

MEMORIALS TO HEROES:

Memorials were erected to the departed heroes, gurus, great men and chaste ladies (māsati) who followed their husbands in death. These were described as deeds of 'parōkshavinaya.' The Karnataka country is replete with hero-stones (veergal) and māsati kallu (memorials to chaste ladies).

Self-immolation was also in vogue. The Kotur Inscription of about 900 A. D. describes the death of a Śaiva saint called Sambhu. Emperor Sōmēśvara ended his life by Mahāyōga, *i. e.*, drowning himself ceremonially in the river Tungabhadra near Kuruvaṭṭi, a village in the Dharwar District (*E. C.*, VII, Sk. 136). The Jaina rite of Sallēkhana, fasting to death, was also prevalent. The Ganga ruler Mārasimha took this vow (vrata) in the presence of his guru, Ajitasēna, and ended his life at Bankāpur.

Sulabrahma, death by casting oneself on spear-points from a height, mentioned in an inscription of the Shimoga District dated 1060 A. D. (*E. C.*, VII, Sk. 136) and Vēḷevākya, a vow mentioned in another inscription (*E. C.*, VII, Pp. 249) dated 1130 A. D., are also found commonly among the people. Vēḷevākya is a vow undertaken to go to heaven along with a master. Boppana undertook a vow to go to heaven along with Tailapadēva, a Kadamba prince. (Boppana Vēle-Vākiyam nilisi Tailapa dēvana kūḍe svargasthanāgalu), Boka, a vilaikkara of Lacchaladēva, the Queen of Veerasōmēśvara IV, took a vow to die with her and

died in the fifth year of the king's reign in 1185 A. D. It has been already stated above that sati, dying along with the husband, was in vogue. Two wives of Bechirāja, minister of Sinda Rāchamalla I, Bailiyakka and Malipaniyakka immolated themselves with his corpse (*E. I.* IV, 273, 448-50). In a moving Kannada inscription of Belatūru is recorded the sati of Dēkabbe.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS:

The wealth of the country was derived from natural products, industry, commerce and conquests. Natural products include agriculture, food-stuffs, cotton, oil-seeds, timber, medicinal plants, coconuts, etc. Karnataka has been noted for its cotton from ancient times. *Periplus*, a Greek travel account belonging to the 1st century A. D., mentions that cotton yarn and cloth were exported from South Indian ports. Dyeing of cloth was known from ancient times. Indigo was a colour necessary for dyeing cloth, especially the cloth worn by women. It was grown in the Deccan and was exported from the Deccan ports such as Ṭhāna. The chief crops raised at that time, as they are now, were jawar (jōḷa), wheat (gōdhi), sajje, paddy (bhatta), various kinds of pulses, oil-seeds such as saff flowers (kusumbe), castor seeds, linseed, sesamum (eḷḷu), flax (punḍi), etc.; in Konkaṇa, coconuts, betelnuts, cloves, cardamom, pepper, etc., fruits such as mango, jack fruit (palasu), guava (peraḷa), banana, lemon, oranges, etc., various kinds of vegetables, medicinal plants and sugarcane (kabbu) from which jaggery (bella) was prepared. Karnataka produced a large quantity of sandal (chandana), teak, and bamboo which were exported from pre-historic days. Karnataka abounds in medicinal plants. The range known as Kappaṭaguḍḍa near Gadag, Dharwar District, has been noted from very early times as possessing medicinal plants. Similarly, places in the Sahyādri range such as Vaijanātha Hill near Belgaum and Bababudangiri near Chikmagalur are famous even today for medicinal plants. It is a belief among the people that the hills of Karnataka possess life-restoring medicinal (sanjeevini) plants.

METALS:

Traces of copper mines are found at Cuddappah, Bellary, Bijapur and Dharwar (Ball: *A Manual of Geology of India*, part III chap. VI; Tonche: *A Bibliography of India, Geology and Physical Geology*, p. 113-137). It seems copper was produced in large quantities, since copper utensils and ornaments were common in ancient times in India. The wealth of Karnataka of the period must have been supplemented by the yield of these copper mines. It was costlier than now (Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 147). Silver was known to the people of the Deccan since pre-historic times. No record indicating the existence of silver mines in Karnataka has come to light. It is known as a white metal

('belli' in Kannada), although its Sanskrit equivalent is 'rajata'. The fact that it was dearer than gold proves its scarcity. There were plenty of gold mines in Karnataka even during the days of Asoka (3rd century B.C.). One of his minor edicts found near Maski in the Raichur District mentions a place called Suvarṇa-giri. Near Maski even today there are the Haṭṭi gold mines. In Kappaṭaguḍḍa near Gadag there were gold mines. From the early days it is known that many families made their living by separating gold particles from the sands of many Karnataka rivers. Perhaps for this reason gold was comparatively cheaper. The relative rates of the prices of gold and copper as given by Brihaspati is 1: 48 (Dr. B. R. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 189).

TRADE AND COMMERCE :

The Aihole Inscription describes Puri, identified with Gharapuri near Bombay, as Lakshmi of the western ocean. The suggestion is that large quantities of imports and exports were carried through that place and that it brought a vast amount of wealth to the treasury. Suparaka, the modern Sopara, was another harbour but these were north of Karnataka territory. It is stated in the same Aihole Inscription that an island named Rēvatidvīpa, identified by Dr. Fleet with modern Redi near Vengurla, Kolhāpur District, was taken by Pulikēśi. His brother Chandrāditya was ruling the western coastline. There was trade between Karnataka and far-off countries like Arabia, Egypt, Rome etc. There must have been some Roman settlements on the western coast, as there were on the eastern coast, such as Arikamēḍu, south of Pondicherry. A papyrus of the 2nd century B.C., containing a Greek play found at Oxyrynchus (lower Egypt) depicts a scene at Malpi, a place near Uḍupi, South Kanara District. It is an indication that the Greeks and Romans established their settlements on the shores of Karnataka, perhaps with the object of carrying on trade. The western coastline has not been properly investigated from the point of view of archæology. Banavāsi, or Vijayanti, was known from the 1st century A.D., and that a merchant from Banavāsi named Bhūtapāla endowed the construction of a pillar at Karla caves is an indication of trade being carried on by the merchants of Karnataka far and wide. The Aihole Inscription of Pulikēśi II, dated 634 A.D., describes Banavāsi as competing with the city of the gods in wealth (Banavāsi susuraspardhinām sampadā).

The articles of exports were cotton yarn and cloth, rough and fine muslins, hides, mats, indigo, incense, pearls, betel leaves, nuts, coconuts, sandal, teak-wood, sesame oil, betelnuts, ivory, peacock feathers, etc. *Periplus* of the 1st century A.D. mentions some of these. Al Idrisi, Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta state that diamonds were found in the mines of the Deccan and they were not allowed to be exported.

Articles of imports from the Persian Gulf as mentioned by *Periplus* were pearls, dates, gold, slaves, Italian wine, copper, tin, lead, topaz, borax, sweets,

cloves, flint glass, antimony, gold and silver coins, singing boys and girls for kings (*Periplus*, Pp. 40-42). According to Marco Polo, trade in horses was brisk. Every ship that touched the port of the Deccan had horses as its cargo. Bullocks and carts drawn by bullocks were the means of transport. Horses were dear. Oxen and pack-horses of inferior breeds were used for transport in hilly tracts. Several communities used to follow the caravan profession of transporting merchandise from one place to another. Individuals used to own as many as a hundred bullocks.

INTERNAL ECONOMY:

Land revenue was the main, and therefore, an important source of income. The tenure was ryotwari. Zamindars with assignment of land revenue were also in existence. Grāmapatis were officials to whom the collection of the revenues of villages were assigned. Lands were based to a tiller on the basis of two to one share by the owner as recorded in the inscription of Tirukkallavara dated in the middle of the tenth century A.D. Transfer of land required the consent of the Mahājanas of the village. The Saundatti Inscription (*B.B. R.A.S. X, 208*) records a gift made to a Jaina temple with the consent of fifty agriculturists, who were perhaps Mahājanas of the locality. The Nesaragi Inscription records that six headmen of the village received a gift of money when the Raṭṭa ruler, Kārtaveerya gave 800 kammās of land to a temple at Nesaragi. It seems even the rulers were giving lands as gifts and certain duties were to be performed by the village headmen. According to epigraphical and Smṛiti evidences, in transferring the ownership of land, the consent of the village community was necessary because they were to protect it. The Śivapūr Inscription of Mahāśivagupta belonging to 800 A.D. assigns one-fourth share in five villages to fifteen Brahmins. The grant was hereditary but on condition that the grantees and their descendants continued to be men of learning and high moral character. The record expressly adds that if a sharer died without a heir or was ignorant or immoral, his share was to be assigned to some other relative by the remaining co-sharers and not by the king (*E.I., XI, p.92*). The village artisans like carpenters, smiths, potters, etc., were assigned a certain share of grain for their services.

COINS :

The revenue of the State was received in kind, sometimes wholly and sometimes partly. It is not known whether the payment of revenue was made in coins. Coins were current. A number of coins, silver, gold, copper and lead are mentioned in inscriptions but many of them have not been found. (*Rapson: Indian Coins, XIV, p. 27*). A large quantity of silver coins bearing the legend,

'Parama-Māhēsvara-Mahādityapādā (or mātāpitr pādā) nudhyāta-Sri Krishnarājah' attributed to a later Gupta period are found in the Deccan. The Rāshtrakūta silver coins had dates of issue on them (Sulaimān Saudagar : P. 30). Damma, suvarṇā, gadyāṇaka, kalanju, kāsu and visadi are the principal coins mostly used in the Deccan and South India. Damma is identified with the Greek drachme of the Indo-Bactrian kings, weighing about 65 grains. They were both silver and gold coins. Kauṭilya, Manu and others mention suvarṇa coins which weighed 80 raktikas or 146 grains. Altekar holds that suvarṇa coins of this period weighed 45 to 50 grains. (Altekar's *Rāshtrakūtas*) Kannada Inscriptions mention kalanju, gadyāṇaka and kāsu as current coins of the land. These were all gold coins. Kalanju weighed 45 to 50 grains. It was about a quarter of a tola in weight. (Elliot: *Coins of South India*, p. 46). Gadyāṇaka was equal to two kalanjus and weighed 90 grains. It was a gold coin. Kāsu weighed about 15 grains. (20 kāsus—7 kalanjus). The other coins called manjadi and akkam are also found. (manjadi— $1/20$ kalanju and weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains). Akkam— $1/12$ kāsu and weighed $1\frac{1}{4}$ grains. The ratio between silver and gold was, according to Bhandarkar, 14: 1.

There was the minting of coins (Suḍi No. 154, *B. K.*, Part II, Vol.) The Suḍi Inscription states that Uttavōja, a goldsmith (akkasāle) of Tribhuvanamalla, struck gold coins with a die (kammaṭadāṇi) bearing a royal seal (unḍige). Kammaṭa means mint. A coin named Lokkigunḍi gadyāṇa was known to be current, as there was a mint at Lokkigunḍi of Dharwar. The relation between paṇa and gadyāṇa is 10 paṇas—1 gadyāṇa (Niḍagunḍi inscription No. 189 of *B. K.*, Vol. I, part II; 5 gadyāṇa—10 paṇas—6 Gadyāṇa). The Interest on one pon per year was gadya or gadyāṇa. So the interest was 2 paṇas on 10 paṇas ($1/5$ or 20%), according to an inscription dated 1106 A.D., from Dambaḷ, Gadag Taluka, which records a gift of oil made by 50 families of oil men, (telligaru) for a perpetual lamp in a Buddha Vihāra built by Sangavaśeṭṭi (*B. K. I.*, Vol. 1, No. 144 dated 1098 A.D.).

The following table of values taken from Dr. Altekar's *Rāshtrakūtas*, p. 367 may be useful.

The approximate values were according to rates current in 1930.

| Name | Metal | Approx. weight | Approx. value in Rs. |
|--------------|--------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Damma | Silver | 65 grains or $1/3$ tola | about 6 annas |
| 2. Damma | Gold | " | Rs. 7 |
| 3. Kalanju | " | 48 grains or $1/4$ tola. | Rs. 5 |
| 4. Gadyāṇaka | " | 96 grains or $1/2$ tola | Rs. 10 |
| 5. Kāsu | " | 15 grains | Rs. 1—10 ans. |
| 6. Manjadi | " | $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains | 4 annas |
| 7. Akkam | " | $1\frac{1}{4}$ grains | 2 annas |

Commerce and industry presuppose facilities for banking and these were provided by guilds which from very early times were conspicuous features of the trade and industry of Karnataka. In 775 A.D., there was a guild of weavers at Lakshmēśvar (*E.I.*, VI, 165). The Mulagunda Inscription dated 880 A.D. (*B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 192) records a gift by four heads of a guild which had under its jurisdiction 360 towns. It records a gift made by some local Brahmins with the consent of 2,000 merchants. It is obvious that it was a very big guild comprising a vast area and a large number of merchants. An inscription from Balligāme, dated 1083 A.D. (*I.A.*, V, p. 344) states that a guild had its offices in 18 cities. Another from Managōli, dated 1116 A.D. (*E.I.*, V, p. 22) refers to grants made by several guilds of oil-men, weavers, artisans, basket-makers, mat-makers, and fruit-sellers. The Kolhāpur Inscription, dated 1136 A.D., and the Miraj Inscription of 1146 A.D. (*E.I.*, XI, p. 33) refer to a guild of Veerabanajus which had its members in the area comprising the modern Belgaum, Bijapur, and Kolhāpur Districts. The Ayyavolē (Aihoḷe) 500 had wide powers. They were not only controlling trade and commerce but had power to protect the gifts granted to temples and Brāhmins and to decide and settle inter-State disputes. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (II, p. 89) and *Neetivākyāmrta* of Sōmadēva (XXX, p. 9) refer to guilds which were corporate bodies and could frame rules that were binding on their members. The guild at Balligāme had made 500 edicts. *Manu* (VIII, 41) and *Yājñavalkya* (II—189) support the statements of epigraphy and state that the rules and regulations made by these guilds were to be respected by the kings if they (the rules) were not against public interest. These guilds had their own flags with their own crests. The Balligāme and Kolhāpur guilds of Veerabanajus had on their flag the device of a hill. The Dambaḷ guild (*I.A.*, X, 188) obtained a royal charter from Jagadēkamalla, the Chālukya emperor, (1018-1040 A.D.) and had the privilege of using their own umbrella and chauries (*I.A.*, X, 188). The guilds, it appears, were entrusted with the government of big towns and cities, as they are described in the inscriptions as overlords for towns and cities. The Dambaḷ and Kolhāpur Grants describe the Veerabanajus as 'persons whose breasts were embraced by the goddess of perfect impetuosity and bravery.' They had their own army and police force, which was used to safeguard their transport of goods from place to place. The Katigeri record, dated 1092 A.D., informs us that the 500 Mahājanas made over an impost due to them to a temple. Banking business was carried on by these guilds and also by private persons and families.

RATE OF INTEREST:

Kauṭilya (II-15), *Yājñavalkya* (II-37) and *Manu* (VIII-41) permit 15 interest on capital. An inscription of Amoghavarsha (*I.A.*, XIII, p. 133 and 136) supplies information regarding the rate of interest charged in the 9th century A.D. The minister of the local Silāhāra dynasty invests 160 drammās

to provide annully 20 drammas for the Buddha worship, 3 drammas for the repair of the building, 5 drammas for the robes of monks and one dramma for the purchase of books. So 160 drammas could fetch an annual income of 29 drammas, which may be treated as interest. It works out at 17% per annum.

There are a number of inscriptions which help us to determine the interest on cash capital and loans of all kinds. An inscription of the 9th century A. D., records a gift of a queen of Vaidumba Mahārāja, a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III. It is stated in it that the interest on 20 kalanjus was 20 kalams of paddy. It means that the interest on one kalanju could purchase 8 to 12 kalams of paddy. The rate of interest works out to 10 to 15 %. But the interest varied from place to place. A Bāṇa inscription of 915 A. D., (*E. I.*, XI, p. 224) records that the interest on 20 kalanjus was 5 kalanjus, *i. e.*, 25 %. During the same period in the Tamil country the interest was as high as 40 %. A local temple at Aṇṇāmalai (*S. I. I.*, III, p. 241) paid an interest of six ilakkāsu on a capital of 15 ilakkasu, *i. e.*, 40% *Manu* (VIII-41), and *Yājñavalkya* (II-37), state that Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras should be charged interest at 24 %, 36 %, 48 % and 60 % respectively. It means that the greater the security, the lesser the interest on capital.

PRICES:

As stated above kalanju was a gold coin weighing about one-fourth of a tola. One kalanju could then purchase 150 seers of rice; in other words, rice was then sold at about 30 seers a rupee (of 1930 when the price of gold was at Rs. 20 per tola). (*Altekar's Rāshtrakūṭas*, p. 379), and 4 seers a rupee of 1960 when the price of gold was at Rs. 150 per tola. A Bāṇa record dated 915 A. D., informs us that 4 kalanjus could fetch 190 naries of ghee required to keep burning a lamp throughout the year in a temple. 8 naries are equal to 6 lbs: 190 naries were roughly equal to 142½ lbs. Four kalanjus, *i. e.*, one tola gold worth Rs. 20 in 1930 and Rs. 150 in 1960 could fetch then this quantity of ghee. In an inscription of South India (*S. I. I.*, II, p. 9), it is mentioned that one nari of oil costs one tuni of paddy, *i. e.*, 32 naries of paddy are equal to 12½ naries of rice.

PRICE OF PULSES :

We can conclude that about 25 seers of pulses could be purchased for a rupee (1930) (*Altekar: Rāshtrakūṭas*, p. 382) and about 3½ seers for a rupee of 1960. In 1965 the price of pulses is less than a seer for a rupee.

The record states that it 1½ urakku of paddy could procure the same quantity of salt. The price of paddy was 75 seers per rupee (of 1930), *i. e.*, 10½

seers a rupee of 1960. The price level of 1930 A. D., was about 700% higher than that of the 10th century (Altekar: *Rāshtrakūṭas*, p. 372), 5200% that of 1960, and 18200 that of 1965.

COST OF LIVING

“For feeding 25 Brahmins in the feeding house the quantity required for one year was $932\frac{1}{2}$ kalams of paddy, for vegetables, fire-wood, ghee, curds, different spices, betel leaves and nuts including the pay of the cooks at the rate of one kuraṇi and two nari of paddy per day for each person.” (*S. I. I.*, III, No. 151). Another record (*S. I. I.*, No. 28) makes provision for the purchase of 25 kalams of paddy in order to supply one meal to 240 Sivayōgis. From these it works out that $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers for each individual for a day will suffice. It means that 540 seers of paddy were required for a man for a year, *i.e.*, paddy worth Rs. 7 and 3 annas when a rupee could fetch 95 seers of paddy.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

(From the earliest times to 1200 A.D.)

We shall consider in this section the state of education and the provision that existed for the acquisition of learning both religious and secular in the early period of our history. The information has to be gleaned mostly from inscriptions, some of which furnish interesting details. Contemporary literature also throws light on the subject and is itself a proof of the achievements in the field. This educational activity was indeed the basis of the intellectual and moral culture of the land, as also of its material advancement.

The pattern continued down the centuries irrespective of changes in the political scene or of the dynasties that ruled, because it was mostly a community effort. This made for its continuity of tradition. The system was decentralised, and neither State-controlled nor State-directed, though it was generously patronised by kings, noblemen, merchants and the common people. Making endowments for education was always considered highly meritorious. Religious establishments and leaders of all denominations played a large part in respect of intellectual, moral and religious educations. What may be called technical education was mostly imparted in the homes of craftsmen who practised their crafts as a hereditary occupation. They were well-organised and had their own guilds which safeguarded the prestige and the efficiency of the profession. In regard to the Positive Sciences, like Mathematics and Medicine, Indian achievements in those days were by no means negligible, and were well abreast of those of any nation in the world at that time.

We shall now take up for consideration Education and Science in Karnataka from the earliest times to about 1200 A. D.

THE BEGINNINGS :

Asoka's inscriptions in Prākṛit written in Brāhmi characters are found in Koppal and Maski in the Raichur District, and in Brahmagiri and Siddāpur in the Chitradurga District.

The Sātavāhana, early Kadamba and early Pallava inscriptions found in Banavāsi, ¹ Maḷavaḷḷi ² and Hirchaḍagali ³ continue to use the Prākṛit language, along with Sanskrit and Kannada till about the middle of the fifth century A.D. Since these inscriptions were intended for the public, it may be presumed that these languages were understood by the people of the area.

The kings of the time played a large part in promoting the education of the people. The princess of the royal family were given the best training available at the time. A study of the provision made for the training of the princes would enable us to get an idea of the content and method of education prevailing in those days.

Mayūraśarma of the Kadamba dynasty started his education under Veeraśarma in his province and wanted to complete it in a 'Ghaṭikāsthāna' (University) at Kānchi, a famous centre of learning in South India in the fourth century A.D. ⁴ As circumstances would have it, he had to give up his project and take to the life of a warrior, and he crowned it by establishing the Kadamba kingdom. After he became king he is said to have given 144 villages to the *agrahāra* at Tālagunda. ⁵ Among his successors who encouraged education and learning, mention may be made of Mṛigēśavarma, 'who was skilled in the art of Government and shared his wealth with the Brahmins, saints, preceptors and learned men'. ⁶

Among the Gangas of Talakāḍ one finds a large number of accomplished princes. Two of them, who may be taken to represent the rest, are Durvineeta (485-522 A.D.) and Narasimhadēva Satyavākya. The Nallala Plates,⁷ have the following to say about Durvineeta. 'With the band of passions (internal enemies) kept under control by the power of his discipline due to learning, ... an expert in the composition of various forms of poetry, stories and dramas, ... an incarnation of Vishnugupta in the application of the principles expounded in the science of polity, ... having surpassed Tumburu, Nārada, Bharatadēva and Kambalāchārya in commenting on and applying the principles of the arts of music and dancing, ... a rival to Rājaputra (?) and Śalihōtra in the application of the principles expounded in the science of training horses and elephants; an incarnation of Paraśurāma in the art of wielding *astras*, *upāstras*, and other weapons; a real Sāmudrasūri in the art of human physiognomy and allied knowledge; ... equal to Ātreya, Dhanvantri and Charaka in the knowledge of medical sciences'.

The accomplishments of one of his successors Narasimhadēva Satyavākya are equally noteworthy. 'This intelligent prince learnt, in his early age, the science of politics, riding on elephants and horses, playing at ball, wielding the bow and sword, drama, grammar, medicine, poetry, mathematics, Bharataśāstra, Itihāsa and Purāṇas, dancing, singing and instrumental music'. ⁸

Though we do not have such detailed accounts of the education and learning of the princes of the other dynasties, we have enough indications to show that they were highly educated. Among the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, Pulikēśin I was well-versed in *Manu*, the Purāṇas, the epics and he was an expert in the art of politics. ⁹ Mangalceśa had a mind trained by the study of all the Śāstras ¹⁰ and was an adept in diplomacy. ¹¹ Pūlikēśin II's love of learning is well illustrated

by his patronage of the poet Ravikeerti, author of his famous Aihole Inscription.

Among the Rāshtrakūṭas, Nripatunga, or Amōghavarsha I, is well known as an author and patron of authors. Jinasēna, the author of *Ādipurāṇa*, claims that he was chief preceptor of Amōghavarsha. Amōghavarsha¹² either wrote, or inspired one of his court poets to write, *Kavirājamārga*, which deals with poetics and is the earliest available work in Kannada.¹³ He was also the author of *Prasnōttaramālika*.¹⁴ Guṇabhadra, the author of the last five chapters of *Ādipurāṇa*, was the preceptor of Krishna II.¹⁵ Gōvinda IV, one of the last kings of this dynasty, has the distinction of having given the largest number of villages and gold coins to scholars.¹⁶

Among the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, we know best about the education of two princes. Bilhaṇa says in his *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita* that Sōmēśvara I was learned in the Vedas, Āgamas, and Itihāsas, and that his mind was filled with reverence for his teachers.¹⁷ The same author says that Vikramāditya VI, as an infant, mastered all the scripts and developed into a poet and an orator.¹⁸

Sōmēśvara III, the author of *Mānasōllāsa*, devotes in that work much space to the subject of the education of the princes. He says that the prince should be educated not only in the subjects of Veda, vyākaraṇa, dharma and kalā, but that he should be conversant with the theory and practice of 'dhanurvēda' or military science.¹⁹ From the examples quoted earlier, it can be seen that the subjects mentioned in *Mānasōllāsa* were actually studied by the princes.

It is interesting to note the qualities of one of the teachers of the princes, namely Vādighaṅgala Bhaṭṭa who flourished in the Gana court, but was honoured in the Rāshtrakūṭa court also. The Kūḍlur Plates of Ganga Mārasimha (963 A.D.) describe his excellence as a teacher thus: 'His eloquence in the exposition of literature made King Ganga Gāngeya, (his pupil) a cuckoo in the grove of delighters in all learning. His instruction in politics induced the learned men of Vallabharāja's (Rāshtrakūṭa) capital to give him honour which showed to the world his greatness and remarkable scholarship'.²⁰

THE BUDDHIST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION:

From the time of the Mauryas to the time of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Buddhist system of instruction is likely to have been in existence along with the Jaina and the Vedic systems. As is well-known, the Buddhist *vihāras*, or monasteries, were and are centres of education. A Banavāsi Inscription of the third century A.D.,²¹ says that a Chuṭu princess named Sivaskanda Nāgaśrī donated a *vihāra* in that place. This is the first example so far known of the construction of a Buddhist monastery in Karnataka. There is not enough evidence to trace the growth of these monasteries under the later rulers. But in the seventh century A.D., Hiuen Tsiang says that in the kingdom of Pulikēśin II, which included

modern Maharashtra and Karnataka, there were over a 100 monasteries and 5000 monks. ²² He also pays a compliment to the people as lovers of learning. ²³ In these monasteries, the system of education, according to him, was as follows: "In beginning the education of their children and winning them on to progress they follow the 'twelve chapters'. When the children are seven years of age, the great treatises of the five sciences are gradually communicated to them. The first science is grammar which teaches and explains words and classifies their distinctions. The second is that of skilled professions (concerned with) the principles of mechanical arts, the dual processes and astrology. The third is the science of medicine including exercising of charms, medicine, the use of the stone, the needle and moxa (down or fluffy substance from dried leaves used for burning on skin as counter-irritant for gout). The fourth is the science of reasoning, by which the orthodox and the heterodox are ascertained and the true and the false are thoroughly sought out. The fifth is the science of the internal mind which investigates and teaches the five degrees of religious attainments (literally, the five vehicles) and the subtle doctrine of Karma". ²⁴

This system of education which flourished in Karnataka up to the end of the reign of the early Chālukyas, gradually declined and made room for the Vedic and Jaina systems. One of the last Buddhist monasteries was the one at Damba¹ ²⁵ (Dharmavo¹al) in the Dharwar District constructed by one Sangavaśetti before 1095-96 A.D. Buddhism as a subject of study continued up to the twelfth century A.D., in Balligāme in the Shimoga District. ²⁶

PRIMARY EDUCATION :

Most of the information that we have about education in inscriptions is about its higher stages, and its centre were the *ghaṭikas*, *agrahāras*, *maṭhas* and temples. In some of these, only incidentally, arrangements for primary instruction are recorded. While higher education was in Sanskrit, primary education was in Kannada. It was known as 'Karnataka śikshe' ²⁷ or 'bālaśikshe' ²⁸ or 'Karnata bāla śikshe' ²⁹ and the teacher was known as 'Karnāta paṇḍita'. ³⁰ Where there was no separate teacher for this purpose, the purāṇabhaṭṭa, or reader, was entrusted with this additional function as in the following example. In the village of Settikere in the Tumkur District, the purāṇabhaṭṭa had land assigned to him for reading the purāṇa for four ghaḷige, or about an hour and a half, in the evening and for hearing the lessons of the children without fail during the remainder of the day. ³¹

A much more satisfactory arrangement for primary instruction was made in the agrahāra of Narasimhapura near Arsikere. ³² Heggade Ereyanna established a boarding school for primary school-going children. We are told that he built a house in that agrahāra and appointed on Boleya Soviyanna of that place to teach children Kannada (Karnāta bāla śikshe). His pay was fixed at 12 gadyāṇas for 20 boys. A female cook on a pay of three gadyāṇas was also appointed to cook the food for the boys. We have the actual dimensions of a school, evidently

primary, which was endowed jointly by the Mahājanas of Eleya Purabaḷḷi (Hubli) and the Kuruba śēṇigas (guild of shepherds) of Navilur (a suburb of Dharwar). The school was situated in the precincts of a temple in Unakal (a suburb of Hubli) and it measured 26 hands long and 21 hands broad.³³

In Narasimhapura, the teacher got 12 gadyāṇas.³⁴ He seems to have been fortunate compared to his confreres elsewhere. In Tāḷagunda the Kannada teacher got much less, that is, 5 gadyāṇas.³⁵ In the Dēgāmve agrahāra, while the teachers for the advanced courses got a share or 3/4 share each, the teacher of children got half a share.³⁶ He fared better than his modern counterpart, because at the present time the primary school teacher as compared to a college teacher gets very much less.

As regards the subjects taught at this stage, the primary instruction in Harihar is called instruction in letters, which meant that in the beginning the alphabets were taught. We have another reference to this stage of instruction in the record of Daṇḍanāyaka Kēśimayya, who gave a grant to the 'skilful teachers of Kannada letters'.³⁷ After the teaching of Kannada letters, we may suppose that the boys were taught the Kannada language, since the course is called 'Karnāta bālaśikṣhe'.³⁸

That literacy was fairly widespread may be presumed from the following circumstances. Hiuen Tsiang mentions a number of monasteries and thousands of monks. Buddhist countries like Burma have a high rate of literacy even in modern times.³⁹ What the Buddhist monks are doing for the spread of literacy in modern times, they must have done in olden days also wherever they were.

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION :

There were, as mentioned earlier, the ghaṭikas, agrahāras, brahmapuris, maṭhas and temples. 'Sāle' or school was a term used to describe higher as well as primary agencies of instruction. One inscription points out how the encouragement of education earned religious merit for the donors. It says : 'Whatever merit arises from pilgrimages to holy bathing places, whatever merit from performing sacrifices, a crore-fold greater merit shall the man obtain who makes gifts of learning.'⁴⁰ This plea for gifts of learning was heeded and we find a variety of centres of higher instruction receiving encouragement by way of gifts of land for their maintenance.

GHATIKAS :

Of all the agencies of higher instruction, the 'ghaṭika' is the least known, but it is the earliest mentioned in the records. The ghaṭika of Kānchi, which flourished outside the Karnataka region, is mentioned in the records of the Kadamba and early Ghālukya rulers. It throws light on the working of the later ghaṭikas of Karnataka, of which it may have well been the model. Mayuraśarman

entered it or was to enter it after he had finished certain preliminary studies. ⁴¹ Hence it was an institution which was at the apex of the educational system, like the Nalanda University. The authorities in charge of it were known as the Mahājanas. The authorities in charge of the agrahāras were also known as Mahājanas, ⁴² and it would not be wrong to assume that like them the Mahājanas of the ghaṭika were also autonomous. The ghaṭika was housed in a temple. For that reason, it was considered as sacred as the temple itself. ⁴³

The records about ghaṭikas in Karnataka namely in Nagai, ⁴⁴ Kadiyur, ⁴⁵ Kuknur, ⁴⁶ Henjēru, ⁴⁷ Morigere ⁴⁸ and Rāyabāg, ⁴⁹ etc., emphasize a few more of its characteristics. One is that the ghaṭikas contained a large number of students. The most famous ghaṭika in Karnataka was that of Nagai in the Gulbarga District. ⁵⁰ In one of its campuses it had 257 members and in another ⁵¹ 400 students. The number of students in the other ghaṭikas are not known.

The second characteristic observable in the ghaṭikas here is that there was provision for time-keepers and watchmen in them. In Nagai ⁵² there was one and in Henjēru ⁵³ in the Tumkur District there were four. The Hallegere Plates ⁵⁴ of Ganga Sivamāra give the title of 'ghaṭikā sāhasa' (a hero of a ghaṭika) to one of the Brahmins named Mādhavaśarma. This title may have been conferred on a highly distinguished scholar who was fortunate enough to get training in a ghaṭika.

To illustrate the organization of a ghaṭika we may take the example in Nagai. It was known as ghaṭikāśāla. ⁵⁵ There were in it 200 scholars studying the Vedas and 52 studying the Sāstras. The staff consisted of three Vedic teachers, three Sāstra teachers for teaching the Bhaṭṭadarsana, Nyāsa (grammar) and Prabhākara and six librarians (Sarasvati-bhaṇḍārikas) and one time-keeper or ghaṭikaprahāri. The distribution of land for the maintenance of this staff and for running the institution and the temples to which it was attached was as follows :

| | <i>Land</i> | | | <i>purpose</i> |
|------|----------------|-----|-------------|---|
| 35 | <i>mattars</i> | and | cave to the | expounder of Baṭṭadarsana. |
| 30 | „ | „ | „ | Nyāsa |
| 45 | „ | „ | „ | Prabhākara |
| 30 | „ | „ | „ | to each Librarian. |
| 30 | „ | „ | „ | to the time-keeper. |
| 1000 | „ | „ | „ | for boarding and lodging 252 scholars and others and for the repair and services of the temples connected with the ghaṭika. |

THE AGRAHARAS:

Turning now to the more familiar agrahāras, one of the earliest was one at Tālagunda⁵⁶ in the Shimoga District. It was founded by Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, an ancestor of Mayūraśarman. He brought thirtytwo Brahmin families from Achichchhatra agrahāra in the north and settled them in the agrahāra at Tālagunda. An inscription of 1091 A. D.⁵⁷ says that the Brahmins there were learned in the Vedas, Vēdāngas and minor angas, in Mīmāṃsa, in the six systems of Logic, in *Smritis*, in Purāṇas and in Drama.

What Tālagunda was to the early Kadamba times, Bādāmi was to the early Chālukya times. Though it is not called an agrahāra, its description in the inscription shows it to be an analogous institutions. An inscription of 699 A. D.⁵⁸ calls Vāṭāpi, or Bādāmi, an *adhishṭhāna* and says that it was adorned by several thousands of excellent dvijas, or twice-born, persons endowed with a knowledge of the fourteen sciences or vidyas. And an inscription of about the 8th century⁵⁹ A. D. supports the above statement by saying that it had 2000 members learned in the four Vedas. The term, 'adhishṭhānah' used in the earlier inscription may be taken to indicate that it was a religious centre and a centre of Vedic learning.

In addition to Bādāmi, Aihoḷe was another centre of learning in early Chālukya and later times. An inscription of the 8th or 9th century A.D.,⁶⁰ says that one Bennamma Sōmayāji gave a grant to the 'five hundred, who constituted the great body of Chaturvēdis of the excellent capital Āryapura (Aihoḷe).' This may mean that Ayyāvoḷe, or Aihoḷe, was an agrahāra containing 500 Mahājanas. And it continued to hold that distinction later also, for an inscription of 1119 A.D.,⁶¹ refers to it as 'an agrahāra with 500 Svāmis or rulers.'

The most famous agrahāra of Rāshṭrakūṭa times was Saloṭgi,⁶² in the Bijapur District. In about 945 A.D., Nārāyaṇa, the Chief Minister of Krishnarāja III, got a school built which was handsome and magnificent in its splendour. There were scholars there from many lands. They were very well provided with land for their maintenance. The chief of that village, one Chakrāyudha Buddha and the two hundred mahājanas, or shareholders, of the agrahāra, gave to the community of scholars some first-rate land measuring 500 nivartanas. The chief also gave 27 furnished dwellings, 4 nivartanas of land as a flower-garden and 12 nivartanas of land for lights. All these gifts were exempt from taxes. At the time of marriage, thread-ceremony and tonsure in the village, presents were to be given to the scholars. They were to be invited for feasts given by the assembly of the agrahāra. The teacher in the school was given 50 nivartanas of land exempt from taxes and one dwelling place on the same condition.

Ummachige,⁶³ near Gadag, was an agrahāra which was established in the beginning of the later Chālukya times. There was a college there with a free hostel attached to it. The Bhaṭṭa, or professor, giving an advanced course was

given a share of 50 mattars of land and one house-site. He could expound Nyāsa and Prabhākara. His students received 25 mattars of land for their maintenance. The general course was given by a teacher called 'Akkariga', or a man of letters. He could teach and compose works on mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics, etc., and was well-versed in grammar. He was given 25 mattars of land and with this allowance he was expected to teach his pupils, feeding them once a day and supplying them with cloth every year.

Many other examples of agrahāras can be given. Dēgamve⁶⁴ in the Belgaum District is typical of the way in which an agrahāra was established. The initiative to found this institution was taken by Kamalādēvi, queen of the Kadamba King Śivachitta. The Brahmins to whom she wanted to donate this agrahāra were acquainted with all the Vedas, Vēdangas, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsa, Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Vedānta, Smṛiti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Astronomy, and delighted in the 'six duties', of performing yajna for onself and others, study and instruction, giving and receiving gifts. They were natives of many countries. While her husband was presiding over his court, she made known her desire to him thus: 'I wish to make a grant to the Brahmins of the village of Dēgamve'. On hearing this, we are told in the record, the king consulted his minister about the queen's request and it seems that they considered it and gave their approval to it. The king himself tested the knowledge of each one of the Brahmins and then accepted the queen's proposal. The division of the shares was as follows:

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1 | share to each of the Bhaṭṭōpadhyāyas (10 named) |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ | „ „ „ (22 named) |
| 1 | „ for explaining the 'Sūtras' |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ | „ for teaching Rig-Vēda. |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ | „ „ Yajur-Vēda. |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ „ children. |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ for provision of drinking water. |
| $3\frac{3}{4}$ | shares for the expenses of dining hall. |
| $12\frac{1}{2}$ | „ towards the services in three temples. |

The inscription recording this grant was written by Gōvindadēva 'whose intellect roams uncontrolled over the Tarkaśāstra, the Tantras and Poetics'.

BRAHMAPURIS:

The difference between an agrahāra and a brahmapuri consisted in the fact that while the former formed a village by itself, the latter formed a part of a city or a town. In other respects a brahmapuri resembled an agrahāra and was, like it, a centre of higher education. And since in those days the towns were few, the brahmapuris were also few. We have in an inscription of Belgāmi⁶⁵ (ancient

Balligāme) a description of the way in which a brahmapuri came into being. It was established by Kēśavadēva, Governor of Banavāsi, who had his headquarters in Balligāme. It contained 38 Brahmins who were well-endowed with all the virtues. They were learned in many Purāṇas, Smritis, Kāvya, Nāṭakas, in the Bhāshya and in Manjari and in different kinds of witty speech and in languages; they were the support of many poets, dialecticians, orators and learned people. They understood letters on stone.

For their residence, Kēśavadēva acquired in the southern quarter of Ballipura (Balligāme) a tract of fertile land producing all manner of fruit, very extensive and level as a mirror and in that pleasant tract he constructed a beautiful temple for Kēśava. And on a large piece of land in front of that temple he built a town and named it Veerakēśavapura after himself. He filled that town with commodious houses 'having raised seats in each chamber, containing the softest cushions (of down) and all manner of vessels' and gave them to the Brahmins mentioned above. Similar brahmapuris existed in Sūḍi, Arasibīḍi, or Vikramapura, Talakāḍ, etc.

MATHAS :

From the tenth century onwards it became usual to attach maṭhas, or monasteries, to temples or *vice versa*. One of the most celebrated examples of a maṭha was the Kōḍiyamaṭha which was attached to the temple of Kēdārēśvara in Balligāme. An inscription of 1162 A. D. ⁶⁶ describes it as follows : "There is the Kōḍiyamaṭha, the place for every branch of learning; the place where food is freely distributed to the poor, the destitute, the lame, the blind, the deaf, story-tellers, singers, drummers, flute-players, dancers, eulogists, the naked, the wounded, Jaina sanyāsis, ekadaṇḍi, tridaṇḍi, hamsa, paramahamsa and other mendicants from all countries; the place for the treatment of diseases of destitute sick persons; a place of security from fear for all living being." From this long description, it appears that this monastery was

- (1) a place of learning in all its branches;
- (2) a choultry for mendicants of different religions and of all countries;
- (3) a hospital, and
- (4) a place of security for all living beings.

The reputation that it acquired in this respect was due to a succession of learned scholars who presided over its destinies, and among the best known was Vāmaśakti. "He was a very Pāṇini in grammar, a very Bhushaṇāchārya in philosophy, a very Bharata in the Nāṭya and other Bharata Sāstras, a very Subandhu in poetical composition, a very Lakuliśvara in Siddhānta (*i.e.*, in Saiva Siddhānta) and a very Skanda in Siva-pada ⁶⁷. He was always surrounded by a troop of brahmachāri disciples who were firmly rooted in the eight fold yōga". ⁶⁸ What a source of strength he was to his students is explained in the statement

that he was 'the one object in which centre all the thoughts and aspirations of his pupils.' ⁶⁹.

About his scholarship the same account says, "One man first makes or discovers a Science ; another gives shape to it by clothing the thought in appropriate words; while another develops the Science (this is the rule), but, marvellous to relate, the guru Vāmaśakti himself does all the above things, and even occupies himself in teaching the Science to those who are ignorant of it."

Many examples of maṭhas can be given, but we shall notice only one more. This was the one attached to the temple of Madhusūdana at Nagai. ⁷⁰ It had a dancing hall and a three-storeyed entrance hall. It had amenities for the religious practices of the ēkadanḍi and the tridanḍi ascetics, of scholars that had just finished their scholastic course (snātakas), . . . brahmachāris and ascetics of the hamsa and paramahamsa orders. It had accommodation and other facilities for scholars who were engaged in the study of the Vedas with their several thousands of sākhas (sections) named Rik, Yajus, Sāma and Atharvaṇa and the Vēdāngas. It possessed lofty porticos, gate-halls and compound walls.

It had an endowment of land of 1045 mattars. Its staff included three professors, one purāṇabhaṭṭa, four stone-cutter artisans to look after the temple and the college or maṭha and one manager to look after the land of the maṭha, and three ghaṭiyāras, or time-keepers.

TEMPLES :

Some temples were centres of elementary education, but there were others which were, like agrahāras and maṭhas, ⁷¹ centres of higher learning. One example of the latter was the Hariharēśvara Temple at Harihara in the Chitradurga District. Among the temple servants figure six paṇḍits who were teachers of the Rig-Vēda, Yajur-Vēda, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāmsa, and the alphabet (akshara-śiksha).

Another example of a temple college was the one attached to the Praṇavēśvara Temple at Tāḷagunda. According to the inscription in that temple ⁷² of 1158 A.D., there were six paṇḍits teaching Rig-Vēda, Yajur-Vēda, Padapātha, Sāma-Vēda, Kalpa, Grammar, Rupāvatārā, Nyāsa, Prabhākara, and Vedānta. There were also teachers who taught the alphabet and Kannada respectively. Part of the income of the temple was for the expenses of the food and clothing of the 48 students—eight students under each of the six paṇḍits mentioned above.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION :

Certain problems of organisation common to all of them may now be noted. PERSONNEL : Many of these agencies were residential institutions containing

students, teachers and managers. The terms for the personnel were as follows: The students were snātakas, or post-graduates, and brahmachāris, or māṇis or undergraduates.⁷³ The terms for teachers were āchārya, bhaṭṭa, upādhyāya or bhaṭṭōpadhyāya and akkariga. Ascetics could also be students. They were known as hamsas, paramahamsas, ēkadandī and tridandī. As regards the administrative staff, there were in the institutions in Nagai, a manager to look after the lands of the college and temple to which it was attached, time-keepers who were also watchmen, six librarians, men to look after repairs of buildings and keep them clean.⁷⁴ Above all, there were, as in Sūḍi, superintendents to see that the students studied regularly and to punish them if they did not do so.⁷⁵

FACILITIES FOR SCHOLARS:

One reason which Hiuen Tsiang adduces for the mastery which Indian scholars had over their subjects was that they were freed from all wants and were thus enabled to concentrate on their studies.⁷⁶ This was true in Karnataka also. Provision was made in the residential institutions for free lodging, boarding, water-supply, clothing, medical aid, lighting, oil-baths,⁷⁷ watchmen and barbers.⁷⁸ The campuses were beautified by gardens, as at Saloṭgi and Nagai. Inside, the houses had all the conveniences then available, as in Kēśavapura at Balligāme.

We may also suppose that only as many students were admitted as there was accommodation. Thus in Taḷagunda, in the Praṇavēśvara Temple College, there were six Faculties and to each of them eight students were admitted.⁷⁹ In one campus⁸⁰ in Nagai there was accommodation for 252 students and in a second campus⁸¹ in the same place the strength was 400—a hundred in each of the four departments. This presupposes a test about the fitness of the students to get admission.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY:

While there were many common subjects like the Vedas, Vedāngas, Grammar, Philosophy, Purāṇas, Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Music and even common text-books, like Pāṇini, Kaumāra and Nyāsa for grammar, and Prabhākara for Mīmāṃsa philosophy, the variations in the courses of study are much more interesting. For example, at Lokkigundī⁸² in the Dharwar District, there was specialisation only in Prabhākara. In the Kōḍiyamaṭha⁸³ in Balligāme, in addition to the six systems of Indian philosophy, Buddhist philosophy and the *Yōgasūtras* of Lakula were studied. And in Kēśavapura, also in Balligāme, there was encouragement for witty speech, dialecticians and orators; and the professors knew various languages and understood the letters on stone⁸⁴ (probably the old inscriptions). The Mahājanas of Kuppattur in the Shimoga District were proficient in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and in the knowledge of languages.⁸⁵ The Brahmins in Arsikere were Vidyādhara acquainted with the Karnata, Lāta, Drāviḍa and other languages of many countries and all their written characters (*lipi*).⁸⁶ In Nagai

100 students studied *S'ukra*, another 100 studied *Vyāsa* and a third 100 studied *Manu* and, on account of the fragmentary nature of the record, we do not know what the fourth hundred studied.⁸⁷ In Ummachige, as has already been noted, the *akkariga* (man of letters) could teach and compose works on Mathematics, Astronomy, Prosody, Poetics, Grammar,⁸⁸ etc. In Hūli, along with the usual subjects, we find mention of Economics.⁸⁹

DISCIPLINE :

These institutions had strict rules of discipline for their students. One set of these rules required the students to study hard and another required them to be celibate. An inscription at Sūḍi in the Dharwar District says that if any student failed to study actively always, the superintendents should never allow him to stay in the hostel or *maṭha*.⁹⁰ In the Ummachige *agrahāra* which contained many students, fines were prescribed for abusing, beating, drawing a dagger, stabbing, for adultery, etc.⁹¹

There was a class of students known as 'naishṭhika brahmachāris',⁹² or life-long celibates, who were noticed by Hiuen Tsiang⁹³ also. Rules prescribed severe punishments if they failed to observe the vow of celibacy. Thus, in one monastery of such students, it is said, 'whether they are *āchāryas* of their establishment or ascetics, it is not open to any person except as observe strict celibacy to abide in the monastery; the villagers, the burghers and the king after mutual consultation shall expel those who do not observe celibacy'.⁹⁴

ACCOMPLISHED PRINCESSES :

Having dealt so far with what may be called general education, we may now deal with certain special types of it, like education for women, professions and the masses. There is no mention in the records of a separate system of education for girls till we come to Ibn Batuta's mention of a number of schools for girls in Honāvar in the North Kanara District in the beginning of the 14th century A.D.⁹⁵ There are, however, instances of highly accomplished princesses accomplished in fine arts such as music and dancing and also well-versed in administration.

Among early Chālukya princesses, Vijaya Bhaṭṭārīka, the queen of Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I, issued a grant in her own name.⁹⁶ She may have been a Governor or Regent. She was also a poetess who won high esteem from literary critics.⁹⁷ She may have been the authoress of *Kaumudī Mahōtsava*.

Under the Rāshtrakūṭas, though there are no examples of princesses acting as administrators, we have the example of ordinary ladies acting in that capacity. When the Nālgāvūṇḍa, or Commissioner, of Nāgarakhaṇḍa died, fighting for his

master, his wife Jakkiyabbe succeeded him and administered his charge ably and when she wanted to retire, she nominated her daughter for the purpose.⁹⁸

Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa we have a number of examples of princesses, acting as governors—perhaps the best example being that of Akkāḍēvi, daughter of Satyāśraya, ruling over the division of Kisukāḍu for a number of years.⁹⁹ For instances of princesses accomplished in the fine arts, the best instance is that of Sāvaladēvi, the queen of Kalachurya Sōvidēva who, in 1174 A.D., is said to have danced before an audience of connoisseurs gathered from her own country and from abroad and to have greatly pleased them.¹⁰⁰ Lakshmādēvi, the queen of Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa Mahārāja, who is said to have ruled in partnership with her husband, was proficient in Kāvya literature as well as in the arts and science of vocal and instrumental music and dance.¹⁰¹ While thus we have knowledge of the accomplishments of princesses, we have no means to know of the arrangements that were made for their instruction. Probably, they were trained in their homes.

Among the services in temples, dancing, music and acting figure invariably. It will not be wrong to assume that many of these artists were women. The recently found Jalasangavi Inscription¹⁰² was inscribed by a lady. In fact, in the inscription, she is shown in the act of writing it. This shows that calligraphy and the art of inscribing on stone were among the accomplishments of women.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION:

The Kadamba, Ganga, Rāshtrakūṭa and Chālukya kings have left behind them beautiful temples. The sculptural part of this art has come down to our own times. The workers in sandalwood in the districts of Shimoga and North and South Kanara are obviously descendants of those who beautified the ancient temples. In fact, these artists are known as gudikāras, or temple-builders. Hence we may suppose that the art of sculpture was handed down from father to son.

How a father taught his son the rudiments of business is well illustrated by the training given to Ādayya, a well-known devotee of Śiva (śaraṇa) by his father. It seems he taught him many kinds of business (bevaḥāram), the methods of travel and how to keep accounts and earn profits.¹⁰³ The Buddhist monasteries were centres of arts and crafts. Hiuen Tsiang's 'five sciences' include technical education. As we shall see later, the Veeraśaiva maṭhas were also centres of arts and crafts. Thus the monasteries and the homes of artisans were the centres of technical and professional instruction.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION:

The importance of physical culture was recognized and it was given a place in the curriculum of the education of the princes. About the Ganga prince,

Tryambaka, it is said that he was 'having his arms made round, big and hard by exercise.'¹⁰⁴ The *Mānasōllāsa*,¹⁰⁵ also emphasizes the development of stamina and suppleness of body as the aim of physical culture. It gives a list of games like running a race between elephants and men, wrestling, boxing and polo. According to it the kings were required to build stadia where these games and athletic events could take place and be watched by a large number of spectators.¹⁰⁶ The kings were further required to have a department in charge of wrestling, the business of which was to look after the training of wrestlers and the arrangement of matches.

In addition to polo, which is described in detail in the *Manasōllāsa*,¹⁰⁷ a Rāshtrakūṭa inscription of the tenth century A.D., from Sravaṇabelagoḷa, describes a ball game played on horse-back,¹⁰⁸ which has resemblance to the game of golf, a game supposed to have been first played in Scotland in the fifteenth century A.D. The Ganga King Narasimha is said to have learnt in his early life to 'play at ball.'¹⁰⁹ But, in the absence of a detailed description, we cannot say what kind of game it was.

Such games were obviously meant for princes and professional players but not for scholars. These latter had their other normal exercise and yogic exercises.¹¹⁰

POPULAR OR MASS EDUCATION :

The temples were the centres of education for the masses. The purāṇa-bhaṭṭa read stories from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* to village audiences. The walls of the temples were sculptured with scenes from the epics, which illustrated the stories read by the purāṇabhaṭṭa. The performances of dance, music and drama in temple theatres like those at Hāveri,¹¹¹ Mugad¹¹² and Nagai¹¹³ trained the people to appreciate art.

THE VEERASAIVA MOVEMENT

The Veeraśaiva movement of the 11th and 12th centuries gave a fillip to education in various ways. A great impetus to education in Kannada was given by its leaders, Śrī Basavēśvara and others, when they made the mother-tongue the medium of their teachings. One important feature of their writings was their emphasis on the dignity of labour. They considered it a sin to live on the earnings of others, the only exception being the priests or jangamas.¹¹⁴

Apart from the vachanas the agency by which the Veeraśaivas tried to broadcast their teachings were the maṭhas, which served the cause of religion, social reform and education at one and the same time. The earlier maṭhas,

especially those of the Kālāmukhas, appear to have now come under the control of the Veeraśaivas. In addition, they established their own maṭhas in which the guru, or the teacher, occupied the most important place.

The maṭhas were of three categories—Viraktamaṭha, Odisumaṭha and Sālimaṭha. While the first emphasized the religious and philosophical teachings the second was concerned with teaching reading and writing and the last with teaching a craft, in addition to teaching writing, reading, arithmetic and accountancy. Among the crafts which were taught were spinning and weaving and agriculture. Elementary medical knowledge was also imparted.¹¹⁵

Thus in the 11th and 12th centuries there was a revolution among the Veeraśaivas in educational ideas and set-up, based upon the following principles : the mother-tongue as the proper medium of instruction, abolition of all caste and sex distinctions, dignity of labour and reverence to the teacher.

THE SCIENCES—MEDICINE :

The earliest reference to medicine is in the Nallāḷa Plates wherein Durvineeta, the Ganga king, is said to have been equal to Ātrēya, Dhanvantri and Charaka in the knowledge of medicine.¹¹⁶ Among the writers on medical science the first name is that of the great Jaina saint and scholar Pūjyapāda (c. 600 A.D.) who is said to have been an expert in this science.¹¹⁷ Nripatunga mentions one Nāgārjuna as one of the earlier writers. Whether this Nāgārjuna was the author of a medical work called *Nagārjuna Kakshāputa*¹¹⁸ is not known.

Chāvundarāya's *Lōkōpakāra*,¹¹⁹ written in about 1025 A.D., contains a big section dealing with medicine, under the headings, 'naravaidya' (men's diseases and their treatment), 'strivaidya' (women's diseases and their treatment) and bālavaidya (children's diseases and their treatment). The next work is that of Jagaddala Sōmanatha¹²⁰ (c. 1150 A.D.). It is called *Karnāṭaka Kalyānakāraka*. It is a translation of the work of Pūjyapāda. It deals with about sixteen kinds of fevers, atisāra (dysentery), raktapitta, consumption, digestive complaints, gulma (diseases of the spleen), etc. The special feature of this work is said to be that it does not prescribe meat and liquor in the treatment of diseases. One Dēvēndramuni wrote a work called *Bālagraha-chikitsa* (children's diseases) in about 1200 A.D.¹²¹

As regards the study of medicine, the Buddhist and Veeraśaiva monasteries taught certain elements of it. An incidental observation in the *Mitākshara*¹²² shows that the medical course was finished in four instead of eight years during the 12th century A.D.

As regards evidence for the practice of medicine, the Kadamba King Ravivarma is said to have made a grant to his favourite doctor.¹²³ In 1029 A.D.,

queen Suggalādēvi made a gift to a Siva temple in Dēvūr and provided, among other things, for the food, clothing and medical treatment of ascetics and students.¹²⁴ A physician named Vijaya Paṇḍita was called Kaliyuga Dhanvantri in an inscription of 1054 A.D. at Davangere.¹²⁵ The following are other similar evidences. There is a reference in an inscription of 1087 A.D. to an army doctor who diagnosed cases of indigestion.¹²⁶ Balligāme is said to have had three dispensaries in 1158 A.D.¹²⁷, and in 1162 A.D., Kōdiyamaṭha is described as a place for the treatment of diseases of destitute sick persons.¹²⁸

VETERINARY SCIENCE:

Coming to veterinary science, Durvineeta is said to have been a rival to Rājaputra (?) and Sālihōtra in the application of the principles expounded in the sciences of training horses and elephants.¹²⁹ One of his successors, Sreepurusha, who reigned in the 8th century, is said to have written a *Gajaśāstra*, a work on elephants.¹³⁰ His son Sivamāra Saigotta made a profound study of the system of elephant management and wrote the *Gajāśhtaka*.¹³¹ Keertivarma, probably a younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, wrote a work called *Gōvaidya*,¹³² in which he has dealt with the diseases of cows and their treatment. The *Mānasōllāsa* deals with the varieties of elephants, their temperament and qualities. It also mentions various kinds of medicines to excite anger in elephants.¹³³ Much information on the varieties of cocks, birds called 'lāvakas', rams, buffaloes, pigeons, falcons, deer, etc., is found in the chapters relating to games and hunting in *Mānasōllāsa*.¹³⁴

MATHEMATICS, ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY:

As mentioned earlier, the Ummachige Inscription¹³⁵ of 1012 A.D. says that one of the teachers in that agrahāra by name Nāgadēsiga could compose works on Mathematics and Astronomy.

There is a reference to one Sampūrṇachandra who was proficient in Solar and Lunar Astronomy.¹³⁶ Chandrabhaṭṭa (c. 1000 A. D.) is mentioned in Raṭṭamata of Raṭṭakavi (c. 1300 A. D.) as having written *Vrishṭhisāstra*, or the science of rain. The greatest name in Mathematics in the Karnataka country was Rājāditya (c. 1120 A. D.), who wrote a number of works like *Vyavahāragāṇita*, *Kshētragaṇita*, *Vyavahāra ratna*, *Leelāvali*, *Chitrahāṣuge*, *Jainagaṇitasūtrātīkōdāharaṇa*, etc. He was also known as Rājavarma, Bhāskara, Bācha, Bāchaya, Bāchirāja and had titles like 'Gaṇitavilāsa', 'Ōjevedēnga' and 'Padya Vidyādhara'. His place was Pūvinabage (modern Raibag) in the Belgaum District. He is the first writer on Mathematics in Kannada. In his works he has touched on all aspects of Mathematics then known. It is difficult to write in poetry on Mathematics and at the same time make it lucid. Still this mathematician, who was also a poet, has achieved the rare distinction of putting Mathematical examples and formulae

in easily understood and pleasant-to-read poetry. He was equally at home both in the manipulation of figures as well as of words.¹³⁷

Sridharāchārya (1049 A. D.) wrote a work on Astrology known as *Jātaka Tilaka*. He hailed from Nargund in the Dharwar District. He was probably the first to write on Astrology in Kannāḍa. He was also a poet. He had the titles 'Gadyōpādhyāya', 'Vidyādhara' and 'Budhamitra'.¹³⁸

LOKOPAKARA :

Finally, a reference may be made to some of the scientific material which is to be found in two encyclopaedic works, namely *Lōkōpakāra* and *Mānasōllāsa*. The first one was written by Chāvaudārāya (1025 A. D.). Reference has already been made to the medical part of this work. The author's object in writing it was to write a hand-book on the art and science of living. We are concerned here, however, only with what may be called the scientific part of it.

CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES :

Here he deals with the varieties of wood useful in constructing houses, digging the foundation, the directions in which the bathroom, the kitchen and the entrance door were to face, the dimensions of the rooms, the size of the pillars,¹³⁹ etc.

WATER :

This section deals with the digging of wells. How deep one has to go to strike sub-soil water, the taste of such water, how to make soft the hard rock, which may be struck in the process, and how to sharpen the instruments of digging and make them as hard as diamond—these are some of the subjects treated.¹⁴⁰

PLANTS :

This is a very valuable section which may be useful even now. It deals with planting, watering, the diseases of plants and their cure.¹⁴¹ It is worthwhile finding out how far the prescriptions given here for making the plants grow more fruits or flowers are practicable. His suggestions for grafting many fruit-bearing plants, and flowering plants are in use even now.

COSMETICS :

The various ways in which the essence of flowers can be extracted and preserved and how in other ways perfumes can be prepared are dealt with in this section.¹⁴²

SCIENCE OF COOKING :

This was known as *Sūpaśāstra*. Not only does our author describe the method of making various preparations, but he also deals with the subject of preservation of foodstuffs, extracting juice from fruits and making delicious drinks. ¹⁴³

MANASÖLLASA :

Mānasōllāsa is an encyclopædia which is said to have been composed by Sōmēśvara III, the son and successor of Vikramāditya VI. *Lōkōpakāra* was meant for the ordinary man, while *Mānasōllāsa* contains information useful for the princes. Reference has already been made to its contents in respect of the veterinary science. A few more references of a scientific nature may now be given.

The details given about the construction of palaces show that the engineers of those days had a good grasp of the problems of lighting and ventilation. ¹⁴⁴

While describing the officers assembled in the court, the author mentions an officer called *S'āstrādhikāri*, ¹⁴⁵ who is likely to have been in charge of sciences like agriculture, astronomy, medicine, etc.

In the section on *Sūpaśāstra*, or cookery, nine varieties of water are mentioned. According to Sōmēśvara, water should be stored in earthen or leather pots and was to be purified with triphala. ¹⁴⁶

There is much information which may be termed scientific in the sections relating to measurements in iconography, materials of painting, perfumes, dress, furniture, means of conveyance, etc. ¹⁴⁷ (*Mānasōllāsa* is further dealt with in the article on 'Sanskrit' given later.)

FOOT NOTES

In addition to the usual abbreviations like *E. I.*, *E. C.*, *M. E. R.*, *I. A.*, *S. I. I.*, *M. A. R.*, the following abbreviations have been used :

1. Rice for L. Rice : *Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions*.
2. K. K. C. for R. Narasimhacharya : *Karnataka Kavicharite*.
3. I. N. K. K. for K. G. Kundangar : *Inscriptions from Northern Karnataka and Kolhāpur*.

1. Luders : *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1186.
2. *Ibid*, No. 1195.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 2.
4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, SK 176.

5. *Ibid*, No. 178.
6. *Indian Antiquary*, VII, p. 38.
7. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1924, p. 71.
8. *M.A.R.*, 1921, p. 21.
9. *I.A.*, VII, p. 161.
10. *I.A.*, VI, p. 363.
11. *I.A.*, XIX, p. 7.
12. Altekar : *Rashtrakutas, and their times*, p. 88.
13. R. Narasimhacharya : *Karnataka Kavicharite*, I, Pp. 17-19.
14. *Ibid*, p. 17.
15. Altekar : *Rashtrakutas*, p. 99.
16. Cambay Plates : *E.I.*, VIII, p. 35.
17. Bilhana : *Vikramankadevacharita*, II, p. 39.
18. *Ibid*, III, Pp. 15-19.
19. Somesvara : *The Manasollasa*, Ed. by G. K. Shrigondekar, II, Pp. 110 ff.
20. *M.A.R.*, 1921, p. 24.
21. Luders : No. 1186.
22. Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, II, p. 239.
23. *Ibid*, p. 239.
24. *Ibid*, I, Pp. 154-55.
25. *S.I.I.*, XI (i), No. 144.
26. *E.C.*, VII, SK 98.
27. *E.C.*, VII, SK 185.
28. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 275.
29. *E.C.*, V, AK 138.
30. *E.C.*, X, KL 106 d.
31. *E.C.*, XII, CK 2.
32. *E.C.*, V, AK 138.
33. Moraes, G. M. : *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 473.
34. *E.C.*, V, AK 138.
35. *E.C.*, VII, SK 185.
36. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 275.
37. *E.C.*, VII, SK 185.
38. *E.C.*, V, AK 138.
39. Altekar : *Education in Ancient India*, p. 232.
40. *E.C.*, VII, SK 185.
41. *E.C.*, VII, SK 176.
42. *E.I.*, III, p. 359.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, VIII, p. 23.
45. *E.I.*, III, p. 359.
46. *M.A.R.*, 1936, para 24.
47. *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 558.
48. *S.I.I.*, IX (i), No. 133.
49. *I.N.K.K.*, No. 6.
50. *H.A.S.*, VIII, Pp. 23-26.
51. *Ibid*, p. 39.
52. *Ibid*, p. 23.
53. *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 558.
54. *E.C.*, III, Md. 113.
55. *H.A.S.*, VIII, Pp. 23-26.
56. *E.C.*, VII, SK 176.

57. *Ibid*, SK 186.
58. *Karnatak Inscriptions* (Ed. R. S. Panchamukhi), I, No. 2.
59. *Ibid*, No. 4.
60. *I.A.*, VIII, p. 287.
61. *S.I.I.*, XI, (i), No. 169.
62. *E.I.*, IV, p. 63.
63. *E.I.*, XX, Pp. 64 ff.
64. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 275.
65. *E.C.*, VII, SK 123.
66. *Ibid*, SK 102.
67. *Ibid*, SK 92, 102.
68. *Ibid*, SK 105.
69. *Ibid*.
70. *H.A.S.*, VIII, p. 35.
71. *E.C.*, XI, Dg 79.
72. *Ibid*, SK 185.
73. *H.A.S.*, VIII, p. 35.
74. *Ibid*, Pp. 23 and 37-38.
75. *E.I.*, XV, No. 6, p. 93.
76. Beal: *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 113.
77. *E.C.*, VII, SK 185.
78. *Ibid*.
79. *Ibid*.
80. *H.A.S.*, VIII, Pp. 23 ff.
81. *Ibid*, p. 39.
82. *E.I.*, XV, Pp. 348 ff.
83. *E.C.*, VII, SK 102.
84. *Ibid*, SK 123.
85. *E.C.*, VII, SK 293.
86. *E.C.*, V, AK 130.
87. *H.A.S.*, VIII, p. 39.
88. *E.I.*, XX, Pp. 64 ff.
89. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 170.
90. *Ibid*, XV, No. 6, p. 93.
91. *E.I.*, XX, p. 70.
92. *E.I.*, XII, Pp. 168 ff.
93. Watters: I, Pp. 160-61.
94. *E.I.*, XII, Pp. 290-91.
95. *The Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, ed. by Mahdi Husain, p. 179.
96. *I.A.*, VII, p. 163.
97. K. T. Pandurangi: *Sanskrita Kaviyatriyaru*, Pp. 16-17.
98. *E.C.*, VII, SK 217.
99. *E.I.*, XV, Pp. 75 ff.
100. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 275.
101. *S.I.I.*, IX (i), No. 273.
102. *Journal of the Karnatak University*, Humanities Number, VI, June 1962, Pp. 57 ff.
103. *Adayyana Ragale*, 'Sivanubhava,' July 1933, p. 74.
104. *M.A.R.*, 1925, p. 68.
105. *The Manasollasa*, II, Pp. 234 ff.
106. *Ibid*, Pp. 229-239.
107. *Ibid*, Pp. 211-224.
108. *E.C.*, II, SB 133.
109. *M.A.R.*, 1921, p. 21.

110. *E.C.*, VII, SK 123.
111. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, III, p. 41.
112. *S.I.I.*, XV (i), No. 78.
113. *H.A.S.*, VIII, p. 30.
114. S. C. Nandimath: *A Hand-book of Virasaivism*, Ch. II.
115. B. S. Gaddagimath: *Kayaka system of education*, in *Education and Culture*, ed. by G. S. Halappa, Pp. 256 ff.
116. *M.A.R.*, 1924, p. 71.
117. *K.K.C.*, I, p. 6.
118. *Ibid*, p. 12.
119. Chavundaraya, *Lokopakara*, Ed. by H. Sesha Iyengar, Ch. 9.
120. *K.K.C.*, II, p. 15.
121. *Ibid*, I, p. 320.
122. Altekar: *Education in Ancient India*, p. 191. f. n. 1.
123. *E.I.*, XVI, Pp. 264 ff.
124. *Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, 25 of 1936-37.
125. *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 74.
126. Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 188.
127. *E.C.*, VIII, sb 277.
128. *E.C.*, VII, SK 102.
129. *M.A.R.*, 1924, p. 71.
130. *K.K.C.*, I, p. 17.
131. Rice, Pp. 198-99.
132. *K.K.C.I.*, p. 130.
133. *The Manasollasa*, II, Pp. 30-1.
134. *Ibid*, II, Pp. 38-45.
135. *E.I.*, XX, p. 66.
136. Rice, p. 199.
137. *K.K.C.*, I, Pp. 123-27.
138. *Ibid*.
139. Chavundaraya: *Lokopakara*, Pp. 7 and 8.
140. *Ibid*, p. 12.
141. *Ibid*, Pp. 12 and 13.
142. *Ibid*, Pp. 14 and 15.
143. *Ibid*, p. 15.
144. *The Manasollasa*, II, p. 13.
145. *Ibid*, p. 18.
146. *Ibid*, p. 23.
147. *Ibid*, Pp. 8-24.

KANNADA KALYANA-CHALUKYA PERIOD

The tenth century was a period of political unrest : there were frequent wars between the kings of one region and those of another. The villagers had to depend on themselves for protecting their interests against cattle-lifters and robbers. As a result, the atmosphere was charged with zeal and heroism. Men were ready to take up arms and sacrifice their lives for a cause.

Jainism wielded great influence during this period. We cannot say, however, that it was the most popular religion. Like their predecessors, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa extended their patronage to Jainism, though they themselves were not Jainas. Kannada literature, in its early stages, owes much to the Jaina poets who cultivated the Kannada language when it was generally thought that Kannada was not a fit vehicle for literary compositions.

Kannada literature had made considerable advance by the time the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa established their supremacy. Several poets had composed works both in prose and verse; they had composed in a style called champu also, champu being an admixture of prose and verse. Among the poets of the champu style are Guṇavarma I, Pampa and Ponna. The influence of Pampa on later poets is remarkable. Indeed, the period of literature from Pampa (c. 950 A.D.) to Basava (c. 1160 A.D.) has been justly named 'The Age of Pampa'.

Ranna was the first poet to write under the Chālukyas. He was patronised by the emperor Taila II. Ranna was born in 949 A.D., as the fourth son of Jinavallabha, who was a dealer in bangles and a devout Jaina. Ranna was born at Muduvōḷal, the present Mudhōḷ. His education was under the celebrated teacher Ajitasēnāchārya. As Ranna puts it, his career was one of slow but steady progress. He was patronised by feudatories in the beginning, later by a Maṇḍalēśvara, and finally by the emperor (Chakravarti) himself, who bestowed on him the title 'Kavichakravarti'. Two great figures who played a great part in Ranna's life were Chāvunḍarāya and Attimabbe. The former was the author of *Chāvunḍarāya-purāṇa*; but he is better known as the person responsible for the gigantic stone image of Gommaṭa at Sravaṇabelagoḷa. The latter is one of the greatest women born in Karnataka. It is said that she got a thousand copies of Ponna's *S'anti-purāṇa* copied and distributed. Kings, ministers, and religious men 'shaped' this Jewel (Ranna and Ratna), the Jewel of Poets (Kaviratna).

Among Ranna's works, two, or rather three, are extant. His *Chakrēśvara Charite* and *Paraśurama Charite* are not available. It is not easy to guess the subject

matter of these poems, in spite of the attempts made by scholars. *Ajītapurāṇa*, *Gadāyuddha* (or *Sāhasa Bheemavijaya*) and *Rannakanda* are extant. He wrote his *Ajītapurāṇa* for Attimabbe during the reign of Taila II in 993 A.D. It is a short poem of twelve chapters. As the very name indicates, it is a purāṇa with eight angas or parts, viz dēśam, puram, rājavrittakam, arhadvibhavam, chaturgati, tapōmārgam and phalam. The story of Ajitasvāmi, the second Jina, is related here. It is a short story and contains a few interesting episodes. Ranna has tried to narrate the episodes in eight chapters padding the narrative with detailed discussions of Jaina philosophy and with elaborate descriptions of nature. *Ajītapurāṇa* is the first attempt, and not a very successful attempt, of a great poet. But it is not suggested that the attempt of Ranna is a failure. There are a few sections in this poem that are unsurpassed. For example, the verses on renunciation spoken by Vimalavāhana, who afterwards incarnates as Jina, have a lyrical beauty and emotional appeal of a universal character; they describe the futility of human glory and happiness in a language which poets like Ranna alone can wield. But, as elsewhere, even here Ranna tries to elaborate, and one is left with the feeling that it is overdone. The portions describing the birth of Ajita, 'the Washing Ceremony' (Janmābhishēka) and Indra's dance are but imitations of Pampa. The finest portion in this work, of course, is the story of Sagara. The story of Sagara and Bhageeratha, as is narrated here, is the Jaina version, and differs in many respects from the well-known traditional Hindu version.

The second and the best of his works is *Gadāyuddha*. It is a heroic poem and is in keeping with the spirit of the age. Written at a time and in a country when heroism was practised and honoured, it is the greatest work of one of the greatest poets. The story deals with the last day of the Kurukshētra War. It is the story of a single day that is narrated. But the poet has so narrated the story that almost the whole story of the *Mahabharata* is related in various dialogues and in numerous descriptive passages. 'Simhāvalōkana krama' is the name given to this technique by the poet. It is analogous to the 'flash-back' in film technique. The whole of *Gadāyuddha* is indebted to the 13th canto of *Pampa Bhārata*. Ranna has freely drawn his ideas, phrases and even verses from the earlier work and has enriched them by his imagination. The hero of this poem is Bheema, who, according to the poet, is no other than Irivabedānga Satyāśraya (997-1108 A.D.). He was the son of Taila II and was the reigning monarch when Ranna wrote his poem. It is Bheema who becomes King; Draupadi is not the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas, but of Bheema only. These are some of the changes made by Ranna while adapting the original story. Among the characters, Duryōdhana attracts us. According to Ranna, Duryōdhana is a 'mahānubhāva'—a truly great man. He has committed great sins but, at the same time, he is a person full of human qualities. He is an ideal as friend, father, brother and disciple. He is a hero who is resolute ('chhala'). He clings to his ideals—whether they are right or wrong,—in spite of failures. He elevates himself to tragic heights. As a critic aptly remarks, the poet has elevated Duryōdhana without lowering Bheema.

The style of *Gadāyuddha* is dramatic. The influence of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, the author of *Vēṇiśamhāra* (the well-known Sanskrit play), on this work is evident. Ranna stands unparalleled in Kannada literature for his vigorous style. As the poet himself states, he has plundered the treasury of words of the Goddess of Learning, Sarasvati.

The last of his works is *Rannakanda*. It is a very short and summary dictionary in verse form. Twelve short verses of this work are available, but they are in no way significant except as being ascribed to an eminent poet.

Contemporaneous with Ranna, there was an author by name Nāgavarma. Since there was another author of that name he is called Nāgavarma I. He is the author of *Chandōmbudhi* and *Karnataka Kādambari*. Though he mentions a King Chandra who might have been his patron, nothing definite can be stated, as we do not know anything about him. Nāgavarma was a Saiva Brahmin and is the first great non-Jaina poet, so far known in Kannada Literature.

Both his *Chandōmbudhi* and *Karnataka Kādambari* are distinct contributions to Kannada language and literature. *Chandōmbudhi* is a work on Prosody. Among the works extant on the subject, this is the earliest and the most authoritative. It was naturally looked upon as a text-book on metrics. As a result, it has undergone several changes in the form of interpolations, corrections and additions. The author deals with the 'akshara vrittas', 'mātrā vrittas' and 'amśa vrittas' in the first five chapters, while the sixth is devoted to a description of the six 'pratyayas'. The most significant is the fifth chapter, wherein several metres like shaṭpadi, tripadi, geetike, Chandōvatamśa, akkara, etc., which are peculiar to Kannada, are described.

His other work, *Karnataka Kādambari* is a translation, in champu form, of the famous *Kādambari* of Bāṇa. Bāṇa was well-known to Kannada poets and his ornate style was eagerly and sometimes injudiciously imitated. Nāgavarma I was not just a translator: he was a poet as well. As a result, what we have is not a mere translation, but something which approximates to creation. His work is a model of adaptation. He has implicitly followed the original, and has abridged the original on occasions. In a translation like this, it is possible that a few pitfalls might occur, but, on the whole, it must be pronounced to be a satisfactory rendering. His language is chaste and natural. A few episodes like the love episode of Vaiśampāyana and Mahāśvēte, the penance of Mahāśvēte, the love episode of Chandrapeeḍa and Kādambari are sketched with the delicate touch of an artist. Though a translation, it is perhaps the first love-poem in Kannada literature.

There were a number of poets during the closing years of the 10th century, but their works are not available. Gajāṅkuśa and Mānasija are known to us by name. Kannamayya was the author of *Mālati-mādhava*, which was, in all probability, a translation in champu form, of the famous drama of Bhavabhūti.

The names of a few works like *Karnāṭeśvara-kathe* and *Sringārapinḍa* are known to us. But neither are the authors known nor are those works extant. However, there was great literary activity during the last years of the 10th century and the literary output of the century is justly reckoned as 'the first golden crop' of literary cultivation in Kannada.

The 11th century offers few works which can be called literature in its strict and limited sense. The trend of this century was towards scientific works, or Sāstras. It is not easy to guess the reason for this. Another thing worth noticing is the growing interest which the Brahmin poets began to evince in the Kannada language. Jainism began to lose its hold on the masses and other religions slowly gained ground. There seems to have been a sort of unrest in the country, both political and religious.

The activities of this century may be divided under two heads : 1. the writing of scientific treatises, and 2. the creation of literary works. Even the writers of scientific works called themselves poets and called their treatises poems. These scientific treatises are all in verse form, which is a feature which Kannada shares with Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

Chāvunḍarāya II (c. 1025 A.D.) wrote the famous work called *Lōkōpakāra*. He was a Brahmin and an official serving the Chālukya emperor, Jayasimha II (1015-42 A.D.) As the very name suggests, *Lōkōpakāra* is a compendium of useful knowledge. The topics discussed include astrology, architecture, medicine, cookery, etc. Special mention must be made of its simple style.

Chandrarāja (c. 1040 A. D.) was a contemporary of Chāvunḍarāya. His patron was King Rēcha 'who grew on the very lap of Jayasimha', the Chālukya emperor. Rēcha was a highly talented person. Chandrarāja, too, was highly gifted and was an expert in all the sixty-four kalas. According to him, dharma and artha are subservient to kāma, and hence kāma is important. His work called '*Chhandōrṇava*' is a treatise on Kāmaśāstra. He has mentioned a few writers on the subject like Vātsyāyana, Vaiśika, Charāyaṇa, Swarṇanābha, Gōnar-diya, Ghōṭamukha, Gōṇikāputra Kūchimāra. He has culled information from all sources and has given a gist of the information thus collected. It is difficult to enjoy his style. It is so full of chitrakavita (ornamental poetry), which is rare in Kannada literature. The special distinction of the work is the use of rare metres in it. He himself calls his work an ocean of metres (*Chhandōrṇava*).

His contemporary was Jayakeerti (c. 1040). He was a Digambara Jaina and a Kannaḍiga. *Chandōnuśāsana*, which is in Sanskrit and deals with Prosody, is his work. The seventh chapter deals with metres peculiar to Kannada, and his treatment serves as a supplement to a similar contribution by Nāgavarma, the author of *Chhandōmbudhi*.

Sṛīdharāchārya is one of the most celebrated authors of scientific treatises produced in the 11th century. He was a Jaina and wrote *Jātaka Tilaka* in 1049 A.D.

His patron was Āhavamalla, or Somēśvara I, (1042-68 A.D.), the Chālukya emperor. His work is a treatise on Astronomy and it is the first of its kind in Kannada. He calls his treatise 'Jōyishagabba' (Jyōtishya-kāvya). He is most indebted to *Brihat-jātaka* and *Laghujātaka* of Varāhamihira and *Sārāvali* of Kalyāṇavarman. He states that it is impossible to make a scientific treatise interesting. His style is exceedingly simple but it is marked by copiousness. His literary work *Chandraprabhā Charite* is not available. Imitating Pampa, he tells us that he has explained the intricacies of Mathematics (gaṇitadharma) in *Jātaka Tilaka* and the decorum of poetry (kāvyadharmā) in *Chandraprabhā Charite*.

The name of Keertivarma (c. 1100) as a writer of a scientific treatise is worthy of notice. He was a Chālukya prince, a son of Trailōkyamalla (1042-68 A. D.) and a younger brother of Vikramāditya (1076-1126 A. D.). Although most of the Chālukya emperors were Saivites, Keertivarma was a Jaina. According to Brahmasiva (a writer of the 12th century), Keertivarma, being a prince, gave liberal grants and worked for the rejuvenation of Jainism. One of his numerous titles was 'Vidyāratna'. *Gōvaidya* is his work. It is a medical treatise on the diseases of cattle. He has discussed various diseases, their treatment, the tying of charms, and cauterizing cattle for diseases. It is not surprising that a prince has written a medical treatise, because the education imparted to princes was rigorous and included numerous subjects.

Only a few works of any literary merit belonging to this century are available. Durgasimha was a native of Sayyaḍi. According to inscriptions, Sayyaḍi was a famous agrahāra and a great centre of learning. Durgasimha was a Brahmin and minister for war and peace (Sandhivigrahi) of the Chālukya emperor Jayasimha (1015-1042 A. D.) Now it is proved on referring to a manuscript of Kannada *Panchatantra* available at Arrah (Bihar) that Durgasimha wrote his work in 1031 A. D.

Durgasimha belonged to a family of scholars and he has mentioned many great writers of Sanskrit literature. He was well read in ancient Indian political systems, and this is proved by the numerous quotations in his work. The Kannada *Panchatantra* is a translation of the *Panchatantra* of Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa. According to mythology as narrated by Durgasimha, God Śiva narrated to his divine consort, Pārvati, a number of interesting stories. Among the audience was a follower of Śiva called Pushpadanta. He heard the stories. For some unknown reason, he took birth as Gunāḍhya and retold these stories in the Paisāchi language and called his narratives *Brihat-kathā*. Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa chose just five from this ocean of stories and wrote them under the title *Panchatantra* in Sanskrit. Durgasimha states that this *Panchatantra* of Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa has been translated by him into Kannada. Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa's version of the *Panchatantra* is not extant, though a few works of his school are available in the countries of the Far East. Therefore, the work of Durgasimha has an interest for Sanskritists as well.

His *Panchatantra* contains five chapters: Bhēdāprakaraṇa, Pareekshāprakaraṇa, Viśvāsāprakaraṇa, Vanchanāprakaraṇa and Mitrakāryāprakaraṇa. In each chapter

stories are narrated and tales are told within tales. Durgasimha is an excellent narrator. He knows where to be concise and where to be elaborate and descriptive. His language sometimes is as ornate as Bāṇa's, but he can be simplicity itself. His prose passages exceed his verses in number; they are very attractive and abound in proverbs current during his time. His prose finds an honourable place in the history of the development of Kannada prose. He has a fine sense of humour. The characters of *Panchatantra* are mostly animals. They speak, think and preach philosophy like human beings and they quote profusely from the Scriptures. This animal world is but a replica of the human world. The purpose of the author is not just narration, but inculcation of morals. Most of the stories are satirical in character.

Sāntinātha (c. 1060 A. D.), the author of *Sukumāra Charite*, was an officer of Lakshmaṇarāja, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of Banavāsi 12000. Lakshmaṇarāja had the title 'the hero responsible for the maintenance of the Chālukya empire' and his relations with the Chālukya emperors were intimate: he was almost like a brother to the emperor. Sāntinātha composed an inscription dated 1068 A. D., wherein he clearly states that he was the author of *Sukumāra Charita*.

The story of Sukumārasvāmi is one of the finest in Jaina literature and it was very popular among all poets— Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Kannada. In *Vaḍḍārādhane*, the story of Sukumārasvāmi is narrated. Sāntinātha is the next writer to deal with the story. That Sāntinātha had read *Vaḍḍārādhane* is beyond doubt, because he has borrowed not only ideas, but phrases also. He must have read other works and, in consequence, there are some minor deviations. *Sukumāra Charite* of Sāntinātha is in champu style. Sāntinātha was an admirer of Pampa, Ponna and Ranna; but it was Pampa who appealed to him most. Like Pampa, Sāntinātha has declared that he has dealt with both 'dharma' and 'kāvyadharmā', in his poem. Pampa's influence is discernible throughout his work. But he is no mere imitator. He is a poet endowed with great talents. His narration is quite interesting though overloaded at times with Jaina philosophy.

The story of Sukumāra is not the story of an individual, but the story of a soul in its numerous births. It is the story of the soul of Vāyubhūti which took many births and suffered before it got its release from the bonds of karma and attained salvation. The characters of Vāyubhūti and Agnibhūti, his brother, together with Sūryamitra, their teacher, are admirably drawn. Sukumārasvāmi is the name of Vāyubhūti in his last birth. His story is very well narrated. The poet has omitted a few episodes found in *Vaḍḍārādhane*, an omission which it is hard to justify. On the whole, *Sukumāra Charite* is a poetical work without which Kannada literature of the 11th century would have been poorer.

We must mention here an author whose attempts are the earliest in the history of Vachana Literature. He is Dēvara Dāsimaṃya (c. 1040 A.D.) who, according to Veeraśaiva Purāṇas, lived during the reign of Jayasimha II. There

will be an occasion to mention him and his contribution later. Nāgavarmāchārya (c. 1071 A. D.), the author of *Chandrachūdāmaṇi Śataka* was a minister for war and peace of Udayāditya, chief of the army of Bhuvanaikamalla (1069-1076 A. D.). He was an Advaitin and has another name 'Guṇagalla' (a thief of virtues, i. e., one who picks up and stores the virtues of others.) His work is the earliest in the history of Śataka (century of verses) literature in Kannada.

Now we come to the 12th century. It is a period which is important for many reasons in the history of Karnataka. As we saw earlier, Jainism was losing ground to Saivism. This process continued in this century. During this period, two philosophic faiths appeared on the horizon. Rāmānuja came over to the Hoysala country: Bṛh̥ṭidēva became a Śrī Vasiṣṭhava and adopted the name, Vishnuvardhana. This conversion was a blow to Jainism. In North Karnataka, Veeraśaivism came to prominence under the leadership of Basava, Allama, Siddarāma and Channabasava. They were dynamic in their approach to social and religious problems. They stood against the then social evils of casteism, varṇāśrama, priestcraft, etc. It was a socio-religious revolution and the movement enriched Kannada literature by starting a new pattern of writing. This century witnessed the transition of the Kannada language: the evolution of old Kannada into mediaeval Kannada was complete. Thus, from the social, the religious, the literary and the linguistic points of view, this century is unique in the history of Karnataka.

The Jainas were compelled to defend and popularize their religion against the other faiths developing during this century. Nayasēna's *Dharmamṛita* (1112 A.D.) stands out among such attempts. Nayasēna was a sanyasin at Mulgunda. He was looked upon with reverence by kings (rājapūjya). *Dharmāmṛita* is a champu and has a purpose, namely the elevation of the common man. The language of the champu, prior to Nayasēna, used to be intricate and pedantic; also, many of the champu poets found their readers only among scholars: the champu poets did not usually write for the common man. They lost themselves in the elaborate 'eighteen descriptions' (ashtādaśavarṇana). But Nayasēna made a departure. He used very simple language in his poetry. He attacked those who freely mixed Sanskrit and Kannada. He compared it to mixing oil and ghee. But he is not against the use of Sanskrit words. Only, he condemns those who are unduly fond of Sanskrit and neglect 'pure' Kannada words. In this respect he is not a fanatic like Āṇḍayya.

Nayasēna was a man who had rich experience, and had a highly developed social consciousness. The contemporary life of his time has found adequate expression in his poetry. Simile and metaphor seem to be his speciality. The number of similes used by him bewilder readers. He was influenced deeply by the language spoken around him. As a result, hundreds of proverbs find a place in his poetry. He was, moreover, himself a coiner of proverbs.

Dharmāmṛita is a collection of stories and shows Nayasēna as an excellent narrator. The story of Vasubhūti and the story of Jinendra-

bhaktaśeṭṭi may be cited as instances. There are a few stories like the story of Dharmakirtikumāra that resembles the story of Chandrahāsa; likewise, the story of Drōṇāchārya and Suvēga resembles the story of Drōṇa and Ēkalavya. Every story has a moral to inculcate. The stories teach 'samyagdarśana' (the right faith) along with its eight components and five 'aṇuvratas'. According to the poet himself *Dharmāmṛita* is the quintessence of Jainism.

Nāyasēna's style is simple and effortless. Nowhere has he strained for verbal effects. But he does not know how to be brief and suggestive. He is too free with his similes. After reading his work one feels greatly impressed with his command over similes, but wishes that the poem had been less verbose. On the whole, Nāyasēna is one of the most significant poets of the 12th century.

Nāgavarma II (c. 1145 A.D.) was a poet and a grammarian. He was a 'kaṭakōpādhyāya' (a teacher of military arts), during the reign of the emperor Jagadēkamalla (1138-1150 A. D.). The famous poet of the 13th century, Janna, studied under him. Nāgavarma had the title 'Abhinava Sarvavarma.' Among his works three are extant. *Kāvyaṭīkā*, *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* and *Abhidhāna-vastukōśa*. He is said to have written a Jinendra Purāṇa and a work on Prosody. These are not available. *Kāvyaṭīkā* is a work on poetics, though in the first chapter called 'Śabdasmṛiti', he has briefly discussed Kannada grammar. His observations on Kannada grammar are among the earliest and they inspired Kēśirāja to write his celebrated grammar *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* in the next century. The portions on poetics are based on Rūdraṭa's Sanskrit work *Kāvyaṭīkā*. *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* is a Kannada grammar written in Sanskrit and this was the model for Bhaṭṭakaṭanka's *Śabdānuśāsaṇa*. *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* has a Kannada commentary written during the 17th century. *Abhidhāna-vastukōśa* is a Kannada Lexicon in verse form. The contribution of Nāgavarma II to the study of the Kannada language is substantial. In this respect he is unique in the history of Kannada language and literature.

Brahmaśiva (c. 1150 A. D.) of this century deserves special mention. *Samayapareekṣhe* is his work. As the very name indicates, this treatise is concerned with an examination of different religions. Brahmaśiva was deeply read and had a first-hand knowledge of many religious sects. He must have been a Jaina in the beginning who became a Saiva, and, after a time, returned to Jainism, because he was not satisfied with Saivism. In his view Jainism is the best religion. He has mentioned in his book the weaknesses of the religious sects of his time. His criticism is conveyed in unmistakable terms. But Brahmaśiva was a partisan, and, therefore, his criticism suffers by his intense love of his own religion. His style is not pleasing; at times it can be as sharp as a razor. The descriptions of the religious conditions of the time enable us to understand the background to the rise of Veerśaivism. *Samayapareekṣhe* is the only book of its kind in Kannada that has the avowed aim of providing a comparative study of religions.

Sōmēśvara III was the last great emperor the Chālukya dynasty. His successors were very weak. As a result, Bijjaḷa came into prominence and ultimately usurped the throne about 1156 A. D. His reign lasted just a few years and was remarkable for the rise of Veeraśaivism under the leadership of such towering personalities as Basava and Allama. Earlier than 1150 A. D., Veeraśaivism must have been prevalent in one form or another, since no book either in Sanskrit or in Kannada ascribes to Basava the founding of Veeraśaivism. Basava himself mentions several times his holy predecessors (ādyaru), among whom a few at least are known to history. For example, Dēvara Dāsimaḡya, a contemporary of Jayasimha (1015-42) was a writer of 'vachanas'. There were others like Mādara Channayya, Dōhara Kakkayya and Sakalēśa Mādarasa, all of whom lived earlier than Basava. Veeraśaivism developed into a dynamic religious and social force during Basava's time in Karnataka.

Basava was a Brahmin by birth, but rebelled against the evils in the current religion. He was a revolutionary and aimed at equality for all. He championed the cause of women and persons born in the so-called lower castes. He condemned all forms of social injustice. He taught the path of Bhakti and showed that Bhakti, or devotion to God, was the best means for realising the self. This revolution gave momentum to his teaching and, within a few years, attracted a large number of followers from all corners of India. The converts belonged to all castes, occupations and to different strata of society. Women were declared to be equal to men and had equal opportunities in all matters—social, religious, cultural and economic. It was a revolution meant for the uplift of the neglected, the poor, the uneducated and the oppressed.

Many of the vachanakāras were from the lowest strata of society. A few of them were well-read, but many of them were men of little learning. They pursued a variety of occupations. Basava was a minister; Siddarāma was a man of God and a social worker; Mādara Channayya was a shoe-maker; Turugāhi Rāmaṇṇa was a cowherd; Sūjikāyakada Rāmitande was a tailor; Mēdara Kētayya was a basket-maker; Bāchikāyakada Basappa was a carpenter. These examples make it clear that the status of every profession was equal to that of every other profession. All of them declared that the different professions have to be pursued with a sense of dedication. The realisation of God is possible by pursuing one's profession with this spirit. This is meant by the word 'kāyaka'. The different vachanakāras have each his or her characteristic expression and thought. The several spiritual and other experiences of a vachanakāra are expressed through an imagery which reveals the profession to which he or she belonged.

The leaders of Vecraśaivism gave their thoughts and experiences the form of vachanas. They are aphoristic in form and rhythmic in style and words. One of the chief aims of the vachanakāras was to propagate their thought in the people's own language—in a language that could be understood by the common

man. 'Vachana' means spoken word or prose. But in this context 'vachana' means a type of composition which is neither prose nor verse. All the vachanas have some rhythm, though non-metrical. As far as we know, vachanas are a special literary form peculiar to Kannada and a contribution of Karnataka to literary forms.

The earliest to write vachanas was Dēvara (Jēḍara) Dāsimaḡya. He was a weaver by profession. He lived in the 11th century, and it is recorded that he defeated the Jainas in a disputation. Suggalādēvi, the Chālukya queen, was one of his disciples. He is remembered by later writers as one beloved of God. His vachanas are fine compositions and are remarkable for their imagery and rhythm.

The greatest of vachanakāras, and undoubtedly the life-breath of the Vachana Movement, was Basava (c. 1160 A.D.). His house, called by others 'mahāmane' (the great house), became the radiating centre of Veeraśaivism and was like an academy. He established the Anubhava Maṇṭapa, an assembly of mystics and saints, where discussions of things spiritual and religious took place.

Basava had the eye of an artist and the heart of a poet. Some of his vachanas are the finest of their kind in the whole of Kannada literature. His imagery is comparable with the best in Kannada.

Allama was another vachanakāra who presided over the Anubhava Maṇṭapa, and was looked upon with reverence by others. He moved from place to place, met many religious men, solved their problems and acted as the beacon light to the seekers of spiritual enlightenment. He was a mystic and attained to rare spiritual heights. His vachanas make somewhat difficult reading, because his experiences as a mystic were unusual. As a mystic, his language is full of symbols. Since symbolism is his special characteristic, the understanding of Allama's vachanas requires careful and enlightened study.

Channabasava was the nephew of Basava. Since he was a learned scholar, he was the referee to whom all doubts were referred when problems were discussed, Siddarāma was another influential vachanakāra. He was a native of Sonnalige, modern Sholapur. If Channabasava was a Jnānayōgin, Siddarāma was a Karma-yōgin. His compositions proclaim the great ideal of 'wiping every tear from every eye'.

Akkamahādēvi is the most arresting character among the vachanakāras. She, like Meera and Āṇḍal, chose God as her Beloved during her early days. She was compelled to marry King Kauśika under the threat of harm overtaking her parents. She did not stay in the palace of Kauśika for long but roamed from place to place, leaving the palace of King Kauśika, in search of her Beloved, singing devotional songs. She came to Kalyāṇa and met all the leaders of Veera-

Saivism. From Kālyāṇa she went to Sriśailam and became united with God.

Her vachanas are lyrical and express her intimate personal feelings. They have wonderful poetic quality. All the states of her mind are mirrored in her vachanas.

Muktāyakka, Rāṇi Mahādevi and Neelamma are some of the other women who composed vachanas. They are some of the earliest women writers in the history of Kannada literature. They had made good progress in the path of religious knowledge and practice.

Maḍivāḷa Māchayya and Ambigara Chauḍayya expressed themselves against social injustices and evils. They have, in their vachanas, expressed their abhorrence of such things. Some of the finest vachanas can be found in the compositions of Urilingadēva and Gajēśa Masaṇayya. Both of them looked upon God as their Beloved. Their vachanas can be compared with the best utterances of those mystics who follow the 'madhura bhāva' or the path of love. Kinnari Brahmayya, Kambada Māritande, Nāgeya Māritande, Mādara Dūḷayya, Ghaṭṭi-vaḷayya and others have composed vachanas of genuine poetic value.

Thus the Vachana Movement started a new tradition altogether and opened avenues to be enriched by the authors who came later. For the first time, vachanas made it clear that Kannada could be a fit vehicle for philosophical and mystic thought. The vachana movement brought new light and life to the language as well as to the people of Karnataka.

The period of the Chālukya rule was thus a fruitful period from the point of view of variety of subjects and modes of literary composition.

SANSKRIT KALYANA-CHALUKYA PERIOD

The patronage extended to Sanskrit writers by the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa was almost unprecedented in the history of Karnataka. There seems to have arisen a healthy competition between rulers of the north like Bhōja and rulers of the south like Vikramāditya VI to secure the best poets and philosophers for their courts by offering them fabulous rewards. Hence it is that we find luminaries of all-India fame like Vādirāja, Bilhaṇa, and Vijnānēśvara adorning the Chālukyan Court and making solid contributions to various branches of Sanskrit learning.

The Jaina Vādirāja, in the court of Jayasimha II (Jagadēkamalla), whose reign extended from 1015 to 1042 A.D., was indeed a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of Jaina writers in Sanskrit, deserving a place in the company of Samantabhadra and Akaṣanka. His genius has been deservedly eulogised not only in dozens of inscriptions all over Karnataka (*E.C.*, VIII, 35-40, Belur 117, etc.), but also in Kannada literary works like Nāgavarma's *Kavyāvalōkana* and Sāntinātha's *Sukumāra Charita*. Below are given (in translation) two of the many verses in 'Mallisēnapraśasti' at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa (12th century A.D.) glorifying Vādirāja as a scholar and ever victorious debater:

"A speech which illumined the three worlds has issued only from two persons on this earth : one (was) the king of Jinas, the other Vādirāja."

"In the victorious capital of the glorious Chālukya emperor (Chakrēśvara) (which is) the birth-place of the Goddess of Speech, the sharp-sounding drum of the victorious Vādirāja suddenly roams about. (The drum sounds) 'jahi', *i.e.*, 'strike' as though its pride in disputation were rising ; (it sounds 'jahīhi' *i.e.*, 'give up', as though it boasted of clear, soft, sweet and pleasant poetry" (Translation by Hultzsch, *E.I.*, III, p. 18.)

Of the many works of Vādirāja, only the *Yasōdhara Charita*, a short narrative poem (in four cantos) in about 300 verses, was published in 1912 (from Tanjore), and his longer literary epic, *Pārśvanātha Charita* (in twelve cantos) was published in 1916 (Bombay) ; but they have not received any wide attention outside the narrow circle of Jaina scholars. But his *Magnum opus*, the *Nyāyaviniśchaya-ṭeeka*, an exhaustive commentary on the philosophical and polemical classic of Akaṣanka called *Nyāyaviniśchaya* after the manner of the Buddhist Dharmakeerti's well-known *Pramāṇaviniśchaya*, has been published in two volumes only very recently (by the Bharatiya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī). Even a cursory glance through these volumes will reveal how Vādirāja eminently deserved the titles 'Sat-tārka-Shaṇ-

mukha', 'Syādvāda vidyāpati' and 'Jagadēkamallavādi' conferred on him by the Chālukyan emperor Jagadēkamalla. Vādirāja is seen here as an able thinker giving elaborate critiques of all the six systems of Indian philosophy, and refuting in detail the arguments of such eminent thinkers of rival schools as the Buddhist Dharmakeerti, as interpreted by Archaṭa and Dharmōttara, the Mimāṃsaka Kumārila bhaṭṭa, and Vedantins like Śaṅkara and Maṇḍanamiśra. Hundreds of works and authors are referred to, and after a thorough examination of all, the Jaina theory of Syādvāda is established as the most impeccable metaphysical truth. This monumental work, which yet awaits critical study by scholars, bids fair to prove a gold mine of philosophical ideas, but has been little known hitherto. Another work on Logic by Vādirāja is *Pramāṇa nīrṇaya* (printed in Bombay, 1917). It is a lucid compendium or handbook on the various pramāṇas or instruments of valid knowledge.

Even as a poet, Vādirāja deserves a high place. Though his *Pārśvanātha Charita* is an ornate epic on the life of a religious saint (based on the story of Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*), and full of conventional conceits and lengthy descriptions, his *Yaśōdhara Charita* is a spirited narrative, in mellifluous verse, of the ever fresh theme of woman's frailty leading to wickedness, and of the wages of sin. Unlike the common run of Sanskrit love-poems whose theme is romantic love ending happily, we have here a fresh 'realistic tale based on a domestic tragedy', where happiness is disturbed by the vagaries of a woman's heart, plunging one and all in misery in birth after birth, till religious wisdom dawns on those that are given to reflection. There is a vein of satire which ridicules the worship by the masses involving violence on the one hand, and the animal sacrifices of the priestly class, on the other. The Tamil *Yaśōdharakāvya* of unknown authorship (c. 11th century A.D.) and the Kannada *Yaśōdiara Charita* of Janna (12th century) are seen to be heavily indebted to Vādirāja's Sanskrit original.

Pārśvanātha Charita gives the date of its composition as 1026 A.D., and mentions the 'Kaṭṭagā-teera' or the bank of the river Ghaṭaprabha, as the place where it was written. This, coupled with Vādirāja's specific mention of a number of earlier writers like Anantakeerti and Veeranandi, proves very valuable to the literary historian of Sanskrit.

Also from the pen of Vādirāja is the *Ēkībhāva stōtra*, one of the most popular hymns among Jains up to this day. It contains just twenty-five beautiful and devotional quatrains and closes with a eulogy of the author.

However, it is interesting to note, in this connection, in an inscription of 1036 A.D. (*E.C.*, Vol. I, No. 126), one Kāḷāmukha Śaiva teacher-Lakulēśa Paṇḍita *alias* Vādirudraṅga of Balligāme (in the province of Banavāsi 12000) is glorified in hyperbolic terms as defeating the formidable debater Vādirāja himself. (cf. *Vādirājamukhamudram*). This would serve to indicate how Jagadēkamalla was tolerant towards all religious persuasions in his vast realm, though he had a special predilection in favour of Jainism.

We know that one Nāgavarma, a reputed Kannada author, was a Kaṭa-kōpadhyāya' or Pandit in the court of Jagadēkamalla (cf. 'Jananātha Jagadēkanalli . . .') Quite a few quotations from a lexical work in Sanskrit (the name of the work is not given), now lost, of Nāgavarma are found in the commentary on the *Yaśōdhara Charita* by Lakshmaṇa (of Kshēmapura or Gērusoppe) and the work may possibly belong to this period.

Dayapāla, who was a pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow-student of Vādirāja, prepared a very useful revised manual of the topics of *Śakaṭāyanaa-Vyākaraṇa* known as *Rūpasiddhi*. This work has been very much praised in several Kannada inscriptions (E. C., VIII; Nos. 35, 36, 37, etc.). To quote only one verse :

‘Sabdānuśāsanasyōchchaih Rūpasiddirmahāṭmanā
Kṛta yēna sa chābhāti Dayapalō munīśvarah (E.C., VII, I, 39)

(The work ‘Rūpasiddhi’ written by Dayapāla, the king of ascetics, shines brighter than ‘Sabdānuśāsana’.)

The Chālukyan emperor Vikramāditya was a patron of the great Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa who immortalised him in an ornate epic, the *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita*. What Bāṇa did for King Harsha in ornate prose, Bilhaṇa did for Vikramāditya VI, in verse. In Sanskrit literature, conspicuously deficient in historical works, the *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita* (in 18 cantos) is one of the noteworthy works which has a historical personage as the hero ; and despite its flair for the mythological and the hyperbolical, it holds the attention of the historian and the literary critic alike even today. The work is also of interest as giving a very detailed autobiography of Bilhaṇa, the author, and helps us to get a vivid picture of the life of a travelling pandit in mediaeval India from court to court of princes, proud of his art and sure of his honour.

Bilhaṇa's nostalgic memories of his sweet Kashmirian home are indeed lovely :

“What shall I sing of that spot, the ancient home of wonderful legends, the sportive embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himalaya ? One part bears the saffron in its native loveliness, the other the grape, pale like a cut of juicy sugarcane from Sarayū's banks.” (XVIII, 72)

Bilhaṇa drank deep at the fountains of poetic and scholarly lore in that homeland of learning (Śaradādēśa), and travelled widely throughout the length and breadth of India, visiting cities like Kanyākubja and Kāśī, Prayāga and Ayōdhya in the north, Sōmanāthā in the west and Gōkarṇa in the south. The city of Dhāra mourned, to use the poet's own words, that she missed the privilege of welcoming the great poet, since the munificent Bhōja had just then expired.

The poet further states :

“In villages, in provincial and royal cities, in forests and groves, in all lands sacred to Sarasvati, the wise and the fools, the old and the young, men and women, everywhere, each and all, recite his verses with tremors of joy.” (XVIII, 89)

It was, however, only in Vikramāditya, the Karnataka emperor, that Bilhaṇa found a patron of his dreams, a patron more generous than even Bhōja. The poet says :

“The chief of wise men (Bilhaṇa), turning his face from common princes, roamed, full of curiosity, leisurely over the southern land. . . There the lucky poet received from the Chālukya king, the terror of the Chōḷas, the dignity of ‘Vidyāpati’ (the Chief Pandit), distinguished by the grant of a blue parasol and an elephant in rut.”
(XVIII, 100)

In sheer gratitude, Bilhaṇa proceeds to compose the biography of his patron, in numbers, sweet and melodious, making him a veritable epic hero, an equal of Rama and Bheema, a hero of many battles, a Madana of many queens, and favourite of Lord Śiva Himself.

The *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita* is a ‘mahākāvya’ *par excellence*, replete with classical imagery, and brimming with poetic fancies. And Bilhaṇa’s style approaches the perfection of Kālidāsa himself in grace and ease, elegance of thought and aptness of imagery, range of sentiments and wealth of suggestion (dhvani). In the mākāvya manner, we have descriptions of the seasons and royal sports, and a ‘svayamvara’ scene of the Karahāṭa princess who chooses the hero as her husband in an open assembly of princes.

We might note here a few items of historical interest which can be gleaned from the *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita*. The work starts with a legendary account of the origin of the Chālukya race and speaks highly of Tailapa who wrested the kingdom from the powerful hands of Rāshtrakūṭa emperors. Jāyasimha II and others are just mentioned and Āhavamalla (1040-1069 A.D.), the hero’s father, is described at some length. We are told that he conquered the Chōḷas, stormed Dhāra from which Bhōja (the Paramāra ruler) had to flee (I canto 91-96). He destroyed the power of Karṇa, King of Dāhala (I canto, 102) and erected a Pillar of Victory in the southern ocean. (I canto, 111) after storming Kānchi, and built the city of Kalyāṇa.

The chief victories of King Vikramāditya described in the epic are the wars with the King of the Chōḷas, Rājiga, the King of Vengi, and the rulers of Kēraṭa and Chakrakōṭa.

A very popular work in Sanskrit, also from the pen of Bilhaṇa, is the *Chaurapanchāśika* or *Bilhaṇakāvya*, a lovely lyric anthology of fifty erotic verses. In

sensuous strains are poured forth here a lover's recollections of the pleasures he had in the company of his beloved. Almost every verse has the refrain.

‘Even now, I remember . . .’

And vividly pictures the one or the other feature of his beloved's charms. Prefixed to it, perhaps by a later hand, we find a romantic tale explaining its origin. Bilhaṇa is portrayed as the tutor of a princess Chandralēkha or Saśikalā, the daughter of Vairisimha, a king of Gujarat. It is made out that there was a love affair between the teacher and the pretty pupil ; and that the poet was condemned to death by the furious father. On the way to the place of execution the poet, lost in love, appears to have uttered these verses ; and the king who heard them, relented and seems to have spared the life of the poet, giving also his daughter in marriage to him. It is difficult to vouch for the historicity of this story.

Another work which came to be written under the patronage of this mighty Chālukyan emperor, and whose authority has shaped the lives of generations of Indians up to the present time, is the renowned *Mitākshara* of Vijnānēśvara. It is no doubt a commentary on the ancient *Smṛiti* of Yājñavalkya, but it is much more than a commentary : it appears to be a compendium of all ancient *Smṛitis*. Dr. P. V. Kane rightly observes : “The *Mitākshara* of Vijnānēśvara occupies a unique place in Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patanjali in Grammar, to that of the *Kāvyaaprākāśa* of Mammaṭa in Poetics. It represents the essence of Dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years, and it became the fountain-head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. Under the decisions of the courts in British India, the *Mitākshara* is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law, such as adoption, inheritance, partition etc. (*History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane, p. 287).

Considering the systematic approach of the author on legal points in a style both compact and coherent, and revealing his vast erudition in legal lore as well as a sharp logical acumen, one need not be surprised at the authority with which this work came to be invested in the subsequent centuries.

We now pass on to the reign of Vikramādityā's son, Sōmēśvara III (1127-1138 A.D.) who bore the significant, though somewhat ambitious, title of ‘Sarvajna’ (the omniscient one). He could assume this title only because he undertook, for the first time in Sanskrit literary history, a project of something like a universal encyclopaedia of all the arts and sciences known in his time. The wonder is that he successfully completed his gigantic undertaking and gave us the work known as *Abhilashitārtha-Chintāmaṇi*. (literally, ‘the Philosopher's Stone that yields whatever one wants’) or *Mānasōllāsa* (literally, ‘Mind-refresher’). It speaks of itself as a book of wisdom that benefits one and all (*śāstram visvōpākāraṁ*) and as a ‘universal educator’ (*jagadācharyapustaka*). The scope of the

book is so extensive that it can rightly claim these titles. It represents the cream of Hindu culture at its best in all its diverse branches, before it was rudely shaken by foreign invasions. As Dr. Shama Sastry points out, this is the first book in Sanskrit literature which does full justice to the 'Dravidian element' in Indian culture in important fields like architecture and sculpture, iconography and fine arts like music and painting, augury and social customs, sports and entertainments, including topics like cookery and rattle-drum ('buḍubuḍike' in Kannada), cock-fight and snake-charms.

We may now try to form a general idea of this universal encyclopaedia, the *Mānasōllasa*, which is both luminous and voluminous. It comprises of five scores of chapters, dealing with exactly a hundred topics, meant for the edification of the people in general and the princes in particular. The hundred chapters are divided equally under Five Books of twenty chapters each.

In the First Book of twenty chapters (vimśati), generally speaking, are explained universal ethics, the requisite qualification and necessities of an ambitious king, and the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom. The 'don'ts' that are specifically described are—abstention (varjana) from untruth (asatya), conspiracy (paradrōha), illicit love (agamyā), prohibited food (abhakshya), envy (asūya), evil company (patitasanga), anger (krōdha), and self-praise (ātmastuti). The positive duties enjoined are liberality (dāna), sweet speech (manōharavākya), welfare works (ishṭāpūrta), devotion to gods (dēvatābhakti), honour to learned men and cows (gōvipratarpaṇa), reverence to preceptors, and protection of dependents and supplicants.

In the Second Book, Polity is treated in detail under seven heads (saptāṅga), viz., the king, the minister, his ally, treasury, the kingdom, forts and the army, together with law, both national and international, under the six contexts (śaḍ-guṇas) of peace, war, invasion, neutrality, alliance, and their combinations. There is a full account of the four well-known stratagems (upāyas), such as reconciliation (sāma), gift (dāna), divide et impera (bhēda), and war (daṇḍa). By and large, we may characterise the Second Book as concerned with the ways and means of making the king's position secure.

The Third Book is devoted to the description of architecture, picture drawing and painting, iconography and the pleasures of domestic life. In other words, this book expatiates upon the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has consolidated his position. Some of the bhōgas (enjoyments) enumerated are : betel-chewing (tāmbūla), anointments (vilēpa), dress (ambara), ornaments (bhūshaṇa), seats (āsana), chowrie (chāmara), sons (putra), food (bhōjana), water (jala), massage of feet and the body (pādābhyanga), vehicles (yāna), umbrella (chhattra), incense (dhūpa), bed (śayana) and woman (yōshita).

The Fourth Book is devoted to 'vinodas, or diversions like dexterity in the use of arms and learning, the training of elephants and horsemanship, wrestling,

cock-fights, bringing up of dogs, rearing of pet birds, animals and fish, poetry, music, dancing, witty conversation, etc.

The last Book comprises sports in parks and fields, or on mountains and sand-banks, moon light parties, drinking parties, quiz programmes, chess and dice, Indian games like 'cowrie and snake', diversions with women, and so forth.

In connection with these subjects of chiefly secular interest, practically every branch of Sanskrit learning is intelligently summed up; and the *Mānasōllāsa* remains to this day the only exhaustive volume which treats succinctly of such varied subjects as polity, astronomy, astrology, dietetics, rhetoric, poetry, music, dance, painting, architecture, medicine, the training of horses and elephants, and dogs. There is, in fact, no other single book which gives us an account of the Indian ideas regarding arithmetic and the decimal notation, preparation of calendars, omens, auguries, palmistry, horticulture, treatment of animal diseases, mining, alchemy, gems and precious stones, marriage and child-rearing, cookery, liquors, beverages, conveyances, scents and cosmetics.

Thoroughly practical and secular in outlook as the work is, there are little or no digressions into accounts of Vedic gods and sacrifices, rituals and ceremonies, or even of Vedānta and other systems of Indian philosophy. We get also a very graphic picture in this work of a typical royal Durbar, with places assigned to ladies, ministers, feudatories, officers of different ranks, poets, singers, debaters, dancers, etc.

The *Mānasōllāsa* is thus a unique encyclopaedic work, of great general interest. It is written mostly in the popular anushtubh metre, with occasional prose passages. Its style is easy and lucid, and yet, more often than not, poetic. The miscellaneous nature of the topics treated in the voluminous work might possibly indicate that it might have been the work of a band of experts in the court of Sōmēśvara, rather than the personal composition of the royal author.

A protege of Sōmēśvara was possibly the Jaina composer Pārśvadēva who wrote *Sangeetasamayāsāra*. In the field of music we have again another authoritative work, the *Sangeetachūdāmaṇi* from the pen of the next Chālukyan emperor, Jagadēkamalla II (1138-50 A.D.).

Two other works, perhaps of the tenth century or so, which possibly belong to the period of these later Chālukyas under Taila are Dhananjaya's *Nāṃamāla* a Sanskrit lexicon, and Jayakeerti's *Chandōnuśāsana*, a work on prosody (ed. by Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bombay). The latter gives some interesting observations on Kannada metres also.

CHALUKYAN ARCHITECTURE

The Chālukyan style may be equated with the Vēsara School of the Sanskrit texts. In the Vēsara, there is a combination of the principles of the South Indian (Drāviḍa) and North Indian (Nagara) schools of architecture. As Mr. Cousens points out, the Chālukyan builders, while retaining the storeyed arrangement of the Pallava tower (South Indian), reduced the height of each storey and covered them with such a profusion of ornamental detail that they eventually became greatly over-crowded. The result was that in later examples these details are not apparent at first glance. At the same time, they borrowed ideas from the northern tower and so manoeuvred the central panels or niches on each storey as to form a more or less continuous vertical band. There is also a third element, namely, the apsidal character of the 'Buddhist' Chaitya, as incorporated in the famous Durga temple at Aihole.

In tracing the history of the Chālukyan temples, Cousens recognizes two periods: the first commencing from the time of Pulikēśin II (early 7th century) to the 8th century, when there was a temporary eclipse of the Chālukyan power by the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the second from the return of the Chālukyas to power under Taila II (10th century) to the end of the 12th century. During the first period according to him, only the use of the southern style continued, most of the builders coming from the South. In the second period the first definite departure from the pure southern occurred. He also points out that in the latter period, the favourite building material of the early rulers, namely, sand-stone was abandoned in favour of a greenish or bluish-black stone (chloritic schist). But even in the early examples, as at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, we find the permeation of the influence from the north. The Gupta *motif*, such as the auspicious full water-pot (*kalaśa*) and the figure sculptures of Ganga and Yamuna occur.

The Chālukyas cut the rock like Titans and finished like jewellers. Bādāmi, their great capital, contains some of the most beautifully carved rock-cut shrines. Picturesquely nestling almost at the foot of steep cliffs and by the side of a small lake, occur four-pillared halls, over-looking the south-east side of the town which was fortified in the first half of the 6th century by Pulikēśin I. The sons of Pulikēśin I, Keertivarma and Mangaleśa, were responsible for four rock-cut temples, one for Śiva, one for Jina and the rest for Vishnu. Since Mangaleśa had most to do with these rock-cut shrines, he is rightly regarded as the father of Chālukyan architecture. One of the rock-cut shrines actually contains an inscription of Mangaleśa of the year 578 A.D. These four rock-cut shrines are connected by a causeway inclined up the face of the cliff, and, as Percy Brown suggests, each appears to have had originally an open court in front, in addition

to the fore-court. In their general appearance and interior arrangements, they have certain common features, namely, a pillared verandah, a columned hall and a small square cellar cut deep into the rock.

It is possible that the ceiling of these rock-cut shrines was painted. P. Rambach and V. De Golish noticed actually in one of them, in two square yards of a ceiling, traces of a fresco, beneath a smoke-blackened layer of spider's web and bat-dung, depicting the theme of the betrothal of Śiva and Pārvati. In front of an orchestra of drums, cymbals and flutes, two dancers twirl gracefully under the eyes of the goddess. They consider, despite its pitiable state of preservation, that this little fragment, in its composition, choice and arrangement of colours, delicacy and sureness of touch, is equal to the finest masterpieces in the museums of Europe, and that the gently inclined face of the goddess strangely recall some of Botticelli's Madonnas.

These rock-cut shrines contain, as Percy Brown points out, sculptures of a high quality. The beautiful figure of Naṭaraja with 18 hands, Mahishāsura-mardini standing in 'tribhanga', Śiva as Ardhanārī 7' 7" high, the Gandharva pair in the attitude of flying, and the fine Nāga image with its five hoods over its human head and snakish tail in concentric circles carved on the central ceiling of the verandah, all in rock-cut temple No 1: the great Varāha, holding aloft prithivi (the earth) in his left hand, the gigantic Trivikrama who has shot his leg up and is hurling down a demon who is falling upside down, in the rock-cut shrine No 2; the standing figure of Narasimha, 11 ft. high and Harihara together with the sculptures on the six stout and solid pillars and the elegant bracket figures, the Bali episode, the seated Vishnu, of No. 3;— these are some of the most remarkably spirited pieces of early sculpture in the whole of Karnataka. Rock-cut shrine No. 4 is dedicated to Ādinātha, the Jaina Teerthankara. The image of Bāhubali stands on a lotus with the mādHAVI creepers entwining his hands and legs. Another interesting figure sculpture is that of Padmāvati with her vehicle the Kukkuṭa-sarpa, on the pedestal.

Of the structural temples mention should be made of the Bhūtanātha Shrine with the figures of Ganga and Yamuna on its doorway, and the Māle-gitti Sivālaya (Śiva temple of the female garland-maker) which stands on a rock on the northern side of the village of Bādāmi. This temple (c. 625 A.D.) is comparable in style to the so-called Rathas (monolithic chariot-like shrines) of Mahā-balipuram near Madras: its heavy monolithic pillars, ponderous bracket capitals, broad string courses and overhanging roll cornice, are all suggestive of the rock-cut tradition. There is an air of restrained virility and a sense of stability in this structure according to Percy Brown.

Aihole, or Āryapura of the inscriptions, in the Bādāmi Taluk of the Bijapur District is a great centre of early Chālukyan architecture. The oldest temple there (450 A.D.) is that of Lad Khan. Originally dedicated to Vishnu it shows

considerable Gupta influence. The *Kalaśa motif* (sacred water-pot) together with the standing figures of Ganga and Yamuna occurs here. The Mēguṭi Temple of 634 A.D. was erected by Ravikeerti during the reign of his patron Pulikēśin II. Mēguṭi is obviously a corruption of the term Mēguḍi (upper temple), so named because of its elevated position. The Temple was dedicated to Jina and consists of two parts, namely, the shrine and the hall. The Koṇṭiguḍi, occupied by a man who used to carry a 'koṇṭa' or triśūla (trident), has four pillars having no bases but being squarish up to the round capital.

The finest and the most imposing temple at Aihole is the Durga Temple, so called because it was near the fort or the rampart (durga) and not because it was dedicated to the Goddess Durga. Horse-shoe shaped like the Buddhist chaitya, it was originally probably dedicated to Sūryanārāyaṇa, though image groups in the niches around the walls are both Śaiva and Vaishnava. The presence of the northern tower is the most marked feature of this temple, though, unfortunately, the upper part has fallen. A complete example of this form occurs in the Huchchimalliguḍi.

Mahākūṭeśvara, about 14 miles from Aihole by road, but much nearer by a short cut, supposed to be the scene of the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala, contains a few temples around a sacred pool. Pierre Rambach and Vitold de Marie Golish in their book *Golden Age of Indian Art*, have given the illustration of a fine sculpture of androgynous Śiva (Ardhanārī) from Mahākūṭeśvara (Plate 26). The temple dedicated to Mahākūṭeśvara has been assigned to Raṇarāga, the father of Pulikēśin I. From an inscription of Durlabhādēvi, we learn that, with the permission of Mangaleeśa, she granted the villages of Kisuvoḷal (Paṭṭadakal), Kendūr, Nandigrāma (Nandikēśvara) and Āryapura (Aihole) to God Mahākūṭeśvaranātha in 601 A.D.

At Paṭṭadakal, 10 miles from Bādāmi, on the left bank of the Mālaprabha, we find the culmination of the Chālukyan style. It is the meeting ground of the North Indian and South Indian styles of architecture. Percy Brown lists them under each as follows:

| <i>North Indian</i> | <i>South Indian</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Pāpanātha, c. 680 A.D. | Sangamēśvara c. 725 A.D. |
| Jambulinga | Virūpāksha, c. 740 „ |
| Karisiddhēśvara | Mallikārjuna c. 740 „ |
| Kāśinātha | Galaganātha c. 740 „ |

The temple of Pāpanātha is a large structure, founded possibly before the end of the seventh century. Originally dedicated to Vishnu and Sūrya, it was converted afterwards to the worship of Śiva according to Cousens and Percy Brown. Percy Brown notes certain disproportions in the plan and elevation, and inconsistencies also in the Pāpanātha Temple owing to inexperience on the part of the architects. He further adds that the solid character of the interior, both

in the bulk of the walls and the shape of the pillars, suggests rock-cut influence. An inscription on the wall of the Pāpanātha Temple gives us the information that Chattara Rēvadi Ōvajja was the architect who built at least a portion of this temple.

The architectural defects noticed in the Pāpanātha were remedied in the next example, namely, the Virūpāksha Temple. It is known Lōkēśvara because it was erected in 740 A.D., by the orders of Lōkamahādēvi, the queen of Vikramāditya II (733-44 A.D.), to commemorate her husband's victory over Kānchi thrice. It displays unity, co-ordination and improvement in design, the architects being Sarvasiddi Āchāri and Gunḍan, who had the title 'Tribhuvana Āchāri'. We also get the names of several other sculptors of the temple, such as Baladēvan, Dāmōdaran, Changama, and Pullappan. On the whole, it is a great monument, and Percy Brown's tribute is amply justified. He says that the amount of thought expended, not only on the whole but on each detail, is incredible and that every one of its grey weather-worn stones, in spite of the passage of centuries, is yet warm with life and feeling.

Similar in design and construction is the temple of Trilōkeśvara (Mallikārjuna) at Paṭṭadakal, which was built at the instance of the Haihaya princess Trailōkyamahādēvi, another queen of Vikramāditya II. It contains on some of its pillars sculptures depicting the famous fables of the Monkey and the Crocodile and the Monkey and the Wedge from the *Panchatantra*.

In the last quarter of the 10th century (973 A.D.), Taila II overthrew Rāshṭrakūṭa suzerainty. Mānyakhēṭa, or Mālkhēḍ, continued to be the chief city of the Chālukyas too. Towards the close of Jayasimha II's reign Kalyāṇi (or Kalyāṇa) had attained the position of a permanent camp (neleveeḍu). Bilhaṇa credits Sōmēśvara I with having made the city of Kaloāṇa, and beautified it, so that it excelled all other cities in the world. Chōḷa inscriptions begin to mention Kalyāṇa as the capital of the Chālukyas during this reign. In the Chōḷa-Chālukya war, Kalyāṇa was sacked, and its royal palace was razed to the ground. At Darasuram, Tanjore District, can be seen even now a fine image of a Dvārapāla in the contemporay Chālukyan style. It was taken away by Rājādhirāja from Kalyāṇa. Under Vikramāditya VI, Kalyāṇa became a great city. Vijnānēśvara, who lived in the city during this period, spoke very highly of it. Kalyāṇa continued to be the capital under Sōmēśvara III. It continued to flourish under Bijjāḷa of the Kalachuris.

Today, Kalyāṇa is nothing more than a small town bereft of palaces and temples. They must have all been sadly ruined in the later centuries, and one meets with the debris of broken images, sculptures and architectural remains wherever one goes at the place. Sivapur and Nārāyaṇapur, the near-by hamlets, probably formed part and parcel of ancient Kalyāṇa. There are remains of magnificent temples in both : Nārāyaṇapur has two : one of them is fairly intact

but its conservation is an immediate necessity ; the other has the open sky for its roof, and has beautifully carved doorways.

The Siva temple at Jalsangvi, near Humnabad, which contains on its wall a fine sculpture of a woman holding a plaque inscribed with a Sanskrit verse in praise of Chālukya Vikramāditya, is also fairly preserved but requires certain minor conservation measures. The figure of dancing Gaṇapati on the temple wall is also noteworthy.

The buildings of the later Chālukyan style (1050-1300 A.D.) in the Bellary, Dharwar and Hyderabad Karnatak areas constitute a link, according to Percy Brown, between the early Chālukyan as developed at Aihole, Bādāmi and Paṭṭadakal and the Hoysala temples of Mysore. Referring to their plan, he further adds that unlike the Hoysala temples of Mysore, none of them, except the Doḍḍa Basappa at Dambaḷ, is stellate, as they are laid out on the principle of right lines and right angles, the whole consistently rectangled. Nor, also with one exception, namely the Sarasvatī Temple at Gadag, is the interior ambulatory passage encircling the cella found in these temples. It is also not uncommon for the principal entrances to be not at the front but at the sides of the structure, as the eastern end is frequently faced by a supplementary cella or pillared portico.

Another notable feature of the Chālukyan temple is the artistic emphasis given to the door-ways. Unlike the Hoysala type, which is purely ornamental, there is an architectural frame-work as a basis to the design of these Chālukyan examples, consisting of a pilaster on either side with a moulded lintel and cornice above.

The earliest examples of the style, are found at Kukkanur, a village near the railway junction of Gadag. The two temples, namely, the Navalinga and the Kallēśvara at that place depict not only the initial character of the movement but also provide a stepping stone midway between the ancient type as at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal and the later examples under review. Though the Navalinga is slightly older, both the temples are executed in sand-stone, so commonly used in the earlier phase and period. The śikharas of the Navalinga are in shape very similar to the type at Paṭṭadakal but the domical apex is already beginning to show signs of change. The Kallēśvara, complete in all its parts with an outer Nandi porch, a four-pillared hall, vestibule and cella, all in axial alignment, measures 67 feet by 37 feet, while its śikhara is 37 feet high, so that it is a compact and well-proportioned composition. The exterior walls are simply but effectively decorated with pilasters at close intervals. The most instructive feature is the tower which depicts the beginnings of the departure from the earlier Paṭṭadakal model.

The next step in the formation of the style is seen in the Jaina temple at Lokkundi, seven miles from Gadag. The treatment of the exterior surface is

generally of the same manner as that of the Kallēśvara, but a greater ornamental effect has been introduced by a rich *motif*, which takes the shape of a small pilaster surmounted by a turret and arched over by a cusped scroll of the most beautiful character rising from two slender pilasters at the flanks. We may recall that Ballāḷa II of the Hoysala dynasty made Lokkunḍi his capital in 1191 A.D., but even before that event, it must have been an important town. Naturally, Percy Brown assigns it to the last half of the 11th century.

In the third stage, a new architectural element becomes evident. Up to this point, the temples of the Chālukyan mode were provided with a cornice of no particular prominence. As a means of protecting the structural temple from the sun and rain, it was ineffective and a more stable device now appears. This takes the shape of a wide projecting eave rather than a cornice, often with a double curved section, forming not only an artistic but also a very useful addition to the building. An early example of its introduction is seen in the Mukteśvara* at Chaudadampur, a hamlet on the banks of the Tungabhadra towards the eastern boundary of the Dharwar District.

The Mukteśvara was probably produced towards the close of the 11th century, an elegant, little structure, and shows that the building art was living and moving.

The style reaches its maturity and culmination in the 12th century. Of these examples the three finest are the Kāśivīśvēśvara at Lokkunḍi, the Mallikārjuna at Kuruvatti, 17 miles west of Harapanahalli and the Mahādēva at Ittagi. The Kāśivīśvēśvara is a double-shrined temple with its tower of rich and varied embellishment. The treatment of the doorways is a perfect example of delicate and intricate chiselling and some of the bands are so undercut as to resemble fine filigree or lace work. The Temple of Kāśivīśvēśvara, on this account, has been regarded as one of the most eminent productions of decorative architecture.

The Mallikārjuna at Kuruvatti in the Bellary District consists of the sanctum, the connecting vestibule and the maṇḍapa, forming a compact group. The pillars in the interior of the maṇḍapa as well as in the portico are richly patterned in the usual manner, but particularly interesting are the boldly carved leaning bracket-figures on the upper parts of the pillars supporting the architraves above.

The Temple of Mahādēva at Ittagi, some three miles to the south of Bannikop station on the metre gauge railway between Bellary and Gadag (22 miles east of Gadag) was built in 1112 A.D. Cousens describes it as the finest in the Kannada country after Halēbid in Mysore. The plan of the Temple comprises a

* To the same phase as the Muktesvara belong the Siddesvara at Haveri, Somesvara at Haralhalli, and Siddaramesvara at Niralgi, all in the Dharwar District.

shrine with an ante-chamber, a closed hall with porches on either side of it towards south and north and a pillared hall which is open at the sides. The Temple faces the rising sun, and the great open hall at the east end was originally supported upon sixty-eight pillars. Twenty-six of these are large ones standing on the floor and forming the main support of the roof; the rest, which are shorter, stand on the stone bench surrounding the hall and carry the sloping eaves. According to an inscription engraved on a slab, the Temple was built by Mahādēva, a high military officer (Daṇḍanāyaka) of the Eastern Chālukya King Vikramāditya VI, and is styled as 'Dēvālaya Chakravarti' (Emperor among temples), a title which it richly deserves.

At Gadag, Dharwar District, there is an important group of temples, mostly in a mutilated form. On these, the temple of Sarasvati is interesting as showing the plan of an inner sanctum within a covered ambulatory, this being the only occurrence of such a plan among the Chālukyan temples. In the Sōmēśvara, the wall section is divided into two stages: the introduction of the figure sculpture as a decorative element of the wall and the treatment of the plinth mouldings—a feature which combines the later Chālukyan with that of the Hoysala.

Besides these important monuments which give us an idea of the various stages in the formation of the later Chālukyan style, it is possible to make a long list of numerous other temples* of the later Chālukyas found in the Bellary and Bijapur Districts.

Some inscriptions also refer to the construction of temples. An inscription from Nagai of 1062 A. D., refers to the erection of the Temple of Madhusūdana by the great general Madhusūdana. It was embellished with a golden *kalaśa* and numerous sculptures (*Hyderabad Archaeological Series* No. 8, p 31-35).

The temple of Balēśvara was built by Chāuṇḍarasa about 1090 A. D. at Halagondi and is said to have resembled the vimāna of Dēvendra (*The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 426). Mārtāṇḍa Nāyaka built at Kuḍatini a Siva temple called Mārtāṇḍēśvara with a Sabhāmanṭapa to be counted among the best of its kind in the whole world. The Sabhāmanṭapa was so beautifully wrought that it looked like a Latāmanṭapa (*The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 426).

* At Arasibidi, 16 miles s.w. of Humagund, Bijapur District, which was known as Vikramapura, being an old capital of Vikramāditya, there are two Jaina temples, containing Chalukya and Kalachuri inscriptions.

Belur, 9 miles south-east of Badami, contains a Narayana temple with an inscription of Jagadekamalla Javasiṃha and his sister Akkadevi. Jaina temples of 1128 A.D. are found at Ingalesvar, 6 miles north-east of Begewadi. At Kardi 10 miles north-east of Humagund there occurs a Jaina temple, now used as a Siva temple. It contains an inscription of 1153 A.D.

Other more familiar examples as cited by Cousens are at Hanagal, Bankapur, Galaganatha, Harihara, Ratihalli, Unkal, Belgaum, Hirehadgalli, Nilagunda, Huvinahadgalli, and Halavagalu.

A Balligāme Record of 1159 A.D. refers to the part played by Kēśirāja in the construction of a Kēśava Temple (*E.C.*, VII, Sk. 123). The fine Temple of Nāgēśvara at Sunḍi was built by the celebrated Sankarārya, 'a mine of learning and a veritable *Vakrōkti Vāchaspati*' in 1060 A.D. (*E.C.*, XV, 90)

We also know the names of some celebrated sculptors from inscriptions. Nāgōja took part in the erection and embellishment of the Temple of Madhusūdana (*E.I.*, I, 341). An inscription from Chitradurga Taluk mentions another great sculptor by name Mahākala who could entwine the figures of a lion, elephant, parrot and other animals in the middle of letters of inscriptions which he carved (*E.C.*, XI, Cd. 47).

The style also penetrated to the Shimoga District in the 11th century. The Hoysalas who began as the feudatories of Chālukyas gradually began to adopt the Chālukyan style for their own buildings with minor modifications. The temples at Balligāme, Kuppagadde, near Shiralkoppa and Kupatur are typical examples. The Tripurānataka Temple at Balligāme (1070 A.D.) is remarkable for its sculptural panels depicting episodes not only from the *Ramayana* but also from the *Panchatantra*, testifying to their immense popularity. Mention must be made of the sculptured fables of the Hare and the Tortoise, the Jackal and the Rams, the Swans and the Tortoise, and the Crocodile and the Monkey, which have been done with remarkable fidelity.

The Umāmahēśvara group from Balligāme is a beautiful piece of sculpture. Siva's right foot is on the Nandi, Uma is seated on his left lap with her right hand on his shoulders. Siva has Jaṭāmakuṭa, Makarakunḍala and a smiling face. Umā's curls are finely done. Her left foot is placed on a lotus. On their flanks stand Kumāra and Gaṇapati.

Mention must also be made of the erection in 1047 of the fine Gandabhērūṇḍa Pillar at Balligāme by Chāmunḍarāya, a Kadamba Chief who was the feudatory of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. The Temple of Jagadekamallēśvara before which it was set up is no more. The Pillar is a lofty and elegant monolith with the figure of Gandabhērūṇḍa at its top. The spirited figure is half-human, half-birdlike, and both blend nicely and each part individually is true to nature.

Another sculpture of some interest appears at the top of an inscribed slab (*E.C.*, VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 129, dated 1071 A.D.) The inscription says that it is the image of Guṇagalla who belonged to the time of Chālukya King Bhuvanaikamalladēva. Guṇagalla was a great luminary of Advaita.

A word may be said about the Bronzes of the period under review. Chālukyan Bronzes are very rare, but three examples have been published in Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, third edition, revised by Karl Khandalavala, Bombay, 1962. Plate 135 A illustrates the image of Bāhubali,

from the Prince of Wales Museum.* The curls of the Gommaṭa fall on his shoulders, whilst the mādhave creepers entwine his thigh and arms. The ears are long and the face radiates gentleness, peace and serenity. The probable date is the 9th century.

Plate 136-B contains the figure of Chandraśekhara (13th century) and is rather rude. It is found in the National Museum. The Pudukōṭṭai Museum has the figure of a Jaina Teerthankara (9th-10th century) standing, with minute figures of other Teerthankaras in the whole of the prabhāvaḷi (Plate 139-A of Smith).

PAINTING

(Early Period)

Painting as an independent art must have been known to the people of Karnataka since very early times, for we come across references to painting materials in the literary works in Sanskrit even of the pre-Christian era. But no examples of early paintings are now extant. The earliest pieces to which Karnataka may justly lay claim are the first or second century paintings in the Ajanta caves and temples. It is a matter for gratification that in the very first cave, there is a fine representation in colours of the Kannada monarch Pulikēśi I receiving foreign envoys.

Whatever the position painting enjoyed in the Ajantan activities, it must be recognised that, as in other parts of the country, during the early years painting was subordinated to sculpture. Painting was largely employed to add charm to the architectural and sculptural details. And the art of painting grew exclusively in temples. It has come to light that in South Indian temples the installation of wooden images was in great vogue in the early years of the Christian era. These wooden *dhruva-bēras* (immovable main images) were painted over in rich and colourful hues. Prior to the days of Vidyāraṇya, the main image of Sārada in Śringēri was said to be made of wood (*dārumaya*); and even to this day in the lumber of the Maṭh there, a huge wooden image of Sārada can be seen. Vidyāraṇya is said to have substituted a metallic image in its place. The necessity for having a separate image for daily bathing in accordance with ritualistic requirements (*snāpana bera*) may be ascribed to this custom of having wooden images as *dhruva bēras*. There are examples of Siva Lingas being covered

* Since the Bronze comes from Sravanabelagola and belongs to 9th century, it may be Western Ganga.

with stucco paintings. Often-times ceilings and walls of the temples were painted, and folk designs were amply employed; especially the Rangamanṭapa witnessed elaborate decorations in various colours and designs. On the walls, for the benefit of the pious devotees, scenes from the Purāṇas were painted, and the sportive incarnations (leela-mūrtis) of Śiva and Viṣṇu were represented. On festive occasions, the paintings were re-done, and parts gilded. Deft artisans were in the permanent employ of the temples.

Rulers and noblemen patronised this art, and we read of artists being employed in royal court. For example, the Manne Plate (*E.C.*, IX of Nelamangala 80), of about 707 A. D., records that the court engraver of the Ganga kings was proficient in the art of painting, which was fundamental to all other arts (sarvakalādhārabhūta-chitrakalābhijñēya). The Dēvarahaḷḷi Plate (*E.C.*, IV, Mysore ii, Nelamangala 86) of 776 A.D., describes the engraver 'who was the abode of all learning' as 'skilled in painting pictures'. Evidences at the present time of the excellences of these painters are, however, very meagre; much of their work has been lost, and what remain have suffered the ravages of time.

The *Navaranga* ceiling in the Kalēśvara temple in Jakkanaḷḷi (Hassan Taluk) was once elaborately painted. There is little that remains today, and the temple itself is in ruins. On the Chandragiri hill in Sravaṇabelagoḷa there is a twelfth century monument, known as 'Śāntinātha Basadi,' and the walls of this Basadi were once repeated to be filled with elegant murals.

CHAPTER X

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE HOYSALAS OF DORASAMUDRA

We have so far dealt with the history, the religious, social, economic and cultural conditions obtaining in Karnataka during the period of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, whose rule came to an end in 1200 A.D. The political history dealt with in the last three chapters concerns the ruling families who had their capitals in northern Karnataka. We shall now retrace our steps a little, chronologically speaking, to study the rise and growth of the Hoysalas who had commenced their rule in southern Karnataka well before the culmination of the rule of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Hoysalas ruled illustriously for over three centuries and have left in the country imperishable monuments of art and culture.

The Hoysalas were an indigenous family of kings who ruled over practically the whole of the Kannada country at the height of their power. They had to subdue the hill tribes known as Mālepas in the Western Ghats and they assumed the title 'Māleparaḷeganda'. Early in the 11th century, the Chōḷas under Rajēndra advanced against the Gangas, who were compelled to seek the protection of the Hoysalas, just then rising in power.

The Chōḷas and the Hoysalas had to contend for supremacy in the region, and ultimately the Hoysalas expelled the Chōḷas from Talakāḍ in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. But for more than a hundred years after their rise, the Hoysalas were feudatories of the Western Chālukyas. The Hoysala inscriptions from Vinayāditya to Veeraballāḷa II acknowledge their allegiance to the Chālukyas. Veeraballāḷa I was the first king to be styled 'Emperor of the South'. Exercising remarkable political insight they gradually extended their power and lay low until they were able to set up their independence.

The traditional account of their origin is found in some of their inscriptions. They claimed Sosevūr (Saśākapura of Sanskrit writers) as their birthplace. This place has been identified with Angaḍi of Mūḍigere Taluk in the Chikmagalur District. It has been mentioned as the scene of the incident between Sala and the tiger, which led to his becoming the founder of the 'Poy-Sala' or the Hoysala line of kings. When Sala, 'an ornament of the Yaduvamśa' (Yaduvamśōjvala tilakam) was worshipping (the goddess) Vāsantike of Saśākapura with sandal, flowers and incense, a tiger came forth from the forest. The holy Jinamuni who was there gave him his fan (kuncha) saying 'Poy-Sala' (Strike, Sala). The tiger was killed. From that time the

name of Poysala became the designation of the Yadu kings (*E.C.*, VI, Cm. 20). Almost the same account, though differing in certain details, is found in many of their inscriptions. We learn from an inscription (Sb. 28) that the name of the Muni who, on the appearance of the tiger, called out 'Poy-Sala' was Sudatta. It was he who obtained the blessings of Goddess Padmāvatī and secured from her a kingdom for Sala. (*E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 28). There is another version of the story on record. When Sala was hunting along the slopes of the Sahya mountains (or the Western Ghats), he was astonished to see a hare (Skt. śaśa) pursuing a tiger. While he was walking alone, saying to himself, 'this is heroic soil', a holy Muni near by, being afraid of the tiger, called out 'Poy-Sala' and before it could proceed the length of a span (Kannada gēṇ) Sala slew it with his sword. (*E.C.*, V, part I, Bl. 171). It is after this incident that the place came to be known as Śaśākāpura.

The early history of this dynasty is somewhat obscure. There is no direct epigraphical evidence about the rule of Sala. He was probably a local chieftain who, by sheer dint of ability, rose to prominence. His successors Nripakāma, Vinayāditya, Ereyanga and Ballāḷa I were primarily concerned with the consolidation of their power. They had to subdue the neighbouring territories to the south, of the Changāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas, and slowly extend their power. Nripakāma, the earliest ruler of whom there are records, and who probably began to rule in 1006 A.D., bore the title Permāḍi, or Permānaḍi, which was peculiar to the Gangas, and seems to point to an alliance between the Hoysala family and the Gangas. The Hoysala ruling family gradually grew in prominence as the champion of the Gangas in their efforts to ward off the aggression of the Chōḷas; later it emerged as the leaders and masters of Gangavāḍi.

Nripakāma's son, Vinayāditya, succeeded him in about 1047 A.D., and seems to have had a fairly long rule extending over 50 years. It was during this period, that the Hoysalas entered into a subordinate alliance with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Chālukyan Emperor Sōmēśvara I had a senior queen who is called Hoysaladēvi. Her name occurs in an inscription dated 1055 A.D., as making a grant of land to Mallikēśvara for teertha (sacred water) on the bank of the Tungabhadra, established by a gauḍa (patel) of Honnāḷi. This Hoysaladēvi was perhaps a sister or daughter of Vinayāditya. When there was estrangement between Somēśvara II and his brother Vikramāditya after the death of their father Somēśvara I in 1068 A.D., Vinayāditya sent a large contingent of troops under the command of his son Ereyanga to aid Somēśvara II. But a few years later, fortune turned in favour of Vikramāditya VI who became undisputed master of the Chālukyan throne in 1076 A.D., after Somēśvara II had passed away. Vinayāditya had then no hesitation in accepting Vikramāditya's overlordship. While still a prince, Ereyanga had another opportunity of distinguishing himself on the invitation of Chālukya Somēśvara II. Ereyanga stormed Dhārā, the fort of the Māḷava King and the pride of Bhōja, captured it and burnt it. He is also supposed to have captured Chakragoṭṭa (in the modern

Bastar State, Madhya Pradesh) and defeated the Kaṭṭiṅga armies. He thus brought great glory to the fighting qualities of his Hoysala troops. The Chālukyan Emperor, however, bore all the expenses of these enterprises. But neither Ereyanga nor his father had any desire to assert their independence. They were content to be acknowledged as loyal feudatories of the Chālukyan Emperor with the prerogative of assuming titles like 'Samudhigata pancha mahāśabda' etc., Ereyanga was spoken of as a powerful right arm to the Chālukyan king (*E.C.*, IV, No 32).

The growing consolidation of Hoysala power may have been watched with some apprehension by Vikramāditya. There is a record (*Jainad Record: E.I.*, XX, 11, Pp. 54-63, quoted by Derrett in his book. *The Hoysalas*, foot-note to p. 36) of the attack on Dōrasamudra by the Paramāra Chief Jagaddēva to pay off the old score against Ereyanga who had attacked Dhārā twenty years earlier. Jagaddēva was a feudatory of Vikramāditya, as Ereyanga was, but Vikramāditya seems to have winked at Jagaddēva's march all the way south without trying to prevent him. But the attack was successfully repulsed by Ballāḷa and Vishnuvardhana, the sons of Ereyanga. This led to the relations between the Hoysalas and the Chālukyas getting somewhat strained, and this was the beginning of the Hoysala aspiration to a sovereign status.

Vinayāditya died about 1098 A.D., and Ereyanga, already advanced in years, succeeded him. His sons, Ballāḷa and Vishnuvardhana, had already shown their mettle on the battle-field, and Ereyanga, while perhaps averse to open rebellion against Chālukya suzerainty, did nothing to suppress the ambition of his sons. So when Ballāḷa I ascended the throne in 1102 A.D., on the death of his father, the stage was set for further expansion of the Hoysala kingdom. It was in the time of Ballāḷa I, that the capital was shifted to Bēlur (Vēlāpura), with Dōrasamudra (Haḷēbiḍ) as an alternative capital. He led a successful campaign against the Changāḷas in 1104 A.D., and, along with his brother Vishnu, undertook the invasion of Nolambavāḍi. He ruled only for a brief period of six years (1102-1105). He had the good fortune, however, of being succeeded by his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana, one of the ablest rulers of this dynasty.

Vishnuvardhana was the real founder of Hoysala greatness. Dōrasamudra, or Haḷēbiḍ became the capital of the kingdom. Dōrasamudra derives its name from a tank built there by the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Dhruva (*Vide* Derrett: *The Hoysalas*, p. 34, note on p. 221). Bankāpura in the north and Talakāḍ in the south were provincial capitals. His numerous titles like 'Talakāḍugonḍa', 'Malaparoḷegandha', 'Gandagirinātha', 'Kadanaprachandha', 'Satyaratnākara', 'Vivēkanārāyaṇa' and 'Sāhasabheema' speak of his military ability and magnificent personality. The conquest of Gangavāḍi was a brilliant achievement. The Hoysalas regarded themselves as the natural and rightful successors of the Gangas of Talakāḍ. Vishnuvardhana could not reconcile himself to the existence of

Gangavāḍi as a Chōḷa province. The Hoysala General, Gangarāja, recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōḷas in 1116 A.D. The title 'Talakāḍugonḍa' is found on Vishnuvardhana's coins. The conquest of Gangavāḍi was only a prelude to other brilliant conquests. Kongu, Nangali, Noḷambavāḍi, and Kovatur were subdued. The conquest of Talakāḍ was followed by a war of conquest on the Chōḷa country. Many inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana refer to his conquest of the south as far as Ramēśvaram. He assumed the title 'Kānchigonḍa' according to an inscription (*E.C.*, VI, Ch. 160). It is stated that his victories were proclaimed at Kānchi by beat of drum, that Madura was squeezed in the palm of his hand and that Jananāthapura was destroyed by one of his generals. We have inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana in Salem, Coimbatore and other parts of Tamil Nad, indicating his right to assume the title Kānchigonḍa. Though his general Gangarāju waged a successful war, Vishnuvardhana preferred to be a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, and it was only after the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126 A.D., that Vishnuvardhana declared himself an independent sovereign. (*E.C.*, IV, Yd. 8; *E.C.*, IV, Sr. 34). His empire comprised the provinces of Kongu (Salem), Nahgali (eastern portion of the Kōlar District), Talakāḍ (Mysore District), Gangavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavāsi, Hanagal, Huligere, Halasige, and Beḷavoḷa. His fame as a born military genius spread everywhere. Greater was his fame as a man of culture and as a remarkable ruler.

The reign of Vishnuvardhana was marked by the advent of Sri Rāmānuja, the great Vaishnava saint, into the Kannada country. Though it has been a belief handed down by tradition that he fled from the Chōḷa country as a result of religious persecution, known historical facts about the Chōḷa rulers of the period provide no warrant for this belief. Sri Rāmānuja was well over 80 years of age when he met Vishnuvardhana at Tonnūr (Tondanūr) about 1116 A.D., and won him over to the Vaishnava faith. Biṭṭidēva, his former name, was only the Kannadaised version of Vishnudēva, and a pet name for a prince who was universally popular. His assuming the name Vishnuvardhana, which occurs in the inscriptions, is not by itself a significant proof of his conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism as generally believed. A man of unbounded energy, great humanism and artistic temperament, Vishnuvardhana must have been captivated by the personality and message of the great Vaishnava saint. But even after becoming a convert, he continued his patronage to Jaina teachers and their establishments. Indeed, we get instances in those days of members in the same family professing different faiths and living in accord with one another. Take the case of Sāntalādēvi herself, the illustrious queen of Vishnuvardhana. She was a Jaina at first and her father Mārasingayya was a devoted Saiva and her mother Māchikabbe was a devoted Jaina. Sāntalādēvi built and endowed at Sravaṇabeḷagoḷa, a Jaina shrine, 'Savati Gandhavāraṇa' was a title given to her to indicate that she was like an inebriated elephant, a terror, to ill-mannered co-wives. She built this shrine in 1123 A.D., six years after the consecration of the more famous Channakēśava Temple at Bēlūr dedicated to Vijayanārāyaṇa, and the Keertinārāyaṇa Temple at Talakāḍ. As monuments of the Vaishnava

faith which Vishnuvardhana adopted also stand the Lakshmidēvi Temple at Dodḍagaddanaḷḷi built by a merchant, in 1115 A.D., Kappe Channigaraya Temple built in 1117 A.D., and the Kēśava Temple at Maraḷe built in 1130 A.D.

Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by Narasimha I who was a lad of eight years at the time of his accession. But Vishnuvardhana's trusted generals and ministers were there, some of them 'Garuḍas', that is those who vowed to give up their lives for the king and would not survive him, a unique institution which one comes across in the annals of Hoysala rule. With their loyal support, Narasimha ruled for about 30 years, but unfortunately gave himself up to undue self-indulgence, and came to an untimely end in his 40th year. But his son Ballāḷa II, who had inherited some of the qualities of his grandfather, had acted as regent and shouldered the responsibility of administration for nearly six years before his father died.

Of the successors of Vishnuvardhana, the reign of Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A.D.) was a momentous one. The empire expanded far and wide. The title 'Emperor of the South' assumed by him was not a mere boast. He had received the necessary political training. The dynasty came to be known as 'Ballāḷa' after him. The Kongāḷvas and the Changāḷvas were subdued and disorders nearer home put down. Uchchangi, a fort almost impregnable, was captured and the title 'Giridurgamalla' was assumed by Ballāḷa. A Pāṇḍya family was ruling at Uchchangi. It was on a Saturday that this event took place and hence he also took the title 'Sanivārasiddhi'. Two expeditions against Henjēru Chōla, the Pāṇḍya's neighbour, and another northwards across the Tungabhadra were also undertaken. The most famous of his campaigns, however, was that against the Seuṇas, or Yādavas, of Dēvagiri. It was most unfortunate that the Hoysalas and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri could not come to an understanding. There was continuous warfare in the northern area and the Yādavas, now and then, carried on their incursions into the Hoysala territory. At the famous battle of Soraṭur, 12 miles south of Gadag, Bhillama, the Yādava king, was completely defeated and a number of forts were captured. About 1193 A. D., Lokkigunḍi in Dharwar District became his temporary capital. By this time the power of the Chālukyas had disappeared. A contest arose between the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and Ballāḷa II for the possession of the Chālukya dominion. It was in this circumstance that Ballāḷa II pressed northwards and captured a number of forts after his decisive victory at Soraṭur. Henceforward the Mālāprabha river became the boundary between the two ruling powers, the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysalas in the south. The Noḷambavāḍi Province was also directly governed by Ballāḷa. He assumed imperial titles like 'Samasta Bhuvanāśraya', 'Śrī Prithivivallabha', Mahārājādhirāja', 'Parameśvara', 'Parama Bhaṭṭāraka', 'Pratāpa Chakravarti', 'Yādava Chakravarti' and 'Dakshinadeśādheśvara'.

An interesting chapter in the history of the Hoysalas is their successful penetration in the Tamil country and the spreading of their influence there. A number of Hoysala inscriptions are found in Coimbatore, Madura and Salem Districts. A close examination of these records would indicate that Ballāḷa II had

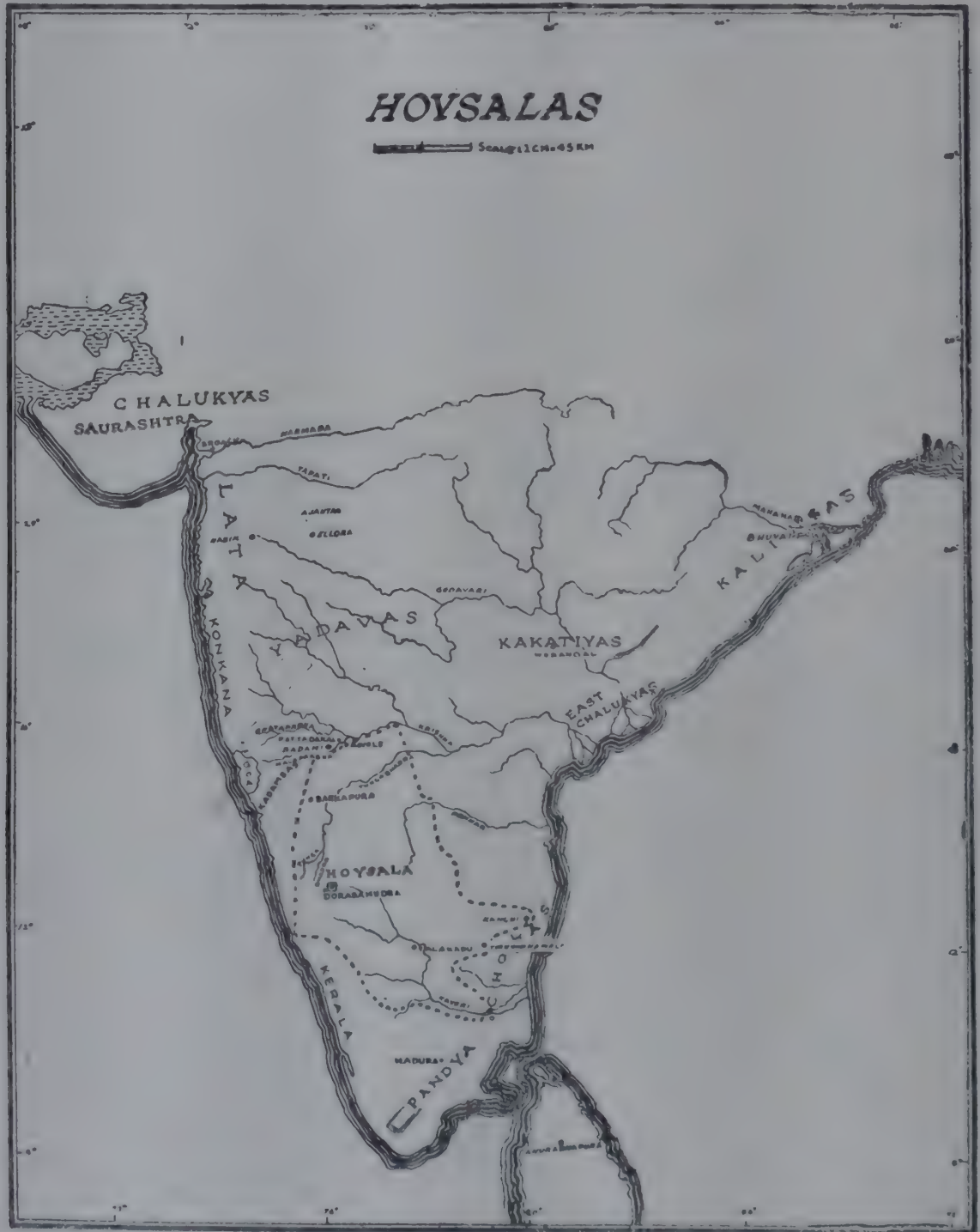


Figure 11

established some kind of political authority over the Tamil region and paid much attention to the cultural progress of the people there. It was only towards the end of Kulōttunga's reign that Ballāḷa secured an opportunity to distinguish himself in the politics of the Tamil country. The contest for supremacy between

the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas gave him an opportunity to play an effective part. The Chōla throne was occupied by Rājarāja III in 1215 A. D. His reign witnessed a series of disasters. The Kākatīya king, operating from his capital, Warangal, had captured large tracts of the Telugu country and was pressing southwards. The Telugu country south of the Krishna was ruled by a Telugu Chōḍa chieftain, steadily gathering strength as the Chōla power weakened. Hoysala Ballāla was very powerful in Mysore. The Pāṇḍya king, an inveterate enemy of the Chōla dynasty, threatened the Chōla territories in the south-west. It was at this time of crisis that Ballāla made a demonstration of his strength in the Tamil country. His son, prince Veera Narasimha, marched against Srīrangam (merely referred to as 'Ranga'—*E.C.*, VI, Ch 56). Ballāla is described as 'Chōlarāja Pratiśthāchārya' and 'Pāṇḍyagaja-kēsari' and his son, Narasimha, as 'Chōlakulaikā-raksha'. It was probably by diplomacy backed by an effective show of force that he effected the restitution of the Chōla throne.

When Ballāla died in 1220 A.D., after a rule of 47 years marked by great achievements, his son Narasimha II (also called Veera Narasimhadēvarasa) succeeded him and continued the great traditions of his illustrious father, and ruled till 1235 A.D. He succeeded in maintaining the balance of power in the south and in giving a fresh lease of life to the Chōla empire. It is possible that some kind of matrimonial relationship was also established, for we learn that he gave his daughter in marriage to the Chōla king, Rājarāja. The Hoysalas were regarded practically as arbiters of South Indian politics. With the waning of the power of the Pāṇdyas and the Chōlas, the Hoysalas had to take up the role of leadership in South India. Narasimha II had to march against Koperunjinga, the Kāḍava (Pallava) chieftain, who had imprisoned Rājarāja III, and rescued Rājarāja for a second time. He was able to defeat a combined army of the Pāṇdyas and the Kāḍavas in a ninety days, battle at Srīrangam. This was followed by his establishing a capital near Srīrangam. According to the *Gadyakarṇāmrīta*, Narasimha levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya ruler, Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.

It is likely that Sōmēśvara (1235-1254), son of Narasimha II, also known as Sōvidēva or Sōmēśvara, who succeeded to the throne, also took part in some of these campaigns. Kānchipuram became a bone of contention between the Hoysalas and the Telugu Chōḍas. Hoysala incursions extended to Kānchi also. The spirited rule of Rājendra III successor of Rājarāja III, and his ambition to revive Chōla power compelled Sōmēśvara to rescue the Pāṇḍya ruler and thus maintain the balance of power. The accession of Jaṭāvarma Sundara Pāṇḍya in 1251 A.D. proved a landmark in the history of the Pāṇdyas. All the powers of South India felt the weight of his arm. This common danger patched up the Hoysala-Chōla differences. They rallied all their forces and offered a combined front to the Pāṇdyas. Though they felt the weight of Jaṭāvarman's arms, the Hoysalas refused to give up their possessions in the south.

The partition of the empire took place in the time of Narasimha III, son of Sōmēśvara, who succeeded to the throne in 1254 A.D. The empire had become unwieldy and greater attention had to be bestowed on the consolidation of the newly acquired possessions in the Tamil country. It was mainly for administrative convenience that this partition was effected. It was brought about in a peaceful manner, probably with the approval of Sōmēśvara. The greater part of the ancestral kingdom, *i.e.*, the home provinces, with Dōrasamudra as capital, was assigned to Narasimha. Rāmanātha, another son of Sōmēśvara, was placed in charge of the Tamil provinces, comprising the Salem District, the western half of North Arcot and Chittoor Districts, the whole of Tiruchirapalli District excluding Karūr, the Tanjore, the Pāpanāśam and Mannārguḍi Taluks of the Tanjore District and the eastern part of Pudukōṭṭai State, as well as east Mysore country comprising the modern Kōlar District. Kaṇṇanūr became his capital. Narasimha was able to look after the paternal estate and prevent the Yādavas (Seuṇas) from their threatened invasion. Sōmēśvara, even after his formal abdication of authority, took interest in the affairs of the empire and helped Rāmanātha in external affairs. Unfortunately, the set-back in the south tempted Rāmanātha to attack the possessions of Narasimha. The death of Rājendra III in 1279 A. D. marked the downfall of the Chōḷa empire. The Chōḷa kingdom was completely absorbed in the Pāṇḍya empire. It was also a severe blow to the Hoysalas in the south, as Māravarman Kulaśēkhara, the Pāṇḍya ruler, became the unquestioned master of both the Chōḷa country and of those Tamil districts of the Hoysala empire over which Rāmanātha had ruled. Even Kaṇṇanūr was lost by the Hoysalas. Rāmanātha had to make desperate attempts to recover the Hoysala possessions in the south, including Kaṇṇanūr. With the greatest difficulty Kaṇṇanūr was recovered and Rāmanātha was able to establish his authority in the South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli Districts.

The partition, in the long run, gave rise to jealousy and the frittering away of the resources of the kingdom. Hence, Ballāḷa III (1292-1343 A. D.) known as Veeraballāḷa Dēvarasa. Vishnuvardhana Veeraballāḷa Dēvarasa, the son and successor of Narasimha III, had to annul the partition and reunite the kingdom under his rule. As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri observes, "After the loss of Tamil territory, Hoysala Rāmanātha started the civil war against his brother Narasimha III who was hard pressed by other enemies like the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Kākatīyas. Rāmanātha succeeded in capturing some territory for himself in the Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur Districts and ruled it with Kundanī, near Hosur in the Salem District, as his capital. Narasimha III died in 1292 and was succeeded by Ballāḷa III. His accession was not disputed by Rāmanātha, who, however, kept up a hostile attitude till his death three years later, as did his son Viśvanātha also for a few years, until he too disappeared from the scene. Ballāḷa thus once more ruled over a united Hoysala kingdom before 1300. He took advantage of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country that followed the death of Kulaśēkhara, and went out to the aid of one or other of the parties in the hope of regaining the territory lost by Rāmanātha. But his plans were thwarted by the

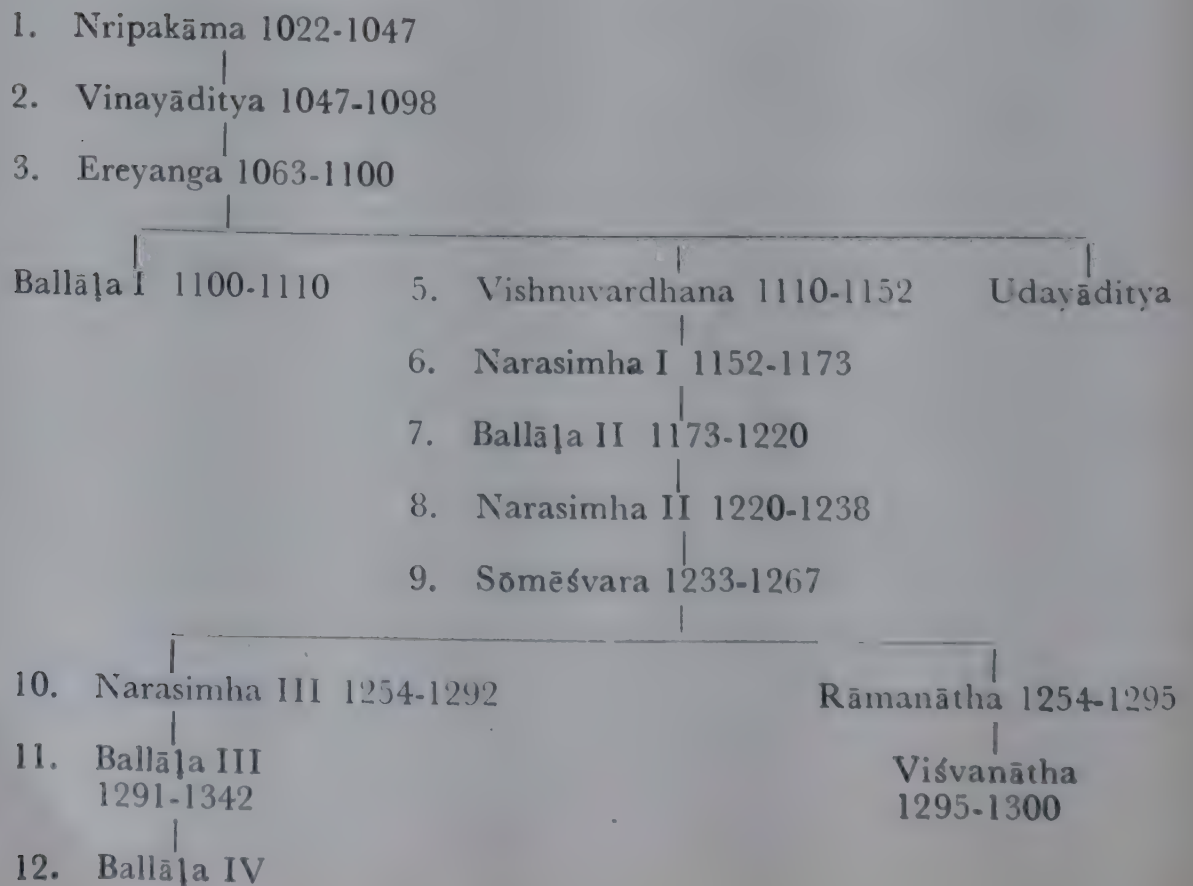
sudden appearance of Malik Kafur in his rear.” (*A History of South India*, 2nd edition p. 209).

The reign of Ballāḷa III, the last great emperor of the Hoysalas, was a period of crisis in South India. For the first time (1310) in the history of South India, the Muslims invaded the country and carried on their ravages far and wide. The Hindu kingdoms of the south could have had no idea of the destructive character of their invasions. With their own internal dissensions, they were quite unprepared to defend themselves against the onslaughts of the Muslims. Of these kingdoms, mention may be made of the Seuṇas, also known as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Kākatīyas of Wārangal, the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas. Each of them contended for supremacy. It was only at a later period that they realised the need for concerted action to protect Hindu Dharma. It must be said to the credit of Ballāḷa III that he took the initiative to organise some sort of common resistance to stem the tide of Muslim invasions, though unfavourable circumstances were responsible for the failure of his grand design. There is no doubt, however, that Ballāḷa III holds a unique place as the last constructive genius in the history of the Hoysalas.

The partition of the empire came to an end. Ballāḷa III began to rule over a united kingdom. Down to 1310 A. D., the year when Malik Kafur invaded South India, Ballāḷa III was primarily concerned with the restoration of peace and order and regaining the lost prestige of the kingdom. By firm action he was able to put down some of the refractory chiefs in the Banavāsi area. The Seuṇa invasions threatened the kingdom, though Sōmeya Daṇḍanāyaka, Ballāḷa's brother-in-law, offered stiff resistance to the enemy. Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka scored considerable success against Jaṭāvarman Veera Pāṇḍya, and re-established Hoysala power in the south. In 1310 A. D., when Ballāḷa was absent from his capital, Malik Kafur invaded his kingdom and sacked Dōrasamudra. Though Ballāḷa returned immediately to his capital, he felt that it was foolhardy to fight against such a powerful enemy without adequate preparation, and he agreed to come to a peaceful understanding with Malik Kafur, much against the advice of the nobles. The crisis was overcome. The kingdom was saved from the horrors of destruction. In 1318 A. D., for a second time, the Muslims invaded his kingdom, as Ballāḷa could not acquiesce in the establishment of military garrisons in his kingdom. But the invaders were successfully repulsed by one Kaṭāri Sāluva Raseya-Nāyaka. There was a change of outlook as a result of these invasions. Ballāḷa had smarted under the loss of prestige suffered by his surrender. He gave up the idea of imposing his dominance on the other Hindu kingdoms. Some kind of unified effort was felt to be urgently needed to stand up against the Muslim invaders. He took the initiative and, with Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, which he made his capital, as his base of action, he brought about some sort of a confederacy of the Hindu kingdoms in South India against the common danger. The revolt of Bahauddin Gurshasp compelled Mohammad bin-Tughlak to organise another expedition in 1326 A. D., but the situation was saved by the surrender of the

fugitive to the Sultan. The establishment of the Sultanate of Madura in 1336 A.D. created a panic in the minds of the Hindus. The succession of Ghiasuddin as Sultan in 1341 A. D. witnessed the climax of their sufferings. The horrid cruelties inflicted by the Sultan, as described by Ibn Batūta, knew no bounds. The protection of Hindu Dharma became a matter of paramount importance. At the battle of Koppam, ('Cobban' according to Ibn Batūta) in 1342 A. D., though Ballāḷa was about to secure a decisive victory against the Muslims, he agreed to a truce for 14 days as desired by the enemy. But this truce, honourably observed by Ballāḷa, was violated by the Muslims. They attacked Ballāḷa and his army suddenly during the period of the truce, and, by sheer treachery, captured Ballāḷa and put him to death. 'His (Ballāḷa's) skin was stuffed with straw and hung upon the wall of Madura. I saw it in the same position', writes Ibn Batuta. Though Ballāḷa died bravely on the battle-field, the cause for which he offered his life did not fail. Hindu Dharma was saved. It was left to Vijayanagar to complete the noble work of Ballāḷa.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOYSALAS (1022-1342)



THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

A history of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, modern Daulatābād, which now lies in Maharashtra, may perhaps be considered as being outside the purview of Karnataka history. The Yādavas succeeded the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and ruled over large tracts of the Kannada country. They kept up a bitter struggle with the Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra so that the southern boundary of their kingdom was often changing. They ultimately fell before the onrush of Muslim invasion from the north, which ultimately resulted in the birth of the Vijayanagar Empire which acted as a check to Muslim expansion to the extreme south of India.

The Yādavas have thus had a great deal to do with Karnataka. We shall now turn our attention to this dynasty.

Many of the kings and royal dynasties in Karnataka trace their descent according to genuine traditions as embodied in ancient literature like the Purāṇas and the Epics. The Yādavas of Dēvagiri who played a prominent part in the Deccan in the 13th and 14th centuries claimed their descent from Yadu, one of the five sons of Yayāti, the son of Nahusha. According to the Purāṇas, the Yādava branch established a great kingdom by extending its sway over neighbouring countries. They defeated the Pauravas (descendants of Puru), and drove the Druhyus into the Punjab. Literature and inscriptions contain elaborate accounts of their genealogy. The *Vratākhaṇḍa* of Hēmādri, a minister of Mahādeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty, sketches their genealogy in the introduction. According to this work, the progenitor was the Moon who was churned out of the Milky Ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purāṇic or legendary ancestors to Mahādeva.

The Yādavas were at first lords of Mathura; then from the time of Krishna they became sovereigns of Dvāravati or Dvāraka. They became rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subāhu, viz., Driḍhprahāra. His capital was Śrīnagara, according to the *Vratākhaṇḍa*, while from the Grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandrādityapura, which may have been the modern Chandor in the Nāsik District. The country came to be known as Seṇadēśa in the time of Seṇachandra I, grandson of Subāhu. A town by name Seṇapura seems to have been founded by him. (Stanza 22, *Vra*). Seṇadēśa is the name of the region extending from Nāsik to Dēvagiri, the modern Daulatābād, situated in the confines of Daṇḍakāraṇya. (Stanza 19, *Vra*). The kings of this dynasty had the hereditary title of 'Dvāravatīpuravarādhiśvara' (supreme lord of Dvāravati, the best of towns) and 'Vishnu vamsōdbhava' (born in the race of Vishnu).

They carried the Suvarṇa-Garuḍa-Dhvaja (Banner of a golden Garuḍa) which also appears as the device on the seals of their charters, sometimes alone, and sometimes along with the figure of Hanumān.

The later history of this dynasty from the 12th century onwards is interesting. They were, in the beginning, feudatories to the Rāshtrakūṭas and Western Chālukyas. They took advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. The Chālukya power after Vikramāditya VI was practically on the decline. The Kalachuris, who rose to power, succumbed to internal troubles and dissensions, consequent on the rise of the Lingāyat sect. It was Bhillama V (1185-1193, A.D.), the able ruler of the Yādava dynasty, who defeated both the Kalachuris and the Western Chālukyas and made himself master of the greater part of the Chālukya empire in the Deccan. He established his capital at Dēvagiri (modern Daulatābād), and henceforth the family came to be known definitely as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.

The political upheaval in the Deccan enabled Bhillama to launch an aggressive campaign. He had a powerful army of more than two lakhs of infantry and 12,000 cavalry. He wrested from Sōmēśvara IV not only Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Chālukyas, but also Kisukādnāḍ, the capital of which was Erambarage (modern Yelburga, Lingsugur, Raichur Dt) Tardavāḍināḍ, (country round Mutgi in the Bagēvāḍi Taluk, Bijapur District), Belavola (country around Gadag in the Dharwar District) and the adjoining territories. The Kadambas of Goa under Jayakēśi III acknowledged his suzerainty.

It was about this time that the Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra, who had also taken advantage of the weakness of the Chālukyas, declared their independence. They made a serious attempt to establish a preponderant position in South Indian politics. A contest for supremacy between the Hoysalas and the Yādavas followed. It was unfortunate that these two strong powers could not come to an understanding. Bhillama invaded the Hoysala kingdom, advancing as far as Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa on the Kāveri. He also invaded the territory of the Chōḷas and won a victory over Kulōttunga III. Ballāḷa II organized a powerful army and confronted the Seuṇas (Yādavas) at Ingalakuppe in the Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa Taluk. And, later, Bhillama was forced to withdraw from the Hoysala country (1188-1189 A.D.)

Inscriptions of Bhillama's reign refer to his supremacy over Belavola, Tardavāḍi and Madagihal in the old Jath State. His expeditions against the northern neighbours were more successful, as he defeated Vindhyavarman of Mālava and Bheema II of Gujarat. Towards the close of his reign, he was engaged in a severe struggle with the Hoysalas. Ballāḷa II launched an aggressive campaign against the Yādavas and captured the forts of Hānagal, Gutti and Raṭṭapalli. The Hoysala army next attacked the fort at Soratur, 12 miles south of Gadag. Jaitrasimha, Bhillama's general, was compelled to withdraw, and the Hoysalas secured a decisive victory at Soratur. The fort of Lokkigundi,

modern Lokkundi, six miles east of Gadag, where the Yādava general had taken shelter was also captured by the Hoysalas. Ballāḷa advanced towards Erambarage and became master of Huligēri, Beḷavoḷa, Kisukāḍ and the adjoining territories up to the Heddore, *i.e.*, the Krishna river. Ballāḷa made Erambarage his northern capital and probably resided there in 1196 A.D. Bhillama associated his son Jaitugi with the government from 1191 A. D., and after his death in 1193 A.D., Jaitugi succeeded to the throne.

Jaitugi, or Jaitrapāla, Bhillama's son, who succeeded to the throne in 1193 A.D., had taken an active part in his father's campaigns. He claimed victory over the Pāṇḍyas of Noḷambavāḍi, who were feudatories of the Hoysalas. But he could not push the boundary of his kingdom further south, as Ballāḷa II could not be dislodged from Kisukāḍ and the Beḷavoḷa regions. The extension of the Seuṇa kingdom up to the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra brought Jaitugi into clash with the Kākatīyas. The Kākatīya king, Mahādēva, lost his life and his young son Gaṇapati was taken prisoner. The kingdom of the Kākatīyas lay prostrate before Jaituga. But he treated the young Gaṇapati with great consideration, released him and placed him on his paternal throne. He waged wars against his neighbours to the north of the Narmada. Paramāra Subhaṭavarman and the Chālukya Bheema II yielded to his force and their kingdoms were plundered by the Seuṇa army. It is probable that he came into clash with the forces of Qutb-ud-din Aibek, which were carrying on depredations in Gujarat in 1197 A.D. Lakshmīdhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhāskarāchārya, was in the service of Jaitrapāla, who placed him at the head of all learned pandits. Lakshmīdhara was a celebrated scholar, well-versed in the Vedas, Tarkaśāstra and Mīmāṃsa. Jaitrapāla was succeeded by his son Singhaṇa in about 1200 A.D.

Singhaṇa was the greatest ruler of the dynasty. It was in his time that the Yādavas became the most powerful and dominant power in the Deccan. He defeated the Hoysalas, wrested back the territories acquired by them from his grandfather, and established the undisputed supremacy of the family in the Deccan. He made extensive conquests in the north, successfully invaded Gujarat several times and conquered Lāṭa. The King of Mālava, a Muhammadan ruler, and the Kalachuris, or Chēdis of Chattisgarh and Jabalpur, were also subdued. The Silāhāras of Kolhāpur, the Kadambas of Goa and various other petty principalities of the Deccan submitted to him. In commemoration of his victory against the Hoysalas, he erected a Column of Victory on the banks of the Kāvēri. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 386-7 and Vol XII, p. 43).

The Yādava empire under Singhaṇa became extensive. The Yādava King was entitled to assume the full titles of a paramount sovereign, as seen in his inscriptions, such as 'the Support of the whole world' (Samastabhuvanāśraya), 'the Lover of the earth' (Prithivīvallabha) and King of kings (Mahārājādhirāja). The astrologers Changadēva and Anantadēva received patronage. Sārugadēva

wrote his treatise on music entitled *Sangeetaratnākara* during this period. Singhaṇa had a son Jaitugi who predeceased him. Singhaṇa enjoyed a long reign of at least thirty seven years and he must have been nearly seventy at the time of his death in 1246 A.D. Whether Jaitugi had any brothers we do not know. After Singhaṇa's death, the crown passed to his eldest grandson Krishna.

Singhaṇa's grandsons Krishna (1247-1260 A.D.) and Mahādēva (1260-1271 A.D.) maintained the empire intact and fought successfully with the powerful neighbouring kings in the south and the north, as well as with the petty chiefs in the Deccan. Some territories beyond the Tungabhadra were wrested from the Hoysalas, and northern Konkaṇ was annexed by Mahādēva. Krishna performed a great many sacrifices, and, according to the *Vratakhanda*, 'brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in course of time had lost hold over the people'.

His Governor, Malla or Malliṣeṭṭi, gave lands in the village of Bāgēvāḍi to thirty-two Brahmins of different *gōtras* and they form the nucleus of the modern Maharashtra Brahmins in that region. (*I.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 304). A stone inscription at Kurumbetṭa (Mānadapur, Gokak Taluk) narrates the grant of this Malliṣeṭṭi. Jalhana, the author of *Sūktimuktāvalī*, was his counsellor and the commander of the army. The *Vratakhanda* describes the achievements of Mahādēva, brother of Krishna, who succeeded to the throne in 1260 A.D. in glorious terms. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Telangaṇa country; the power of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūrjara; he destroyed the king of Konkaṇ with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnāta and Lāṭa to mockery". (I, 48; II, 13). His minister, the famous Hēmādri, credits his master with decisive victory against the Vaghelas of Gujarat, the Paramāras of Mālava and the Kākatiyas of Telangāṇa (Wārangal). The *Vratakhanda*, the first work composed by Hēmādri, contains a very valuable account of the dynasty from the beginning. Hēmādri was a Brahmin of the Vatsa *gōtra*. His father was Kāmadēva, grandfather Vāsudēva and great-grandfather Vāmana. Hēma was very liberal to Brahmins and fed numbers of them every day. A man of high learning himself, he wanted to lead a pious life and at the same time engage himself in brave deeds. The *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, a great work of Hēmādri, contains four parts: (1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances. (2) *Dānakhanda*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained, (3) *Teerthakhanda*, which treats of pilgrimage to holy places and, (4) *Mōkshakhanda*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. A fifth *Khanda*, or part, which is called *Parīśiṣṭhakhanda*, or Appendix, contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped (2) the *Śrāddhas* or offerings to the manes (3) the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) the *Prāyaścitta* or atonement. All these works are held in great esteem. A commentary called

Āyurvēda-rasāyana on Vāgbhaṭa's medical treatise and another on Bopadēva's *Muktāphala*, a work expounding Vaishnava doctrines, are also attributed to him. He introduced a code of private and official etiquette and of forms of address in private and public correspondence. The grain bajri, as a cheap foodstuff of plentiful yield, is said to have been introduced by Hēmādri.

Bopadēva was one of Hēmādri's proteges and he was the author of *Muktāphala* and of another work entitled *Harileela*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhāgavata*. The latter work was written at the request of Hēmādri. A few medical treatises are also attributed to Bopadēva.

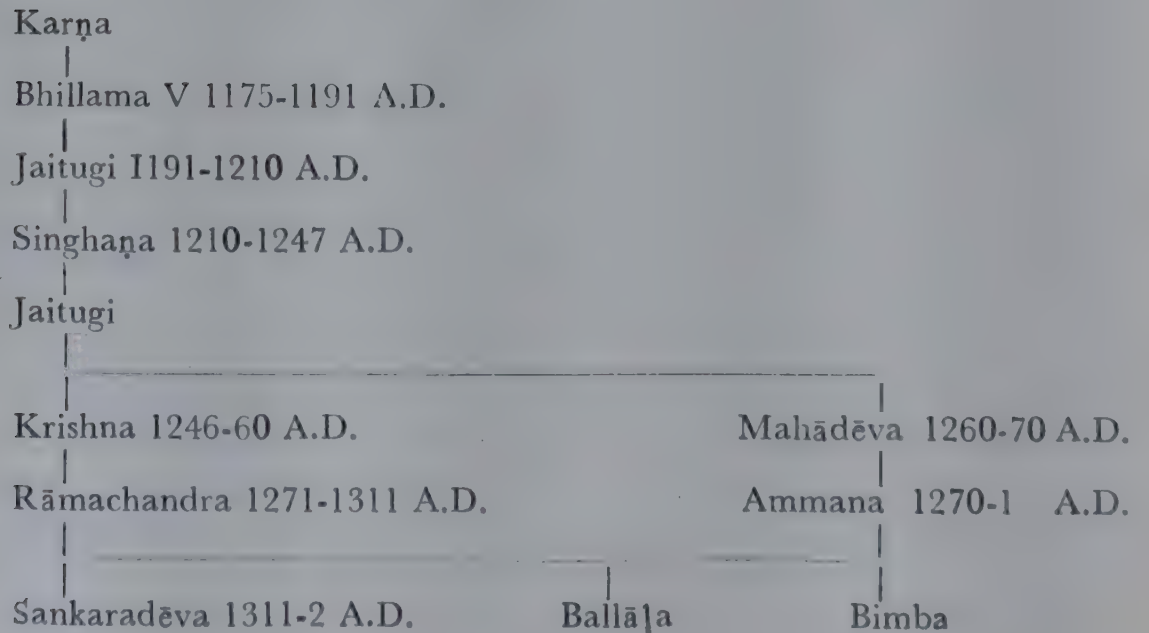
Hēmādri is popularly known as Hemadpant and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. This style of architecture came to be known as *Hēmadvanti*. He is said to have introduced the *Mōḍī*, or the form of writing used by scribes probably brought from Lanka or Ceylon. As Chief Secretary, Hēmādri had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and hence some improvement in the mode of writing had to be devised. Jnānēśvara, the great Marāṭha saint, flourished during his reign and completed his *Jnānēśvari*, the great Marāṭhi commentary on the *Bhagavad Geeta*.

Rāmachandra, or Rāmadēva, son of Krishna and nephew of Mahādēva, who succeeded to the throne in 1271 A.D., was the last sovereign of the dynasty. A final attempt to annex the Hoysala country was made. A well-equipped force which advanced upon the capital city Dōrasamudra was repulsed. He also met with failure in his invasion of Gujarat, though he won some success against a number of petty chiefs. It was in his time that prince Ala-ud-din invaded his kingdom in 1296 A.D., and plundered Dēvagiri. Rāmachandra was compelled to make a humiliating treaty and pay tribute to Delhi. The power and prestige of the Yādavas practically disappeared. In 1307 A.D., for a second time, the kingdom was invaded by Malik Kafur as Rāmachandra refused to pay tribute. He was taken prisoner to Delhi, but was released, and ruled his State as a vassal chief. Five years later, his son Sankara, or Singhaṇa, II asserted independence, but was again defeated and killed by Kafur in 1313 A.D. Harāpāla, the son-in law of Rāmachandra, took advantage of the confusion at Delhi after the death of Ala-ud-din, raised a revolt but was taken prisoner by Mubārak, third son of Ala-ud-din and flayed alive. Dēvagiri became a Muslim province.

The invasion of the Muslims and internal dissensions were mainly responsible for the downfall of the Yādava dynasty. The kingdom had extended over the entire tract of land lying between the Vindhya and the Krishna, *i.e.*, Maharashtra, and Karnataka. The successful wars waged by the Yādavas against Mālava, Gujarat and the Hoysalas had enhanced the prestige and power of the dynasty in the Deccan. There was internal peace and security. Trade and industry developed. The kingdom became prosperous and wealthy. Ala-ud-din invaded the kingdom mainly with the object of capturing the vast wealth of the kingdom.

The Muslim chronicles of Barani, Isami and Ferishta give detailed descriptions of the invasion and the enormous booty secured. According to Ferishta, Ala-ud-din got 600 maunds of gold, 7 maunds of pearls, 2 maundas of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires and other precious stones 1000 maunds of silver and 4000 pieces of silk and sundry other articles. Though there may be exaggeration in the statement of Ferishta, the kingdoms of the Deccan and South India had doubtless accumulated enormous wealth. The Deccan was considered as the milch-cow of Delhi. The temples also were repositories of wealth for centuries. The internal weakness of the kingdoms and their dissensions made them an easy prey to the Muslim invaders. They had no intention of subjugating and annexing these kingdoms, as it involved tireless effort with no guarantee of success. Though there were strong and powerful kingdoms in the Deccan at this time of crisis, none of them seemed to realise immediately the need for unity and common action. It was most unfortunate that they were blissfully ignorant of the need of the hour, and each was engrossed in the thought of maintaining his own prestige and power.

GENEALOGY OF THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI



SOME MINOR DYNASTIES THE CHANGALVAS

The Changāḷvas, or Changāḷuvas, were a line of kings who ruled for a long period the western portions of Mysore District and Coorg. Changanāḍ or the modern Hunsur Taluk was their original home. They claim to be Yādavas belonging to the Lunar race. The family is said to be founded by Changāḷva of Dvāravati. He is said to have defeated Bijjaḷēndra, and seized his titles. It has not been possible to identify this Bijjaḷēndra. The Changāḷvas were devout Saivas. Their family God was Annadāni Mallikārjuna of Beṭṭadapur (Hunsur Taluk), which they called Srīgiri. The Changāḷvas first appear in the Jaina inscriptions of Hanasōge in Yedatore Taluk. A large number of Jaina basadis are said to have been constructed by 'Rāma', which were endowed in later times by the Changāḷvas.

One of the basadis was rebuilt by Nanni Changāḷva who lived towards the beginning of the 11th century. The Changāḷva power was overthrown by the Chōḷas along with those of the Gangas in 1004 A.D. The inscriptions of the Changāḷvas are found mostly in Hunsur, Yedatore and Coorg.

The Chōḷa general Panchava Mahārāya subjugated the Changāḷvas at Hanasōge. The subsequent Changāḷva kings had Chōḷa titles for two centuries. When the Hoysalas drove out the Chōḷas, the Changāḷvas came into conflict with the Hoysalas. Ballāḷa led an expedition against them in 1004 A.D. In 1145 A.D., Narasimha killed a Changāḷva in battle in 1155 A.D., and Changanāḍ was subjugated by Hoysala Narasimha. Another Changāḷva paid homage to Ballāḷa II, the son of Narasimha. Another general of Ballāḷa, Beṭṭarasa destroyed in 1174 A.D., the Changāḷva King Mahādeva who had fled to Coorg. The next Changāḷva King Pemmaveerappa drove out the Hoysalas from Changanāḍ with the help of the Koḍagas. Ultimately, the Hoysalas overpowered them. In 1245 A.D., they constructed a new capital at Coorg called Koḍagu-Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa to the south of the Kāveri, near Siddāpur. Two Changāḷva kings, Sōmadēva and Boppadēva ruled over the new city conjointly. In 1252 A.D., they received the Hoysala King Sōmēśvara at Rāmanāthapura. The Changāḷva rulers between 1280-1297 A.D., are Malidēva and Hariharadēva. We do not hear of any Changāḷva king during the 14th century.

At the end of the 15th century we hear of a new Changāḷva King Nanjarāja (1502-1533 A.D.) with his capital at Nanjarājapaṭṭaṇa. This town is in Coorg to the north of the Kāveri river. The kings call themselves the rulers of Nanjarājapaṭṭaṇa. Nanjarāja's younger brother was Mahādēva who gives the genealogy of the Changāḷvas. Mangarasa, in his *Jayanripa Kāvya*, says that his father was

descended from the minister of the Changāḷva kings. Srikanṭharāja, another Changāḷva king (1544 A.D.), assumed imperial titles. Piriyaṛāja (1586-1607 A.D.) rebuilt Singapaṭṭaṇa and called it Piriyaṛapaṭṭaṇa after himself. In 1607 A.D., Tirumalarāya, the Vijayanagar Viceroy, granted Maḷalavāḍi country to Piriyaṛāja. The Changāḷva rule was put an end to by the ruler of Mysore, Kanṭheerava Narasaṛāja Woḍeyar (1644 A.D.) by defeating Veeraraḷaiya, the last Changāḷva ruler.

THE KONGALVAS

The Kongāḷvas ruled a kingdom consisting of Arakalgūḍ Taluk and the adjoining 7000 country in the north of Coorg. It was called Kongalnāḍ 8000. The Ganga prince Ereyappa was its Governor by about 880 A.D. The Kongāḷva State was the creation of the Chōḷas in about 1004 A.D. The great Chōḷa Emperor Rājarāja bestowed this Konganāḍ upon Panchava Mahārāya, with the title 'Kshatriya Sikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva', for his valour in the battle of Hanasōge against the Changāḷvas. Panchava Mahārāya (1012 A.D.) has been described as a bee at the lotus feet of Rājarāja, and he is said to have been invested by the Emperor with the rank of a Mahādandānayaka for Vengi Maṇḍala (Eastern Chalukya country) and Gangamaṇḍala (Ganga territory in Mysore). Panchava Mahārāya claimed that he undertook expeditions to Tuḷuva (South Kanara), Konkaṇa (N. Kanara) Malaya (Malabar) and defeated Cheramma (King of Travancore). He further claims to have defeated the Telugus and the Raṭṭigas (N. Mysore). and ruled over a portion of Beḷavoḷa (Dharwar and Belgaum).

The other Kongāḷva kings are Tribhuvanamalla Kongāḷvadēva (1079-1105 A.D.). He defeated the Changāḷvas who had attacked Sāligrāma. Doḍḍamalladēva made liberal grants to Jaina temples. Veera Kongāḷvadēva (1115 A.D.) was an ideal Jaina and a disciple of Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva. Veera Kongāḷva built the Satyavākya Jinālaya and made liberal grants to it. Tribhuvanamalla Veeradoḍḍa Kongāḷvadēva (1171-1177 A.D.) repulsed the attacks of the Hoysalas upon his kingdom.

The Kongāḷvas were Jains and assumed Jaina titles like 'Panchamahāśabda', 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara', 'Sun of the Eastern Mountain', 'Chōḷa Kula—with twisted top-knot', and 'Crest-jewel of Sūryavamśa'. They survived up to 1390 A.D., when probably they were absorbed by Vijayanagar.

THE SALUVAS

The Sāluvas claimed to belong to the Lunar race. They were originally Jainas, and lived in Sangeetapura or Raduvaḷḷi in South Kanara. A Sāluva Tikkama was the general of the Seuṇa King Mahādēva. He is said to have plundered Dōrasamudra in 1280 A.D.

According to inscriptions we get the names of Indra, his son Sangirāja, and his sons Sāluvēndra, Indugarasa or Immaḍi Sāḷuvēndra (1488-1498). Up to 1530 the Sāluva rulers were Mallirāja, Dēvarāja and Krishnadēva. About 1560 A. D., the Sāluvas ruled from Kshēmapura (Gērusoppe). The other Sāluva kings were Dēvarāja Bhairava and Sāluvamalla. They ruled over Tuḷu, Konkaṇa, Haive and other countries.

In 1384 A. D., a Sāluva Rāmadēva, the Governor of Talakāḍ, was killed by 'Turukas' in the battle of Kottakond. Sāluva Tipparāja, married Harima, the sister of Emperor Dēvarāja II. In 1431 A.D., the Emperor granted Ṭēkal to Gōparāja, the son of Sāluva Tipparāja. The Sāluva assumed the titles 'Mēdini mīseyara gaṇḍa' and 'Kaṭhāri Sāluva'. This Sāluva family contributed two emperors, Sāluva Narasimha and Immaḍi Narasimha who ruled the Vijayanagar Empire between 1478 and 1496 A.D.

Sāluva Narasimha was the commander of the Vijayanagar armies under Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha. He defended the empire against Bahamani invasions, and later on usurped the throne. He is described as the most powerful ruler of Karnataka, with his headquarters at Kānchi.

Sāluva Thimmarasa was the Minister of Emperor Krishnadēvarāja. In 1513 A.D. Sāluva Govindarāja was the ruler of Ummattūr. From 1520 to 1527 Sāluva Kaṭhāri Krishnanāyaka was the Chief Minister, and is given imperial titles by about 1530. A.D.

THE PANDYAS OF UCHCHANGI

The Pāṇdyas of Uchchangi were a very important family, who claimed to be Yādavas of the Lunar race. They were the original rulers of Hayve, one of the seven Konkaṇas, with their capital at Sisugali. One of the Pāṇḍya kings of 1113 A. D., claims overlordship of Gōkaṇṇapura and to be the protector of Konkaṇarāshṭra. After the conquest of the seven Konkaṇas by the Western Chālukya Prince Narasimha, the Pāṇdyas migrated to Uchchangi (a hill fort on the northern border of the old Mysore State in the south-west of Bellary District). These Pāṇdyas were the rulers of Nolambavāḍi 32,000, roughly corresponding to the modern Chitradurga District. The founder of the family was Mangaya or Ādityadēva, whose son was Chēdirāja. His son was Pāṇḍya who is supposed to have subdued the Chēdi kings. He was called Pāṇḍya on account of his great partiality for the Pāṇḍya country. 'The blows from his bracelets had resounded on the conch shell on the top of Purandara's head; and his Fish crest was set upon great rocks on the chief mountains. His son was Palanta, who secured their kingdoms to both the Chālukya and Chōḷa kings. The titles of these Pāṇḍya rulers were 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara', 'Lord of Kāṇchīpura', 'Champion in cutting on both sides' (Parichchēdi-gaṇḍa), and 'Defeater of the designs of Rājiga Chōḷa'.

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya, who is better known as Irukkavēla, was the ruler of Nolambavāḍi, under Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla in 1083 A. D. He was also in charge of Ballakunde 300 in 1101 A. D. He ruled from Beltur (near Davangere). He is described as the 'rod in Tribhuvanamalla's right hand'. The Chālukya Emperor had such confidence in him, that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya is described as being sufficient to break the Chōḷas, Āndhras, Kaṭṭingās, Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Māḷava and Gūrjara kings. Tribhuvanamalla brought the whole earth under the subjection of Emperor Vikrama. In 1124 A. D., he ruled over Sāntalige 1000 and the Nolambavāḍi province with full powers. He is described as the younger brother of Veera-Nolamba-Pallava, Permāṇaḍidēva, that is Chālukya Jayasimha. We do not know whether there was any relationship between them. His grandson is called a prince.

The next ruler Rāya Pāṇḍya ruled Nolambavāḍi and Sāntalige from Beltur. He is also described as a victor over Kaṭṭinga, Singala, Chyēndra, Singa and Kaluta kings. His sons were Paṇḍitapāṇḍya, Veerapāṇḍya, Vijayapāṇḍya or Kāmadēva. Paṇḍitapāṇḍya was the disciple of Madhusūdana, and did not succeed his father.

Veerapāṇḍya ruled from Uchchangi. He was given the honour of standing on the right of a prince. He conquered Malē and gave it to the Chālukya Emperor.

In 1148 A. D., he made gifts at the confluence of the Tungabhadra and Haridra. The grants issued in the name of Janamējaya (of Sarpayāga fame) were probably issued by this prince.

The next ruler Vijayapāṇḍya appears to have been an independent prince until 1184 A. D. This was because of the struggle for supremacy between the Chālukyas and Kalachūryas. Vijayapāṇḍya says that the points of his crown were formed of separate large sapphires, and his arms were adorned with golden bracelets. He subdued the seven Konkaṇas in mere sport. He set up a Pillar of Victory with the Fish crest in the Kanaka mountains. His treasury was filled with the pearls from Tāmraparṇi. His pleasure house was among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountain. The Chōḷas failed to capture Uchchangi in spite of a siege of twelve years. The Hoysala King Ballāḷa II easily captured Uchchangi, and restored Vijayapāṇḍya out of grace. However the Hoysalas gradually absorbed the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi.

PADINALKUNAD

This kingdom was founded by Perumāla Dannāyaka, the minister of Ballāla III. He founded and endowed a college at Mālangi, near Talakāḍ. His son was Mādhava Dannāyaka, ruler of Padinālkunāḍ (the fourteen Nāḍs). The country was to the south of Mysore with its capital at Terakanāmbi (Gundlupet Taluk). In 1318 A. D., he built and endowed the temple of Gopinātha in Gōvardhanagiri (Gopālasvāmi Hill, Gundlupet Taluk). He was followed by his son Ketya Dannāyaka (1321 A.D.), and by his grandson Singeya Dannāyaka, (1338 A.D.), These rulers assumed titles like 'Death to Kongas', Subduer of Nilagiri', 'Victors over Pāṇḍyas', and 'the Lords of Svastipura'.

The descendants of these rulers were the Navadannāyakas of Beṭṭadakōṭe, the fort on the Gōpalasvāmi Hill. Their chief was Permāl Dannāyaka. Four of these Dannāyakas led by Bheema Dannāyaka quarrelled with the other five. They captured Nāgarapura (Nanjangud) and Ratnapuri (Heḍatale). They set up separate governments. After some time they attacked and captured Beṭṭadakōṭe. Mancha Dannāyaka of Beṭṭadakōṭe seeing his desperate situation killed himself by leaping from the hill on horse-back. The four victorious Dannāyakas set up a junior member of the family on the throne of Beṭṭadakōṭe. They claim to have conquered Devasibeṭṭa (S. Coorg) and Satyamangala.

The later rulers of Beṭṭadakōṭe ruled over Hura (Nanjangud Taluk). Their titles were 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara', 'Chēra Chōḷa Pāṇḍya', 'Mūvararāyaraganda',

‘Nilagiri Sadarak-oḍeyar’, ‘Nilagiri-Naḍu-āḷva’. Mādhavanāyaka (1530 A. D.) assumed supreme titles.

THE CHOLAS OF NIDUGAL

The Chōḷas ruled a small tract of country between Hēmāvati and Niḍugal between the 8th and 12th centuries with Penjēru, or Henjēru, as their capital, called in Tamil as Perunchēru, now Hēmāvati, on the northern border of Sīra Taluk. Their inscriptions are found in Tumkur, Chitradurga and Bellary Districts. They called themselves Chōḷa Mahārājas. The earlier chiefs of this line were probably subordinates of the Gangas. Certain inscriptions found in the Tumkur District mention a Chōḷa Dhananjaya Eriga as ruling the Aḷvadi 600, as a subordinate of the Gangas. (*E.C.*, XII, Madhugiri 92-94: 97-101). Ruling with him was a Chōḷika Muttarasa, who has been assigned to the time of Śrīpurusha. (*E.C.*, XII, Madhugiri 94-96; 99). Another line started about the beginning of the 12th century. They passed successively under the rule of the Western Chālukyas and the Hoysalas. One of the first of their line known as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Irungoḷa Chōḷa Mahārāja claimed to belong to the Solar race, and descended from Kārikāla. Chōḷa inscriptions mention Irungoḷa-Chōḷa-Mahārāja who was ruling in 1106 A.D. (*E.C.*, XI, Challakere 16). This Irungoḷa is probably the same chief mentioned in an inscription dated 1128 A.D. He began a line of chiefs who ruled down to 1292 A.D. (*E.C.*, XII, Sīra 7). Some of this line are known as Brahma Bhōgendra, Mangi, Bichi, Gōvinda, Iruguṇa or Irungoḷa, Mallidēva entitled Bhōgi, Bomma, and Gaṇēśvara. There were thus eleven generations of chiefs. The first of this line was Irungoḷa, Lord of Oreyapura (or Uraiyr near Tiruchirapalli) ‘Crest-jewel of Kārikālachōḷakula’. Irungoḷa I, who was ruling in 1106 A.D. was the son of Gōvinda and Mahādēvi. (*E.C.*, XII, Pavagada 43) His full name was probably Veerapāṇḍya Irungoḷadēva, who in 1128 A.D., is referred to as the ruler of Rodda 300, Sīra 300, Harve 300 and Sindavāḍi 1,000, all of which may be taken as implying the countries surrounding the peak of Niḍugal as the centre. He was continuously in conflict with the Hoysalas. His son Mallidēva was a feudatory of the Chālukya King Vikramāditya (*E.C.*, XI, Challakere 21) and, in 1147 A.D., of Jagadēkamalla II. There are high praises of his minister Tantrapāla Naman, whose grants to god at Niḍugal are detailed. (*E.C.*, XII, Pavagada 43). Mallidēva had two wives Lakmādēvi and Sitādēvi, the latter of whom made a grant to the Temple of Nanambēśvara, which is described as the *Ghaṭikā-sthāna* of Henjērapatṇa. (*E.C.*, XII, Pavagada 35 and Sīra 23). The latest date known for Mallidēva is 1179 A.D. Then we have a Gōvinda Rāya mentioned in an inscription dated 1207 A.D. After his death a

part of the kingdom was called Gōvindavāḍi. He was succeeded by Irungoḷa II, the son of Barmma and Richaledēvi (*E.C.*, XII, Pavagada 50) and in another as the son of Perumāledēva. (*E.C.*, XII, Pavagada 47 and 141). He was apparently highly skilled in archery and the use of weapons. In an inscription dated 1232 A.D., he made grant to a Jaina basadi on the Niḍugal Hill otherwise called Kalanjana. (*E.C.*, XII, Pavagada 52).

In another inscription dated 1247 A.D., he is given the title Dānava Murāri. (*E.C.*, XI, Hiriya 37). His son Tripurāntakadēva was ruling at Haniyadurga, the Brahmagiri where the Asokan Edicts have been found. (*E.C.*, XII, Sira 340). In an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to 1278 A.D., Gōvinda II is described as the foremost of the Solar line. His son was Irungoḷa III, of whom we know nothing. Irungoḷa's son was Bhōga whose son Bamma obtained fame by building an impregnable line of fortifications connecting the fort of Harriyan and the fort of Niḍugal. In 1285 A.D., Hoysala Narasimha II captured the fortress of Niḍugal. Thus the Chōḷa dynasty at Niḍugal ended.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

THE ADVAITA VEDANTA OF SANKARA

We have seen already that along with Vedic religion, with its denominations of Saivism, Vaishnavism, etc., non-Vedic religions like Buddhism and Jainism had come into Karnataka, enjoyed patronage and had a considerable following. There seems to have been a great revival of the Vedic religion about the 8th century, as evidenced by the advent of Āchāryas like Śankarāchārya, who re-interpreted the ancient religious and philosophical texts. There were also saints, both Saivite and Vaishnavite (Nāyanmārs and Āḷvārs) who sang their hymns in Tamil, and brought about a religious awakening which stemmed the tide of non-Vedic faiths in the land. South India gave birth to three Āchāryas, Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva, who systematised the philosophy of the Vedānta, each from his own standpoint. They were the great leaders of religious thought who shaped the subsequent course of Hindu religious life and philosophic thought all over India, and vitalised it by the cult of Bhakti.

Though born in Kēraḷa, Śankara established one of his principal Maṭhas in Karnataka at Srīngēri. We shall now consider the system propounded by him.

The monistic school of Vedānta philosophy popularised by Śankara is called the Advaita system. Śankara gave a definite shape to it. In accordance with tradition, he relied for the main doctrine of his system on the Triple Texts (The *Upanishads*, the *Vēdānta Sūtras* and the *Geeta*). He points out that the central purport of the Triple Texts called 'Prasthāna Traya' is to identify and integrate the individual soul with Brahman.

Before Śankara there were two great Advaita teachers, Gōvinda and Gauḍapāda. Gauḍapāda is, perhaps, the first to highlight and emphasize Advaita thought. The Advaita system is found in some form in Gauḍapāda's commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad*. Śankara has written a commentary on Gauḍapāda's work.

Śankara throughout his exposition sought to refute two positions: the Sāṅkhya and the Mīmāṃsa. He wanted to point out that the *Upanishads* do not countenance the view of dualism held by the Sāṅkhyas. The Sāṅkhya dualism posits spirit and matter as two entities.

The Mīmāṃsakāras are of opinion that the essential teaching of the Veda is contained in the *Brāhmaṇas* and not in the *Upanishads*. They upheld the

doctrine that salvation through ceremonial acts is the central purport of the Vedas. They further pointed out that references to the self in the *Upanishads* should be looked upon as speaking of the self who is the agent in respect of the performance of rites and ceremonies. Action, *i. e.*, Karma, and not Brahmajñāna, is the central doctrine of the Mīmāṃsakas.

Sankara has criticised *in extenso* the Mīmāṃsa position. He points out that the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* speak of two distinct disciplines. The *Upanishads* are the most important portion of the Vedas. The purport of the *Upanishads* is not action but Brahmajñāna ; they teach us the method of realising the self as the Brahman. Ceremonial purity and ethical excellence may at best, as preached by the *Brāhmaṇas*, help a spiritual aspirant. They purify the mind. Brahman-realization can only be achieved by jñāna (knowledge) and not by action.

Further, Sankara points out that his Brahman is not the void of the Buddhists. The Brahman of Sankara is the positive existent Reality without which there would be no universe. It is the substrate underlying the whole world of phenomena. Spiritual realization negates the phenomenal through the affirmation of the real. The Advaitin denies only names and forms but not that which appears under their guise. The reality of the real is experienced. The Advaitin negates only isolation and distinction (bhēda); the Buddhist negates reality as well as the distincts. There is nothing permanent and stable underlying the flux of the universe for Buddha. Such a position is wholly refuted by Sankara in the second chapter of his commentary on the *Vēdanta Sūtras*.

The central Reality of Advaita, is Brahman, the Supreme Spirit, Consciousness and Intelligence. Revealed scripture is the final authority for proving the existence of Brahman. Brahman is not an object of knowledge. It is knowledge itself. There is nothing beside it. It cannot be described in terms of any other existence than itself. It is self-manifest and self-luminous. The instruments of knowledge (pramāṇās) can only tell us negatively what Brahman is. There is no knowing Brahman; there is only being Brahman. It is an experience realised by the disciplined souls who have purified their minds by the performance of Scripture-ordained duties and have concentrated on Reality as expounded in the Scripture. Inference and perception substantiate the truth established by the Scriptures.

The Brahman of Advaita is not the creator of the universe in the sense that a potter creates a pot. Sankara does not uphold the creationist theory. The non-existent can never be created out of anything. The Sāṅkhyan points out that the effect is found in a potential form in the cause. The effect is merely a transformation of the cause.

Sankara refutes the theory of the Sāṅkhyans *i.e.*, of transformation. The Sāṅkhyan explanation that the effect is merely a transformation of the cause fares no better at the hands of Sankara. Granted that causation is manifestation, is this

existent or not? If this is already existent the causal operation is superfluous. If it is not existent then there will have to be a cause of the manifestation and that in its turn will need another cause. Thus we shall have an endless series of causes. It is thus clear that the conception of cause is fundamentally unintelligible. So the Advaitin concludes that cause and effect are identical in their essence. They appear as cause and effect. Cause and effect are illusory manifestations of Brahman. Brahman is neither the cause of the world nor is it transformed into the world.

The whole of Advaita dialectics rests on two general postulates: 1. the absolutely real is never sublated; and 2. the absolutely unreal is never cognised. The example of the absolutely real is Brahman, and examples of the absolutely unreal are the barren woman's son, and the horns of a hare. In between these two categories the whole world of plurality is included. The world of plurality which we perceive, manipulate and live in is neither real nor unreal. In deep sleep we experience at least a temporary sublation of the plural universe. As it is sublated, the universe is not real. It is not unreal, because it is cognised. It is this indeterminable nature of the universe as real and or unreal that is connoted by the term *Māya*. The absolutely real Brahman loses its selfhood when it becomes an object of rational knowledge. So no predication in respect of Brahman is intelligible, because there is nothing real besides itself. Brahman is not one who has infinite knowledge and infinite bliss, but is knowledge and bliss itself.

The entire universe of plurality on the Advaita hypothesis is neither created by Brahman nor is it the transformation of Brahman. It is an illusory manifestation of Brahman. The central problem of Advaita is: "How does this illusory manifestation take place and why does it take place?" The straight answer to this question is the most inexplicable and knotty expression *Māya* (Nescience.) It is this Nescience that is responsible for the plurality we perceive. It has two functions. It obscures the substrate, *i.e.*, Brahman, and projects in its place the world of plurality. Nescience is represented as a positive beginningless entity. Nescience itself is illusory and it is sublated.

How can the cognition generated by the nescience-tainted *pramāṇas* lead us to Brahman intuition? To this the Advaitin replies that error is oftentimes the gateway to truth. The *pramāṇa* that makes known an object need not be as real as the object. Dream-experiences produce practical physiological effects on the dreamer. The phenomenal *pramāṇa* can point to the absolutely real. In scientific thought we find erroneous hypotheses sometimes lead us to valid theories. So the illusory nature of the *pramāṇa* is no obstacle for us to know the truth. Just as the bamboo in the forest which set fire to the whole forest burns itself along with the forest, so does the illusory final knowledge destroy other illusions and itself. The world of plurality is not entirely real nor is it unreal. Hence it is described as *anirvachaneeya* (beyond words).

The two realms set up by Advaita, namely the phenomenal and the noumenal, must somehow be shown to be continuous. Without such a synoptic

view it would be unintelligible to maintain that the world is an illusory manifestation of Brahman. The relative reality of the phenomenal world is derived from the absolutely real and is reducible ultimately to the Absolute.

An extreme wing of Advaita holds the view that there is only one nescience, and that nescience reflects Brahman; and as soon as that reflected soul attains release, there is the destruction of the nescience.

But the majority of Advaitins posit a plurality of nescience and there seems to be Sankara's support for it. The content of nescience is Brahman and its locus is jeeva. It may be objected that jeeva cannot come into existence without the functioning of nescience, and nescience cannot be located in its own product, jeeva. There is thus the charge of reciprocal dependence urged against the Advaitin. The Advaitin finds a way out of this fix by positing the beginningless nature of the interaction of nescience and jeevahood (soulhood). The Advaitin says that there was no time when there was no jeeva or nescience.

Though nescience is located in the jeeva it does not belong to jeeva. Īśvara is the controller, *i.e.*, the Arch-juggler (Māyin) of nescience. He creates the whole universe with nescience as the material cause. The soul does not create the universe.

According to some Advaitins, Brahman is reflected in Māya (primal nescience) as Īśvara, while the jeevas are reflections of Brahman in Avidya (secondary nescience). Such a view makes Īśvara have nothing in common with the jeevas.

The central import of Advaita is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman. The central pramāṇa for the Advaitin to establish this identity is Scripture. He points out that Scripture declared the identity in unequivocal terms. The famous *Chhāndōgya Śruti* points out and identifies the reality of Brahman with that of the self ('That thou art, Oh, Śvētakētu'). This teaching is repeated nine times to show that it is important and that it is the primary purport. This identity with Brahman is not known through ordinary experience like the heat of the fire or the price of bread.

In the *Upanishads* there are several other passages pointing out difference as the central relation between Brahman and the individual. The Advaitin explains these passages as elaborating the phenomenal sense with a view to refute it later.

Perception seems to go against Advaita. Perception points out a world of plurality with distinct objects differing from one another. How can Scripture go against the conclusion of the basic instrument of knowledge, perception?

The Advaitin meets the argument in two ways. No doubt perception is our first instrument of knowledge. From this, it does not necessarily follow that

perception is unsublatable. It is no doubt the first instrument of knowledge but it is not basic. There are cases where the cognition derived through a subsequent *pramāṇa* arises only by sublating the cognition derived from the prior *pramāṇa*. Scriptural knowledge arises by sublating the cognition derived through perception. It is not dependent on perception. It is an independent *pramāṇa*.

The Advaitin grants only relative reality to the cognition derived through perception. Anything short of Brahman is only relatively real.

The person who is a spiritual aspirant for release has necessarily to undergo the moral training imposed by the Scriptures. Some Advaitins are of opinion that ethical excellence and ceremonial purity are not directly contributory to spiritual realization. Morality and ritual help the soul to acquire calmness necessary for Vedantic study. Sankara, in his Commentary, requires the spiritual aspirant to acquire the eligibility for Vedantic enquiry. There are certain specified necessary preliminaries. They are the discrimination of the fleeting from the permanent, non-attachment to result here and hereafter, the qualities of calmness, equanimity, contentment, etc., and the desire for release. Ethical excellence is necessary for the Advaitin as an inevitable step in his path to perfection. Final realization is through the knowledge of the identity of Brahman and the soul. After acquiring the necessary moral excellence, the spiritual aspirant takes to the uninterrupted meditation of the only Scripture-taught-Real, the One without a second. Such a contemplation leads to the final intuition.

The final intuition has the capacity to destroy itself as well as nescience. Just as when the powder of the clearing nut is mixed up with muddy water to precipitate the mud, the powder itself does not require any other precipitate, so does Brahman intuition destroy itself as well as nescience.

The final realization, *i.e.*, *Brahma Sākshātkāra*, is not anything novel or a new creation. It is the realization of the potential nature of the Spirit. It is just like the forgotten golden ornament round one's own neck. The realization of the Advaitin is not merely intended for a sect or a group. It is not the close privilege of the intellectual. If Sankara denied to the *Sūdra* eligibility for the study of Vedanta, he did it not to exclude him from Brahman-realization. He allowed and approved of other easier means for the *Sūdra* to realize Brahman. The path to spiritual realization is not one mechanical route for all. All the buds do not give rise to the same flower. The different spiritual aspirants follow different techniques. Advaita posits realization as possible for all. Release, being the manifestation of one's own nature and nothing adventitious, cannot be denied or withheld from anyone. It is the natural birth-right of every soul. Some souls might attain release soon, and others might take a longer time. As soon as each soul realizes the Self it becomes one with *Ívara* and not Brahman. Brahman-realization is achieved only when all the souls realize their true nature. Realization of Brahman is a social activity. It is not the purely personal concern of

each individual. The Advaita doctrine of universal salvation answers the persistent claims of individuality and social duty put forward by the modern sociologist. The final release of an individual is bound up with the release of all others. Hence the necessity to help the other souls to attain release.

Another interesting concept of Advaita is Jeevan-mukti. The individual soul obtains release though he is embodied. The physical body has no effect on the soul. The main reason for formulating the idea of Jeevan-mukti is the need for reliable teachers who can teach Advaita experience from self-knowledge.

Realization is not more absence of misery. It has a definitely positive element in it, *i.e.*, happiness. It is *Sat* (the real), *Chit* (consciousness) and *Ananda* (bliss). The self in Advaita is not sublated by any other experience. Sankara identifies the self with experience in all its aspects.

The path to Brahman-realization is not purely intellectual. Truth being a perfect orb, we are bound to encompass it sooner or later. Intellectual methods might help us to reach Brahman sooner, but it does not follow from this that the melting of the heart in devotion or the dedication of self to service is any less important as a method to reach Brahman. The great Advaita thinker Madhusūdana Śarasvatī has propounded that Advaita realization can be had through Bhakti. It is intellectual bias that has led us to speak in disparaging terms about emotion and devotion.

The released soul of Advaita would be an artist in the supreme sense of the term. His activity in life would be free from the calculus of profit and loss. There would be no purposive calculation or mechanical impulsion for his act. His activities are the fruit of the play of instinct. It is leela. He is not bound by the laws of safety. He needs no laws and is a law unto himself. There is nothing outside him, because he is the Supreme Spirit.

SRI VAISHNAVISM

The advent of Rāmānuja and Śrī Vaishnavism into Karnataka took place in the Hoysala period. Not only did it secure the allegiance and patronage of the King himself, but it soon acquired great popularity in the country. Shrines were consecrated, and some of these, as at Mēlkōṭe, have become places of

pilgrimage, as sacred as Kānchi and Srirangam, the fountain-heads of Śrī Vaishnava faith in Tamilnāḍ.

We shall now deal with Śrī Vaishnavism, and its tenets, its religion and philosophy.

RELIGION :

The philosophy propounded by Rāmānuja is called Viśiṣṭādvaita and the religion associated with it is Śrī Vaishnavism. This is called Śrī Vaishnavism for two reasons. One is that the supreme object of worship here is the Deity Vishnu : the second is that Vishnu is always accompanied by Śrī or Lakshmi, His spouse. In Śrī Vaishnava theology, Śrī occupies a very important position. She is the very first teacher of mankind in the *guruṣaṁparā*, or the line of teachers. Śrī represents divine grace (*kripā*), through which alone man can hope to shed his sins. Śrī is the gentle, forgiving mediator between man and God. This being a central concept, the religion came to be known as Śrī Vaishnavism.

According to the chronology based on the traditional account of Rāmānuja's life, he came to Mysore in 1096 A.D., it is said, to escape the persecution of the Chōḷa King, though of this there is little authentic evidence. There were Śrī Vaishnavas in this part of the country, and this may have been the reason for his visit. Vishnuvardhana, the Hoysala ruler, became his disciple in 1093 A.D. The installation of the image of Tirunārāyaṇa at Mēlkōṭe took place in 1100 A.D. We may gather that Rāmānuja lived in this country up to 1116 A.D., before he returned to Srirangam from where he came.

Rāmānuja seems to have taken the following route in his journey to Mysore : he came up along the Kāveri as far as Satyamangalam ; then he took a chord line and reached the Kāveri again at Rāmanāthapura, about 40 miles west of Mysore. The Nilgiri range was thus traversed. He threaded his way with toil north-west ; he reached Vahni-Pushkarini, possibly now known as Mirle, and Sāligrāma, two villages about 30 miles west of Mysore. 'Sāligrāma' is also the name of the stone-symbol of Vishnu worshipped in Vaishnava temples and homes to this day. The holy feet of Rāmānuja, made in stone, are installed in a small shrine at Sāligrāma. A holy fountain is seen close by, connected with the shrine by a flight of steps. Every pilgrim descends into it and reverently sprinkles the water over his head. This is called 'Śrīpāda Teertha', the holy water of the feet of the Master. A worn-out inscription has been discovered on the door lintel, and this appears to confirm the traditional account of Rāmānuja's visit to the place. The next place that Rāmānuja visited was Tonḍanur, about 16 miles north of Mysore city on the way to Mēlkōṭe (Yādavagiri). This seems to have been then the capital outpost of the Hoysala Ballāḷa kings who were Jains ruling at Dōrasamudra or Halebid. Viṭṭhala

Dēvarāja or Biṭṭidēva was the name of the ruling king and he had his headquarters at the time at Tonḍanur. Rāmānuja is said to have cured the daughter of the King of a mental malady, which greatly pleased the King and the queen. The Mysore Archaeological Report for 1910 gives her name as Padma. After a closer acquaintance with Rāmānuja, Biṭṭidēva became his great admirer. He felt so drawn to him that he became his disciple giving up his Jaina faith. Rāmānuja accepted him and named him Vishnuvardhana, A Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa *Sthalapurāṇa* says: "In Śaka year 1093, Durmukhi (1117 A.D.), Beṭṭavardhana, influenced by the teachings of Rāmānujāchārya, received *tapta-mudra* * and became a convert to the Vaishnava faith. He then changed his name to Vishnuvardhana. He consecrated five temples, viz., Chennigānārāyaṇa at Bēlūr, Keertinārāyaṇa at Talakāḍ, Vijayanārāyaṇa at Tonḍanūr and at Haradanahaḷḷi. He built the tank at Tondanūr and called it Tirumala-sāgara." (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, May 1873). *The Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 274 (1897) say: "Mōti Talab, or Lake of Pearls, is a large tank at Tonnur near Mēlkōṭe. It is formed by an embankment built across a gap between two rocky hills. It stems the water of the Yādava river and other mountain torrents that unite their streams there. The pond is said to have been constructed by Rāmānujāchārya, who had taken up his abode at the neighbouring town of Mēlkōṭe".

At Tonḍanūr Rāmānuja is said to have expounded the profound truths of Vedānta in Narasīmha's Temple. Here he had a dream in which Lord Nārāyaṇa of Mēlkōṭe appeared and said: "I am very near thee, Rāmānuja, on the Yadugiri Hill awaiting your arrival." Rāmānuja awoke and related his dream to all his comrades. He sent for Vishnuvardhana, the King, and delivered the message to him. The King immediately ordered gangs of men to clear the forests in the direction indicated by Rāmānuja. As Rāmānuja advanced, the King devoutly followed him behind. Steadily progressing thus, they arrived at the fountain called Vēdapushkariṇi. They sighted the holy slab (Paridhāna Sila), where of yore Dattātrēya had worn his ascetic robe. The date of entry into Yadugiri is mentioned as the *Bahudhārya* year, in the month of Tai (in about 1090 A.D.), when Rāmānuja was about 80 years of age. From the Vēdapushkariṇi, they silently walked forward in search of where Lord Nārāyaṇa's idol lay hidden. Rāmānuja saw in a vision vouchsafed to him that the idol lay covered up in an ant-hill between a champak and bakula tree on either side and to the south-west corner of the Kalyāṇi (pond provided with steps) and that the ant-hill was overgrown with the sacred basil (tulsi). Rāmānuja awoke and followed the directions given, with the result that he discovered the idol of Nārāyaṇa which he first worshipped. A great annual festival is still held in Mēlkōṭe to celebrate this event. A Temple was erected for Lord Nārāyaṇa over the ant-hill.

* A metallic seal with Vishnu's emblems on it which is heated and stamped on the body, usually the upper arms, of the disciple as a mark of initiation into the faith.

The *Yadugiri Mahātmya* and the other biographies of Rāmānuja refer to his bringing back to Mēlkōṭe the *Utsava Vighraha* (the idols carried in festivals) of Rāmapriya or Selva Pillai from Delhi whither it had been carried away by a Muslim king. This led to the daughter of the Muslim king who had fallen in love with that image, following Rāmānuja to Mēlkōṭe. She is said to have disappeared on the outskirts of the town of Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlkōṭe). A mausoleum was erected in her memory. And her image is to this day placed at the feet of the image of Tirunārāyaṇa. She is known as Bibi Nāchchiyar. She was also called Nandi. The event was later celebrated in a Kannada narrative poem known as *Vara Nandi Kalyāṇa*.

Srī Vaishnavism is a tributary that swelled the stream of Kannada culture. It was part of the springtide of the Bhakti movement which flowered in the Tamilnāḍ. The Āḷvars of Vaishnavism were anterior to Rāmānuja. Reference may be made to the ancient custom ever since his advent at Mēlkōṭe to throw open the temples for Harijans for three days during the greatest religious festival known as 'Vairamuḍi'.

Rāmānuja may be said to have anticipated Gandhiji and named the Harijans 'Tirukulattār' or the 'blessed caste' and avoided the odious names pariah or holeya.

At the time of Rāmānuja, Srī Vaishnavism as a cult developed its own distinctive doctrines and rituals. On one side was the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita formulated by Rāmānuja and a few of his predecessors based upon the interpretation of what is known as the Prasthāna Traya, the Triple Canon, namely the *Upanishads*, *Brahma Sūtras* and *Bhagavad Geeta*. On the other side, it was also the result of the fusion of the teachings of the Āḷvars of the Tamil Vaishnava saints as well as of the Āgamas known as the *Pāñcharātras*. The *Pāñcharātras* were not without their appropriate philosophy, namely the doctrine of the 'vyūhā' which Rāmānuja incorporated and assimilated into his *Srī Bhāṣhya*, his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, and consequently into Srī Vaishnavism.

When Rāmānuja went about preaching his cult of Srī Vaishnavism he had also to consider the possibility of admitting into the fold of Srī Vaishnavism many of those who belonged to other faiths like Jainism and Saivism. This involved giving them initiation or the deeksha of Srī Vaishnavism. This was called Panchasamskāra, or the five rituals. It consisted of tāpa pūṇḍra, nāma, the mantras and yajana. Tāpa consisted of branding on either shoulder of the initiate, the conch and discus mark of Vishnu. The pūṇḍra was the Srī Vaishnava mark put on the forehead and on twelve parts of the body, hence called dvādośa pūṇḍra. Nāmū consisted of giving to the initiate by the Āchārya a name of Vishnu. Then comes the *mantra*, the *mūlamantra* and the *dvayamantra*. The *mūlamantra* consisted of imparting to the disciple by the guru of the eight-syllabled *mantra* known as the *ashṭākshari*: *Aum Namō Nārāyaṇa dvaya* are the two

statements 'Śrīman Nārāyaṇa charaṇau śaraṇam prapadyē' and 'Śrīmatē Nārāyaṇāya namaḥ'. Along with these two was taught the way of self-surrender known as 'prapatti', as expressed in the 66th verse of the 18th chapter of the *Bhagavad Geeta*, which is known in Śrī Vaishnava tradition as, charama ślōka, the concluding message. The *Pāñcharātra Āgamas* have laid it down that everyone without distinction of caste, creed or sex is eligible to tread the path of mukti or salvation and to be initiated into the Śrī Vaishnava way of life. The *Īśvara Samhita*, one of the *Pāñcharātra Āgamas*, has stated that there is no distinction of gōtra or pravara (birth or lineage), and that there is no high and low caste in this matter.

As Rāmānuja went about preaching Śrī Vaishnavism he must have initiated in the manner indicated above thousands of men and women into the Śrī Vaishnava fold. The three truths imparted to the initiated disciples of Śrī Vaishnavism came to be known as *Rahasya traya*, or the three esoteric truths imparted only to a devout Śrī Vaishnava.

A little explanation of the *Rahasya traya* will indicate the chief doctrines of Śrī Vaishnavism as a cult or a creed based on the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita.

The Tirumantra (sacred incantation,) 'Aum Namō Nārāyaṇāya, is composed of eight syllables and three words. The three words convey three meanings. They are vassalage (śeṣatva), dependence (pāratantrya) and servitude (kainkarya). The first word is Pranava—Aum. This is composed of three letters A U M. The three letters have been extracted from the three Vedas. Here the 'A' indicates Nārāyaṇa, the cause of the whole universe and denotes the all-protecting Lord, the Great Redeemer. The union of Śrī or the embodiment of Divine Grace, with Lord Nārāyaṇa is also indicated here. Vassalage (sēṣatva) is the true characteristic of the jeeva. The 'U' suggests this vassalage, which is to God only and not to any other. The 'M' represents the individual soul, the relation of which to God is that of the protected and the Protector. 'Namah' indicates self-effacement, the 'not-I' attitude. As soon as this idea is generated, everything good is accomplished. When this idea is absent, all evil acts are committed. In this idea all virtues reside. No rituals or sacrifices or acts of repentance without this self-effacement are of any avail.

Nārāyaṇa means the ayana (abode) of nara (eternally existing things). They are knowledge, bliss, wisdom, beauty, personality and the like. Ayana is the abiding place for all values. To the jeeva, the Lord is stated to be in every kind of relation, and Kinsman. The desire for service of the Lord is not an accidental wish but is prompted by the inherent characteristic of the soul. Our prayer to God has always to be for incessant service of Him. Doing voluntary service to God and everything godly at all places, at all times and in all conditions of life is the only thing to be wished for by the devotee.

The substance of the Tirumantra is tantamount to making this confession; “I who belong solely to my Lord should cease to be one appertaining to my own self. May I obtain the privilege of performing all kinds of service unto Nārāyaṇa Himself who is the Master of all.”

Giving up of outward attachments and attaching oneself to God alone as sole refuge, feeling confident that the goal will not be missed, steadily moving forward to the goal, rendering service, always mindful of the Tirumantra and the *dvaya*, always associating with good and holy men who possess knowledge, non-attachment and contentment these—are the indispensable requisites of a Śrī Vaishnava aspirant. Reaching the goal through the intercession of the Divine Mother (Śrī) is indicated by the *dvaya*. A fit candidate for the *dvaya* is said to be one who possesses the qualities of ‘*akinchanya*’ or a sense of one’s own nothingness, and ‘*ananyagatitva*’, a sense of utter humility in the presence of God, with the idea ‘There is no other refuge but God’.

God is sovereign and the highest of the high (*para*), but is also easily accessible (*sulabha*) to the devotee who approaches Him in all humility.

The *dvaya* mentions the word ‘*charaṇa*’, or the holy feet of the Lord, as the resort of the devotee. The holy feet would never forsake the fugitive jeeva; they pursue him like a hound until the jeeva is caught by the abounding love of the Lord. God in Śrī Vaishnavism is both the means (*upāya*) and the goal (*upēya*). The goal is the eternal service of the Lord.

Forsaking all other means and accepting God Himself as the means, letting go all other intermediary goals like wealth, prosperity, and realization of self-glory, the goal that is finally sought after is the presence of the Lord Himself and His perennial service.

The final word of the *dvaya* is ‘Nārāyanāya’, that is to say, we exist for Him. He is the Master of all. The dative case indicates service. ‘*Namah*’ indicates the elimination of obstacles to this service, the obstacles being promotion of self-interest, and worldly interests.

Then there is the ‘*charama śloka*,’ or the final message, in the *Geeta*. This verse is so-called because Arjuna, who had been initiated already in some of the special means of attaining salvation considered them difficult and was overpowered by despair. It is the Śrī Vaishnava belief that it was with a view to relieve his anguish that this final truth was taught to him as if to say there was nothing easier to pursue.

The verse referred to is:

‘*Sarvadharmān parityajya māmēkam śaraṇam vraja
aham tvā sarva papēbhyō mōkshayishyāmi mā śuchah.*’

Here ‘Sarvadharmān,’ means all dharmas. Dharma is that which leads to a desired effect. As used here, the word ‘dharma’ excludes those means by which visible effects are produced and refers to those means which bear the fruit of salvation. These dharmas are enjoined by the Śrutis and the Smritis. Being innumerable they are referred to in the plural. These are Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti yōgas. By ‘sarva’ (all) is meant those daily preliminary acts which befit and qualify one for the pursuit of any of those special means. Thus ‘sarvadharmān’ means all those means of attaining salvation prescribed in the Vedas and Śāstras and which are to be performed daily or at periodical intervals as occasions arise.

‘Parityajya’: Tyāga is, after adopting the said means, to abandon them with the knowledge that we mistook non-means for the means. The idea here is that God alone is true Dharma. He is the means as well as the end. It indicates the superiority of accepting Him over all the abandoned dharmas.

‘Mām’ points to God and God alone as the only resort (ēkam). ‘Saraṇam’ is the means. It is absolute unqualified surrender known as prapatti or śaranāgati. This word ‘Saraṇam’ denotes the Redeemer, the home of refuge and the means. ‘Vraja’ means to accept. Mental acceptance is here intended. This implies the entire dependence of the jeeva on God for salvation to the exclusion of every other means. ‘Mōkshayishyāmi’ is the assurance of the Lord that He would take the burden of the salvation of the individual soul on Himself. The jeeva is asked to lay this burden, *bhara nyāsa*, in full faith that God will protect him (*Rakshishyatiti viśvasah*). This is the faith of Śrī Vaishnavism, indicated by Rāmānuja, and developed and amplified further by the two great subsequent Śrī Vaishnava philosophers, Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and Vēdānta Dēśika, who propounded in great detail the Rahasya traya of the Śrī Vaishnavism of Rāmānuja.

It is this faith that the true Śrī Vaishnavas have professed and lived by since the time of Rāmānuja. Śrī Vaishnavism has left its ineffaceable mark on all those in Karnataka who were led to this faith by the life and persuasion of the great Master, Śrī Rāmānuja. “May this commandment of Rāmānuja grow from strength to strength” (Rāmānujasya divyājña vardhatām abhivardhatām) is a prayer on the lips of every Śrī Vaishnava, wherever he may be in Karnataka or elsewhere.

PHILOSOPHY : VISISHTADVAITA.

Viśiṣṭādvaita is one of the three schools of Vēdānta, flourishing in Karnataka. Its greatest propounder was Rāmānuja who was born in 1071 A. D. (Salivāhana Śaka 939). The school of Viśiṣṭādvaita is a school of Vēdāntic Theism as distinguished from the Vēdāntic Absolutism of Sankara. Rāmānuja was unable to accept the latter on grounds of logic, reason and what he thought was the authentic teaching of the Scriptures. Viśiṣṭādvaita believes in a personal

God (*Saguṇēśvara*) as distinguished from an impersonal God (*Nirguṇa-Brahman*) of the school of Advaita. It is so named for the reason that it teaches of Brahman who is one (*Ekamēvādvitīyam*) and who, in addition, has qualities or attributes or excellences (*viśeṣaṇān*) which are termed auspicious (*kalyāṇa*). Though the *kalyāṇa* guṇas are infinite in number (*asamkyhēya*), Rāmānuja enumerates some of them. The living attributes enumerated by him are broadly characterized as *Satya*, *Sauśeelya* and *Saundarya*, (Truth, Goodness and Beauty).

Rāmānuja gives great prominence to the ethical and aesthetic qualities of the Divine Being who, according to him, is the Highest Personality (Parama Purusha or Purushōttama). God, to Rāmānuja, is not merely a bundle of essential qualities but a concrete Personality who possesses these qualities. According to him it is impossible to conceive of things without attributes and of attributes without things. This is equally true of God. God is a Being with attributes. The inherence of these attributes in Divine nature is compared by Rāmānuja to the inherence of fragrance in a flower or the inherence of brightness in a flame. The one Brahman is distinct from everything that is tainted with imperfection or evil (*akhila hēyapratyaneeka*). God is opposed to all evils. Anything that is evil is not divine. So far as God's relation to the individual soul is concerned, the most eminent among the qualities that bring Him nearer to man is compassion (*karuṇā*). Rāmānuja describes Īśvara as Parama Kāruṇika, the most compassionate. This Brahman with the Divine attributes or excellences has come to be called Īśvara in the philosophical parlance of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta. This Īśvara who is the abode of all excellences or auspicious qualities has none equal to Him and nothing higher than He. (*na tat samaschāpyadhikascha dṛśyatē*). He is inseparably related (*apṛthak siddha*) to the world, and to the individual souls as substratum (*ādhāra*), as ruler or ordainer (*niyantā*) as one on whom everything depends (*sēshi*), and as the resort of all creatures (*śaranam*) and the friend (*suhrit*) of all. Īśvara exists in close inseparable association with the Universe comprising of sentient and non-sentient beings. So it is Īśvara qualified (*Viśiṣṭa*) as it were, by *chit* and *achit*, the sentient and non-sentient beings or elements of the Universe. Hence He is called 'Chidachid viśiṣṭa Īśvara'. The relation of Īśvara to the world or cosmos and the individual souls has been described by Rāmānuja as similar to the relation of soul and body or 'Sarcera Sarceri bhava'. The Universe is the body of God. By 'Sarcera', Rāmānuja understands something that constitutes the tool or the instrument designed for the expression of a living soul. God is the immortal immanent Dweller in it (*Antaryāmi amritah*). He is the soul of the world and the Soul of the souls. The souls are eternal like God Himself, but God is the eternal among the eternal things, the living conscious Reality among the living conscious things, but One who is also distinct from them, transcendent of them as well as immanent in them, the One in the many ('*Nityōnityānām chētanaschetanānām Ēko bahūnām*). Both the world of insentient objects and the world of sentient beings derive their reality from God and are entirely dependent on Him (*sēsha bhūta*). Without Īśvara they cannot subsist any more than the body can subsist without a soul within.

This Divine Being is Īśvara, in whom we live, move and have our being (Yato va imāni bhūtāni jāyante, ēna jātāni jivanti yat prayanti abhisamviśanti). There is an inherent longing in every individual soul to reach back to Him (Bhagavad prāpti) after a series of peregrinations of embodied existence (janmāntara). This is the longing for liberation (mumukshutva) from the shackles of samsāra, or the wheel of becoming, that makes one a mumukshu, the one who desires liberation. Liberation for Rāmānuja is not a merger or annihilation of the individual soul in Brahman. It is not sāyujya or becoming one with Him, but sārūpya or becoming like unto Him. Rāmānuja does not think that this preservation of the individuality of the individual in the state of mōksha will lead to any compromise with the notion of the perfection of God. Mōksha is a state of fellowship with God. It is self-unfoldment. Rāmānuja asks in his *Śrī Bhāshya* if any one could be enthusiastic about this mōksha, which instead of promising him the fullest flowering of his self (ātma vikāsa) holds out the promise of annihilation. That is the reason why Rāmānuja defines mōksha as 'sva svarūpa āvirbhāva', the unfoldment of the inherent nature of the self.

The means of deliverance from samsāra is propounded by the Supreme Being Himself, whom Rāmānuja prefers to call by the name Nārāyaṇa, which means one who has His abode in man. Through several manifestations of His, known as the *avalārās*, God appears to man as a man among men (sajāteeya). Or He manifests Himself indirectly through His messengers, the Rishis or Seers, the Bhaktas or His lovers or Sāranas who have attained liberation by their absolute unqualified self-surrender to Him (Ātmanivēdana). The relation between God and man is one of rakshaka and rakshya or the Redeemer and the redeemed. The two features of the Absolute to which Rāmānuja refers are what are called by him as 'paratva' or sovereignty, and 'saulabhya' or easy accessibility. In his whole philosophy, Rāmānuja is at pains to reconcile these two aspects of the Divine Being, which is tantamount to reconciling His transcendence and His immanence. He tries to reconcile God's perfection and the individuality of the individual. The easiest way, a way accessible to all—high or low, learned or illiterate, man or woman, is that of single-minded devotion (*aikāntika bhakti*) leading to absolute self-surrender (śaraṇāgati) to the Lord. Rāmānuja emphasizes 'ananya gatitva' and 'ananya śaraṇatva'. This resort will never fail him. The path of single-minded devotion is the path of Bhakti; and the path of self-surrender is the path of śaraṇāgati or prapatti, as it is called in the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja.

This in substance, is the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita propounded by Rāmānuja in many of his philosophical treatises and religious compositions. He wrote a commentary on the *Vēdānta Sūtras* in which he gave an interpretation of classic Upanishadic passages which favoured the idea of a personal God. He commented on the *Geeta*, which he considered *par excellence*, as the Bhakti Sāstra which Śrī Krishna preached to Arjuna. He wrote in his preface to his Commentary on the *Bhagavad Geeta*: 'Parama purushārtha lakṣhaṇa mōksha

sādhana-tayā vēdāntōditam svavishayam jñāna karmaṇi griheetam bhaktiyōgam avatārāyāmāsa'. That is, Krishna promulgated the doctrine of Bhakti Yoga which is the resultant of Jñāna and Karma. His is the path of loving devotion which is the burden of all Vēdānta teaching. He is indicated by Vēdānta as the only worthy object of love. He Himself is the most loved One and is the means to the highest goal of human existence, viz., mōksha (salvation or the final liberation from all ephemeral and conditioned existence).

Rāmānuja's emphasis on prapatti was due to the great influence of the mystics and the saints of the Tamilnāḍ known as the Ālvārs. 'Ālvārs literally means those steeped in God's love; and they were saints and poets as distinguished from 'Āchāryas', which meant scholars and philosophers. This teaching came to Rāmānuja through a line of great teachers of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta named by him as his 'Purvāchāryas'. He names them as Tanka, Drāmiḍa, Guṇadēva, Bharuchi. Besides these, the Āchāryas who were later than these and nearer his own time, were Nādamuni and Yāmunāchārya. These Āchāryas were steeped both in Sanskritic lore and the Tamil lore of the Ālvārs. Nādamuni consolidated the *Nālāyira Prabandham*, or the four thousand verses, of the Ālvārs. Yāmuna laid down the outlines of the Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretation of the Prasthāna Traya, in his works known as *Geetārtha Sangraha*, *Siddhitraya*, *Āgama prāmāṇya* and *Stōtra Ratna*. Yāmuna and Nādamuni were known as Āchāryas as they brought to bear all their prodigious scholarship on the work of systematization of the philosophy of the Ālvārs in the light of the great Scriptures in Sanskrit. Here was a blend of poetry and philosophy which came to be fused in the Āchāryas.

Rāmānuja elaborated these teachings in works like *S'ri Bhāshya*, *Vedārtha Samgraha*, *Vedānta Deepa*, *Geetā Bhāshya*, and *Gadya Traya* and fortified the system of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta by his stupendous metaphysical edifice which he reared up in these philosophical works. The greatest of the Ālvārs, Nammālvār, is described as one who rendered the teachings of the Veda into Tamil, 'Vēdam Tamil śaida māran'. Rāmānuja synthesized this teaching coming to him from Sanskrit sources with the devotional philosophy and religion embodied in the songs of the Ālvārs. For this great service rendered by him he has been entitled in the Śri Vaishnava tradition of which he was a great exponent, as *Ubhaya Vēdānta Pravartaka*. This blend gave a characteristic stamp to his philosophy of Bhakti which was not merely an emotional effervescence but an emotion which flowered out of the intellectual comprehension of ultimate Reality. Rāmānuja equates the word Bhakti with *Dhyāna* and *Upāsana*. This has been called 'Bhakti rūpāpanna Jñāna, that is a jñāna which ripens into Bhakti, a knowledge of God ripening into intense love for Him, thus issuing itself out in loving service to Him (*Bhagavad kainkarya*), and to all who belong to Him (*Bhāgavata kainkarya*). In his prefatory verse, or mangala ślōka of *S'ri Bhāshya* Rāmānuja preys to God to see to it that the knowledge that he has gathered from the study of the scriptures is transformed into love for Him 'Sruti śirasi Videptē brahmaṇi Srinivasēbhavatu mama parasmīa śeshi

bhakti rūpa. The entire tenor of Rāmānuja's philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita leads him to the religion of Śrī Vaishnavism, in which karma or on active life is emotionally inspired by love of God and whosoever and whatever belongs to Him, and intellectually grounded in the knowledge of three truths (tattva traya) propounded by Rāmānuja in his Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, namely, chit, achit and Īśvara.

Rāmānuja's philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita naturally falls into three convenient divisions suggested by him. They are Tattva, Hita and Purushārtha. Tattva is philosophical knowledge, the knowledge of the three truths, chit, achit, Īśvara. (soul, nature and God). Hita is the way that is most conducive to reach the ultimate object of life. It is bhakti, prapatti and karma consecrated to God, called kainkarya. Purushārtha is the nature of the goal to be attained by man, the nature of liberation or Mōksha which consists in the individual soul's intimate and inseparable association with God, whose service constitutes the highest bliss.

Rāmānuja was not satisfied with merely the mastering of this philosophy and religion. He took it as his life-mission to spread it throughout the length and breadth of India. His efforts and the efforts of his disciples succeeded in inspiring many a bhakta all over India.

Rāmānuja perhaps underwent also some persecution in the propagation of his cult of Vishnu Bhakti when he was in Tamilnāḍ. He found his way to Karnataka and thus happened to be here for several years. In Karnataka itself, it is said, 'the Bhaṭṭas, the Hebbārs, the Hemmigeyars, the Kaḍambiyas, the Kandāḍais, the Nallan Chakravarthi, the Tātāchāryas, and other Tamil families of piety and learning came to settle in the land as well as some of the non-Brahminical classes in the wake of Rāmānuja's work in Karnataka' (*The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 176).

It is ordinarily held that Svāmi Rāmānanda was mainly responsible for propagating devotion to Vishnu in the north. He carried it from South India. But some scholars are of the view that the real credit of this must go to Svāmi Rāghavānanda, who is said to be the teacher of Svāmi Rāmānanda. He was the real pioneer in organizing this movement in the north. Svāmi Rāghavānanda, one of the great apostles of the Rāmānuja cult, went and settled down at Vāraṇasi. In Nābhāji's *Bhakta Māla* we have a reference to Rāghavānanda whose faith was said to have been propagated by Rāmānanda, and the expression 'Rāmānuja-paddhati' finds explicit mention there. In a work of the name *Hari Bhakti Sindhu Vēḷa* we have a reference to the fact of Śrī Rāghavānanda propagating 'Rāma Mantra' in the north. It is said there: '*Vandē Śrī Rāghavāchāryam Rāmānuja Kulōdbhavam Yasmāt ultaramāgatva Rāma Mantra prachāarakam*'. It is said that this Rāghavāchārya or Rāghavānanda lived in Kāśī near the Panchaganga Ghāṭ, where till recent times was found a monastery in ruins known as Rāghavānanda.

Two of Svāmi Rāmānanda's work are known as *Vaishnava Matābja Bhāskara* and *Rāmārchanā Paddhati*. In the latter work, Svāmi Rāmānanda gives the hierarchy of his Gurus (guruparampara) as follows: 'Rāmachandra-Sītāji-Viśvaksēna-Śaṭhakōpa Svāmi-Srī Nādamuni-Punḍarikāksha Āchārya-Bopadēvāchārya-Dēvādhīpa-Purushōttama,-Gangādhara-Rāmēśvara-Dvārānanda-Dēvānanda-Srīyānanda-Hariyānanda-Rāghavānanda-Rāmānanda'.

Swami Rāmānanda seems to have accepted the 'Tāttva traya' of Sri Vaishnavism of Rāmānuja, viz., chit, achit and Īśvara, and his Īśvara also in the 'chidachid viśiṣṭa Īśvara.' He also accepted the 'Rahasya traya' or Rāmānuja's Vaishnavism, viz., mūlamantra, dvaya mantra and charama mantra, only with this difference that Svāmi Rāmānanda's 'mūla mantra' was Srī Rām Rāmāya namah; 'the dvaya' was 'Śrīmad Rāmachandra charaṇau śaranam prapadye; Śrīmatē Rāmachandrāya namah'; and the charama mantra was 'Sakridēva prapannāya tavāsmēti chā yāchatē abhayam sarvabhūtēbhyo dadāmyētad vratam mama.' of the *Ramayana*.

Svāmi Rāmānanda also mentions in his work the sevenfold sādhanā of Rāmānuja (*sādhana saptaka*), viz., vivēka, vimōka, abhyāsa, kriya, kalyāṇa, anavasada, and anuddharsha. The Vaishnava code of conduct, the mode of worship and the discourse method known as 'Kālakshēpa' in South Indian Sri Vaishnava circles were adopted by Svāmi Rāmānanda, thus indicating the unbroken link in the tradition of South Indian Vaishnavism travelling north.

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VAISHNAVISM

(DVAITA VEDANTA)

Of the three great South Indian Āchāryas who propounded the Vedānta from three different points of view, the latest in point of time was Madhvāchārya who flourished in the thirteenth century. He was born in Karnataka, in the South Kanara District in a village not far from Uḍupi. According to popular belief he was Bheema of *Mahabharata* and Hanuman of *Ramayana* in his previous births. He taught Bhakti like Rāmānuja, and also stressed the need for a logical and intellectual approach to unravel the riddle of Reality. Most of his great disciples who expounded his doctrine and took it to the intellectuals as well as the masses belong to Karnataka; and most of the Maṭhas following his faith are also located in this Province.

We shall now notice the religion and philosophy of Vēdānta as taught by Madhvāchārya.

RELIGION :

Madhvāchārya looked on the pursuit of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa, the enquiry into Brahman, as the *summum bonum* of human existence. Brahman is the all-absorbing Reality and, similarly, the mīmāṃsa of Brahman is the all-absorbing discipline. So his exposition of religious life is not confined to mere faith or creed. Religion is the practical side of philosophy.

He brought a strictly logical mind to bear both on the problem of philosophical expositions of the Scripture and in applying their teachings to daily life.

We may glean from the Āchārya's works practical hints for the ordering of one's life, so that the ultimate aim of living may be achieved.

This is how Madhva clears the ground for enquiry. The world is full of distractions. No sense-organ is free from the effects of these. Every distraction promises happiness but is not capable of giving it. Moreover, as Madhva notes in his *Aṇuvyākhyāna*: "Men of pure intellect, i. e., the intellect that is free from prepossession and is devoted to the highest truth, are rare. The highest Truth is often disliked. The expounders of such truth are never encouraged. Yet there are divinities such as Chaturmukha in whose interest Bādarāyaṇa composed Brahma-Mīmāṃsa".

The reference to Chaturmukha and so on should not be understood as ignoring men. In all his thirty-seven works in proper contexts, Madhva cites the circumstances that distract men.

The distractions with their remedies may be studied under two categories, personal and social.

PERSONAL :

1. *Adverse family tradition* : One must try to improve the conditions of one's family to make Brahma-Mīmāṃsa possible, or one must maintain aloofness.
2. *Weak Intellect, weak health, predominance of ignorance* : This must be no excuse to give up Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. On no account should one take to a discipline of a lower order.
3. *A Servile attitude* : This attitude must never be encouraged. One must try to put an end to such an attitude. The practice of bowing down to evil may end in self-destruction.
4. *The Sense of self-preservation* : The idea of self-preservation stands in the way of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. This idea is a result of fear. But fear is un-

becoming of a man devoted to Brahman, because every condition of life is the work of Brahman and there is no cause of fear external to Brahman.

5. *Action (Karma)*: The idea that one is the result of one's own making seems to be inherent in man. But to develop this thought interferes with the attempts to find out the truth of Brahman, the All-doer. One must learn to detach one's own action from its result.

6. *Faith (Bhakti) in the popular sense*: Man is prone to be indolent. He easily submits to emotions even at the cost of the intellect. He readily believes in a thing but refuses to know it. Thus faith takes possession of men, and it develops sometimes into a wrong 'religion'. So faith, when the intellect is not fully alert, leads to self-destruction.

7. *Dependence on conclusions (Siddhānta)*: Generally, man does not, strive to arrive at relevant conclusions by means of reflection relevant to them; but he adopts easily the conclusions which others have arrived at. This suffers from a serious defect. A conclusion is after all a statement, which consists of mere words. The conclusion resulting from actual thinking is entirely different from the conclusion arrived at by others and adopted by us without our going through the thinking process. Even as one enjoys the beauty of a thing only when one actually sees it, the validity of a conclusion is appreciated only by one who has actually arrived at it by going through a regular process of thinking. But when thinking actually takes place, it is thinking which decides everything and there is no place for faith.

8. *Self-conditioned Reasoning (Anumāna or Inference)*: The reason conditioned by one's own self in the light of one's experience suffers from the limitations of that experience. This experience is the outcome of non-knowledge and, therefore, the reason based on it does not transcend non-knowledge. Further, self-determined reason is not decisive. At one moment it proves something and at another its opposite. Therefore one must replace it by the reason of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa, which forms the body of Veda and is, therefore, never invalidated.

9. *Prayer*: Prayer is offered in all cases to something or some power practically unknown. To suppose that it does good is mere faith and has all the defects of faith. In the case of one who is merged in *jijnāsa* (search for knowledge) there is no occasion for prayer. For such a person, *jijnāsa* itself does duty for prayer.

10. *Indifference*: Indifference is a variant of indolence. One is not justified in indulging in it when one is actually living on the gift of Brahman in the form of one's body, environment and so on.

11. *Aversion to Thinking*: Aversion to think amounts to aversion to Brahman, because the conception of Brahman is the product of thinking. With a view

to dissolve ultimately both such indifference and aversion, even a mechanical study of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa may in the long run have a salutary effect.

12. *The idea of Success (Siddhi)*: Often enough it is the idea of success which confirms one's prayer or faith. But this is a wrong way of thinking about the matter. The cause of success is in every case something else. Attributing it to faith or prayer is motivated by some desire. In the world of Brahman prayer and faith have little scope.

I. SOCIAL

Elderly Advice:—In all environments congenial to the student of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa, elderly advice is to be in the form of reason and it keeps the student on the right path. If the environment is unfavourable, man must exercise his own reason and independent judgment and try to rise above the evil influence of such environment.

2. *Respect to elders and love for others*: Respect and love are emotions and correct thinking must not be affected by them. One's correct thinking is likely to benefit others.

3. *Educational institutions*: The pursuit of common interest and objectives is the chief feature of good educational institutions. These institutions may or may not be in the interest of promoting the cause of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. There is promise of infinite development in the case of institutions devoted to Brahma-Mīmāṃsa.

4. *Teacher (Guru)*: The teacher is only 'so-called' if his teaching is opposed to Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. A proper teacher is he who promotes the knowledge of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa.

5. *Friends and Enemies*: He is a friend who helps the knowledge of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. One who stands in its way is an enemy.

6. *Society*: A good society is that in which Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is possible. The same idea applies to political and other organisations.

7. *Misfortune, Illness and Misery*: They are natural occurrences. They are so-called from relative points of view. A student of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa must see in them the truth of Brahman just as he sees this truth in good things. There is, therefore, neither good nor evil for him.

8. *Ambition*: As against ambition, contentment with what is given by God helps Brahma-Mīmāṃsa.

9. *Duty (Dharma)*: Dharma is that which helps Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. That which does not help it is *Adharma*.

10. *Place, Time or Life* : That place, time or life is good where Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is possible.

THE SUPERNATURAL :

1. *Blessings and Curses (vara and śāpa)* : Brahman is the All-doer and He is independent. Nobody can make Him do a thing. Nor can any one do or undo a thing. What Brahman wills can never be modified. Hence, blessings and curses are mere ideas.

2. *Great Beings (Mahātmas)* : In the world of Brahman, nobody is specially great. He is a great person who sees that Brahman does everything.

3. *Vedic Actions (Karma)* : Vedic actions are said to lead to svarga and so on. This is only imagination based on one's wish. Karma is inert. It cannot do anything.

4. *Magic, Demons and Evil Spirits* : They are mere ideas.

5. *Fear of gods* : Sometimes the fear of other gods stands in the way of recognising the supreme greatness of Brahman. But such gods which induce fear are only evil spirits. Those that encourage Brahma-Mīmāṃsa are gods in the real sense.

6. *A mechanical or mere intellectual idea of Supreme God* : It is as easily dispensed with as it is adopted. One must, therefore, arrive at this idea by means of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa.

Ethical Ideas : satya, daya, śaucha, dāna, and so on.

Satya is to teach Brahman. Daya (kindness) is to put men on the path of Brahman. Saucha (cleanliness) is preparation to study and teach Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. Dāna, gift, is to give the knowledge of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa to others.

In formulating the above ideas Madhva aims at making the whole life of man in all its aspects dedicated to Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. The enduring elements of the ethical and spiritual excellence spoken of in other systems of thought are predicated here.

Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is superior to all other disciplines, which are Vaishnava in character: Madhva holds that Vedic Brahman is Vedic Vishnu. In his *Mahabharata-Tātparya-Nirṇaya*, Madhva thus describes the environment in which Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is possible. "Badarāyaṇa, the author of the *Brahma Sūtras*, after systematising Veda, composed several Purāṇas and Itihāsas. From these two, only those that expound the supremacy of Vishnu must be taken into consideration and their meaning must be decided in the light of the *Brahma Sūtras*." Madhva

continues: "There is intimate relationship between knowledge and the physical features of the body. Chaturmukha's features are perfect. He is, therefore, the perfect teacher. Among the common teachers also, he who has good features is better fitted to be a teacher. Knowledge grows out of ethical excellence. Good features are the origin of correct knowledge. Therefore good features and ethical excellence are intimately related. With reference to women also beauty implies ethical excellence. Devotion to Vishnu emerging from Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is possible only to such people. The knowledge given by a teacher with good features and with a pleasant mind alone becomes fruitful."

In his *Krishnāmṛita-Mahārṇava* and *Tantrasāra*, Madhva cites certain disciplines presented by the Purāṇas as leading to the realization of Vishnu, and in the concluding passages of these works he shows that Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is the only discipline that results in the realisation of Brahman, *i.e.*, Vishnu. In *Krishnāmṛita-Mahārṇava* he says: "Worship of Vishnu, with all its details as practised by various divinities and sages, is far superior as a discipline to repeated sacrifices, visiting sacred places, bathing in sacred waters, charities and so on. There is nothing superior to the practice of living on all the things that are dedicated and are used in worship to God. These things used in worship are water, food and so on. They are all 'prasāda' after they are used in worship. The worship of the stone called Sāligṛāma is the best. Hari is actually present in this stone. The worship of other gods and the use of things offered to them are never good."

Fasting on the eleventh day of each fortnight is a very important observance, because this day is dedicated to Vishnu. Marking the body with the piece of mud called gōpichandana and bearing the marks of Vishnu, namely, conch, chakra, gada, and a lotus on one's body is a sacred act. One should repeat always the names of Vishnu as given in the Purāṇas devoted to Vishnu. Without observing these disciplines and rituals, sacrifice of various kinds, charity, austerity, study and pleasing the dead forefathers by means of ceremonies, are all in vain. The very existence of one who is thus devoted to Vishnu is praiseworthy. However great a man is in other fields, he should not ignore meditation and repetition of the names of Vishnu, without any desire for gain. This is the practice ordained by Śruti and Smṛiti."

Having thus cited these disciplines, Madhva mentions the Upanishadic statement: 'That which is the outcome of the knowledge of Brahman alone leads to success'. He points out that that alone is discipline which leads to success. He points out that that discipline is the one which is taught by Veda. It is 'nivṛitta', in the sense that it is motiveless and is the outcome of knowledge.

In his *Tantrasāra*, Madhva expounds how the images of Vishnu in His various forms are prepared. He cites various formulae by which meditation on Vishnu should be undertaken. He defines the method of installing the images of Vishnu and the method of building the temples for this installation. He presents

also the method of meditation upon each form of Vishnu. He notes that to worship Vishnu in this manner pleases Him as He is more explicitly present in the image. To cultivate devotion in the proper sense, one must select a proper guru to give one proper instruction. The relative positions of these gurus are ever fixed. Of them Chaturmukha is the highest. A real human teacher belongs to this line. When once a guru is accepted he must not be given up unless a definitely superior one is found.

Having expounded all these ideas, Madhva distinguishes between two types of meditation: 1. Brahma-Mīmāṃsa and 2. meditation making use of different yōgas, yama, niyama, āsana, prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhyāna, dhāraṇa, and samādhi.

He concludes that Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is the best because 'all that is good occurs by means of incessant studying and teaching the Sāstra.' . . . 'This discipline alone is enough to lead to the realisation of Vishnu and through it to liberation. Realisation in the proper sense is the outcome of devotion, or bhakti, thus defined.'

PHILOSOPHY :

Madhva's philosophy is popularly known as Dvaita. It centred round his enquiry into Brahman (Brahma-Mīmāṃsa).

The name Madhva (derived from Madhu) is given to him because he expounds the philosophy that gives Ānanda, pure happiness. For the same reason he is also called Ānandateertha. For the reason that he knows Brahman, who is Pūrṇa (Perfect), he is called Pūrṇa-Prajna and Sarvajna. He says in his works that he is Mukhya-Vāyu, the Vedic deity of vital breath, and that he has made a thorough study of all subjects pertaining to Brahma-Mīmāṃsa or enquiry into Brahman.

The circumstance that led him to expound Brahma-Mīmāṃsa has been explained by him to the following effect :

'The highest good of all beings is happiness untainted by misery. It is realised by the grace of Brahman, the perfect Reality that underlies all. The knowledge of Brahman culminates in unswerving devotion to Him.'

The Vedas are the only source of the knowledge of Brahman, because the other sources of knowledge are limited to the finite world. The Vedas are, therefore; apaurushēya, not made by human authors who are fallible. Their validity is, therefore, self-established. Without their help Brahman can never be understood.

The Vedas are a vast body of literature dealing with problems that transcend normal experience. To fix the meaning even of a single Vedic word

needs an expert mind. With a view to interpret it aright, Bādarāyaṇa composed the *Brahma Sūtras*.

Before Madhva, several attempts were made to understand them. But they were vitiated by some pre-conceived ideas or other. The real teaching of the Sūtras remained unknown.

This circumstance led Madhva to interpret the Sūtras, consistently with the intention of their author, namely Bādarāyaṇa.

Madhva wrote 37 works in all. Of them the *Brohma Sūtra Bhāshya*, *Aṇu-vyākhyāna*, *Nyāya-Vivaraṇa* and *Aṇu-Bhāshya* expounded the thought of the *Brahma Sūtras*. The view-point presented in these four works governs the rest of his works. Madhva also wrote ten *Upanishad-Bhāshyas*, ten *Prakaraṇas*, *Ṛg-Bhāshya*, *Geeta Bhāshya*, *Geeta Tātparya*, *Mahābhārata Tātparya-Nirṇaya* and *Bhāgavata Tātparya*. The rest of his works deal with the practical side of his teaching.

In the light of all this teaching, his philosophy, epistemology, and ontology may briefly be indicated.

Madhva's Theory of Knowledge (Epistemology).

A theory of knowledge provides the only way to grasp the theory of being. To understand his theory of knowledge, Madhva insists on worthiness, or *adhikāra*, consisting in one being completely devoted to the understanding of Truth. To understand Truth presupposes the formulation of the source. Madhva examines the whole field of knowledge.

Knowledge: Knowledge is essentially characterised by a subject-relation, that is the relation between the knower and the known. Subjectless knowledge and knowledgeless object are both meaningless.

Validity (Prāmaṇya) of Knowledge: Knowledge is valid on its own merit. It cannot be made valid. Knowledge which is neither valid nor invalid is inconceivable.

There is nothing higher than Knowledge and nothing independent of it. For if there were any, then it must be understood in terms of Knowledge.

Valid knowledge is that knowledge by which the object is grasped as it is. This means that the object is what its knowledge is.

Invalid Knowledge: Invalidity of knowledge is caused by something defective in the environment of knowledge. This is known as illusion. Taking, for example, the well-known shell-silver illusion, the defective eye is its cause. It grasps a shell as something shining. At this stage the impression of silver, works on the mind. There results the illusion 'this is silver'. Of shell and silver the shell is real and the silver is unreal. In illusion the real shell is mistaken for

the unreal silver. To mistake, therefore, the real for the unreal, or the unreal for the real constitutes illusion. This theory of illusion is called *abhinavānyathā-khyāti*.

The conclusion from this analysis is that things are either real or unreal. There is no midway between the two, as something that is both real and unreal or that which is neither real nor unreal, and so on.

Origin and Recognition of Validity and Invalidity : A genuine circumstance of knowledge is itself enough to cause valid knowledge. Similarly, a genuine circumstance that apprehends knowledge is enough to apprehend it as valid. Validity of knowledge, both in its origin and in its recognition, is thus unconditioned. It is *svataḥ siddha* or self-evident. The case with invalidity is different. To produce invalid knowledge, defect in the circumstances is necessary. To apprehend it, there is need for external agencies, such as sublation, that is, elimination or reduction to a subordinate element of a higher or more comprehensive idea; and unsuccessful activity or activity without a genuine motive or goal. Hence, invalidity is 'parataḥ', literally, otherwise, or that which does not posit but merely negates or cancels.

To fix these ideas enables one to see that knowledge itself is enough to command full respect. Invalid knowledge negates itself and valid knowledge establishes itself.

The Proximate Cause of Knowledge : The source of knowledge is its proximate. Its validity is explained by the validity of knowledge. Madhva calls knowledge *Kēvala-Pramāṇa* and its proximate cause *anu-pramāṇa*. There are three cases of the proximate cause of knowledge, sense organs, inference, and verbal testimony. The different sources of knowledge enumerated by different thinkers are brought under one or the other of these three.

(i.) *Perception (Pratyaksha)*: Sense organs cause perception. They are seven-five external ones, eye, ear, nose, tongue and touch, one inside the organism called manas, and sākshi, witness. Sākshi is the essence of the percipient. It witnesses all. Unlike the other sense-organs, it is of the nature of knowledge, all-enduring, ever valid and conscious both of itself and its objects and the knowledge produced by the others, the mind and the senses. The knowledge that is produced is a modification (vritti) of manas. The proximity (pratyāsatti) of a sense-organ and its object explains the occurrence of vritti. Knowledge caused by sākshi is a case of manifestation. The knowing self, pleasure, pain, space, time and so on are all its objects. Each sense-organ has its specific object. Vritti ceases to exist and leaves its impression on the basis of which manas causes memory.

Every cause of knowledge is determinate (savikalpaka), because its object is qualified. To make distinctions in knowledge itself as between substance and

attribute is unwarranted. Each is implied in the other. An object is an identity, an impartible whole. Thus identity (abhēda) is itself 'saviśesha'. The so-called indeterminate, (*nirvikalpaka*) knowledge is, therefore, unreal. The idea of indeterminate, propertiless, or *nirviśesha*, is unwarranted.

There are four types of knowledge: Īśa, Lakshmi, Yōgin and Ayōgin. The former two are pure sākshi. Īśa is conscious of all as being the origin of all. Lakshmi is conscious of all. In the latter two cases sākshi is coupled with Vritti. Yōgin is the knowledge furnished by the study of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa. Of Yōgins, the defectless knowledge is called *ṛju*. It has the capacity to know all except Īśa and Lakshmi. In the case of other Yōgins and Ayōgins, there is a mixture of right and wrong knowledge. Knowledge in lower categories is more defective.

This analysis of knowledge speaks for the incomprehensible intensity of Knowledge, and it makes it impossible to think that knowledge is common to all.

(ii.) *Inference* (Anumāna): Inference leads to the knowledge of something by the knowledge of something else when the former is invariably and concomitantly related to the latter and it is actually found in a suitable place to help the knowledge of the latter. The relation between the proof and the proved is determined by repeated observations. There are several kinds of proofs, as effect, cause, the positive, the negative, the seen and the unseen.

(iii.) *Verbal Testimony* (Āgama): Verbal testimony is a defect-less or infallible statement. If the statement comes from a person, then it is vitiated by the defects of the person, illusion, ignorance, and inability. A valid statement is free from these defects.

With these three sources of knowledge, all worldly activities are carried on. But none of them guarantees validity. A sense-organ presents its object as an independent reality. The same is the case with inference and verbal testimony. When they are present there is no room for finding out the one principle which is the source of the reality of all. But there is the need for finding out this principle, because none of these things presented can maintain themselves or endure permanently. Everything is subject to change.

For one who is keen after knowing the one principle underlying all, the Vedas become indispensable. There is no other means. In presenting this principle, the Vedas present both the subjective and the objective elements of the whole Universe as coming from this one principle. The recognition of this truth leads to the conclusion that the knowledge of the world is valid in so far as it makes this one principle indispensable. From this it follows that the Vedas govern not only the different sources of knowledge but also the whole world of thought. The final implication of this is that the Vedas are the one source of

knowledge and other sources are valid only in so far as they operate in harmony with the Vedas. Madhva says, 'There is one source of knowledge. It is Veda. Its validity is established.'

To hold that the Vedas are valid implies that the meaning of the Veda is determined in the light of the reason presented by the *Brahma Sūtras*. The process of this determination is called *Brahma Mimāmsa* or *Brahma Jijnāsa*. It is a never-ceasing activity of mind promising infinite growth at every stage. Three aspects may be distinguished in this continuous process. They are *Śravaṇa*, understanding the meaning of Veda, *Manana*, removing all discrepancies by means of reflection, and *Nidhidhyāsana*, dedication of life to this enquiry. As a result of this dedication there appears devotion. This devotion is called Bhakti. It gives a tone to Jijnāsa because its intensity follows that of Jijnāsa. This gives rise to *Sravaṇa*, of a more comprehensive disposition. Thus the whole process of Jijnāsa is ever developing. When once it is born, man is absorbed in it and there is no going back.

MADHVA'S THEORY OF BEING :

The real is that which has existence, the state of being the object of knowledge. It is presented only by Brahma-Mimāmsa.

Madhva presents the basic ideas of Brahma-Mimāmsa in the first five *sūtras* of the *Brahma Sūtras*, which contain altogether 564 *sūtras*, divided into four chapters.

1. Under the first *sūtra*, Madhva expounds that to attain to pure happiness, *jijnāsa* of both Veda and Brahman and its meaning is indispensable. This Brahman is strictly Vedic. Vishnu, Nārāyaṇa and Hari are his Vedic synonyms.

2. Under the second *sūtra*, Madhva defines Brahman as that which gives reality to all things in the world. He distinguishes between two orders of reality, the Independent, *Svatantra*, and the dependent, *paratantra*. The reality of the former is self-established; the reality of the latter is given by the former.

The Independent: The Independent is Brahman. Brahman gives birth, life, position, destruction, knowledge, non-knowledge, bondage and release to the dependent.

The Dependent: The *paratantra* has no individuality of its own.

There are two kinds of the *paratantra* entities, the conscious and the unconscious.

The Conscious (Chētana): The conscious beings are of three kinds:
1. Those that are capable of understanding Brahma-Mimāmsa, and

thereby attaining to Brahman, the pure bliss, *Ānanda*. 2. Those that are indifferent to Brahma-Mīmāṃsa and thereby suffer from eternal bondage. 3. Those that hate Brahma-Mīmāṃsa and thereby become subject to eternal misery. The creation of the latter two is not in vain as the confusion created by them helps the formation of knowledge ultimately.

The first of these are of five fixed grades—Gods, sages, fathers, protectors and the best of men. They understand Brahma-Mīmāṃsa according to their relative capacity, and this capacity is the work of Brahman. Their attainment to pure happiness is in proportion to their understanding. The different states of existence that may fall to the lot of different conscious beings are all the work of Brahman in all their details.

The Unconscious (Jāḍa): Of the unconscious, the Vedas are beginningless and endless. Primal matter, time and space have both enduring and non-enduring elements. Each endures in substance and changes in attributes. The products have beginning and end in time.

The reality of everything in essence consists in the fact that they are made by Brahman. Things are eternal or non-eternal because they are so made by Brahman, the Eternal.

Brahman's creative activity gives no room for confusion. To explain this truth Madhva speaks of the permanent fivefold distinction between God and jeeva. God and jāḍa, jeeva and jāḍa, jeeva and jeeva, and jāḍa and jāḍa, and fixes the conscious, the unconscious and Brahman as different categories in existence.

Everything in the world is subject to change. It is, therefore, subject to birth and death. Brahman is the ground of all change and only Brahman is perfectly changeless, *nirvikāra*. The world with all its circumstances is purely and wholly the unaided work of Brahman.

3. Under the third sūtra Madhva shows that Brahma-Mīmāṃsa is the only source of the knowledge of Brahman.

4. Under the fourth sūtra, Madhva elucidates the idea that Brahman is Brahman, because He is characterised by the infinite number of attributes, each being complete in the sense that it is above time and space. It is for this reason called Vishnu. He makes this Truth intelligible by showing how every Vedic expression, and through it all expressions in any language at any time, apply primarily to Brahman, with that attribute which is signified by that expression; and these expressions mean a worldly thing only to point out Brahman as the underlying principle with that attribute. Madhva calls this process of interpretation 'samanvaya'.

5. Under the fifth sūtra, Madhva shows how Brahman is the only one thing to be known and in knowing Him all other things are known.

Under the rest of the first chapter, Madhva studies each type of Vedic words and applies it to Brahman. When once a word is subjected to 'samanvaya'. Madhva adopts it in his exposition. His exposition thus comes to have its own technique. For him there is no distinction between auspicious and inauspicious expressions, as each equally signifies the all-creative Brahman. In the second chapter, *Avirodhādhyāya*, he shows that ignorance of the truth of Brahman is the cause of different theories and schools of thought based on them. In the third, *Sāadhanādhyāya*, he shows that Brahma-Mīmāṃsa, is the only spiritual discipline. In the fourth, *Phalādhyāya*, he shows that knowledge of Brahma-Mīmāṃsa results in attaining to Brahman, the pure happiness, *Ānanda*.

This, in outline, is Madhva's *Brahma-Mīmāṃsa*. He shows in this that there is nothing outside Brahman. '*Brahmaṇō anyatra jagatō abhāvāt*', to quote Madhva's words.

Madhva thus may be said to expound Vedic Monism (tracing the manifold Universe to a single Principle), to its full expression. For him this very thought is *Ānanda*.

SAIVISM AND VEERASAIVISM

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a period of great religious ferment in Karnataka. We have considered so far the tenets of the three schools of Vedānta which were based on the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*, and propagated the orthodox Vedic faith. In addition to these, there were other faiths flourishing in the land, not owing allegiance to the orthodox Brahmin tradition.

We shall now consider about two such: the prevalence of Saivism and Veeraśaivism, in the Hoysala period.

The Hoysalas, like the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas, were the followers and patrons of more than one religion. Vishnuvardhana's father, Ereyanga, was a Vaishnava and was called 'Srivara Padmabhṛīṅga', whereas his son Ballāḷa I was a Śaiva and was said to be 'Māhēśvara Samayādhāra'. Ballāḷa I was called at least once 'a Crest-jewel among Śaivas'. In 1101 A.D. we see Ballāḷa I on his way to visit the ancestral home at Sovur making a grant to a shrine dedicated to God Śiva. (Derrett: *The Hoysalas*, p. 43). Though Jaina teachers influenced Vishnuvardhana and Ballāḷa I in their early life, they kept pace with the liberalising movements of the time.

While Narasimha and Ballāḷa II were protectors of 'Māhēśvara Samaya', or the religion of Saivism, they were also designated as 'Vaishnava Chakravarti', or 'the Champions of Vaishnavism'. The religious tolerance of the Hoysala kings permitted not merely a peaceful co-existence of different faiths but also promoted the understanding that the object of religious worship is ultimately one and the same. Only the names and forms may differ. The invocatory verse in the inscription of the Kēśava Temple at Bēlūr, (*E.C.*, Pt. I, Vol V, p. 99), which, however, belongs to a later period, gives memorable expression to this great idea:

'Yam Saivāh samupāsātē Śiva iti Brahmēti Vedāntinō
Baudhā Buddha iti pramāṇa patavah Kartēti Naiyayikah
Arhan ityatha Jaina Śāsana ratāh Karmēti Mīmāmsakāh
So yam vidadātu vānchhita phalam trailōkya nathō Harih.'

"May He who is worshipped by the Saivas as Śiva, by the Vēdantins as Brahman, by the Buddhists (who are great seekers of proof) as Buddha, by the Logicians (Naiyāyikas) as Kartā may He, Hari, the protector of the three worlds give us the boons desired by us."

The rulers as well as the sāmantas of the Hoysala Empire assumed the title 'Chatus samaya sammuddharaṇa,' which declared 'that the King was the protector of philosophical systems and religious faiths such as Buddhism, Jainism Saivism and Vaishnavism prevailing in his country. Vishnuvardhana himself respected Saivism though a Vaishnava. Amidst the numerous wars he had to fight, he found time, for instance, to dedicate a temple in Bankāpura to Hoyśalēśvara. (Derrett : *The Hoysalas*, p. 67).

Saivism flourished all over India and had many sects. In Karnataka there was orthodox Saivism which accepted Vedic authority, and Pāśupata Saivism which respected the *Āgamas*. In Kashmir, Tamilnāḍ and the Telugu country, Saivism of other types also became popular. It was in these circumstances that the mystic saints of Karnataka called Śaraṇas, who lived during the 12th century A.D., gave great impetus to a liberal and reformist movement in religion called Veeraśaivism. It has certain common features with Saivism while it is independent of it in many other ways.

The Śaraṇas stood for equality among all mankind and laid stress on the moral life with implicit faith in the monistic worship of God as Śiva, an impersonal, all-pervasive spiritual Reality.

Saivism of the orthodox school preserved its affiliation to the Vedas and arranged for public worship in temples with the usual accompaniment of the singing of sacred hymns, processions, music and dance. In these respects it resembled orthodox Vaishnavism, except for the fact that Śiva was the Supreme God-head in one and Vishnu in the other. The case was different with the

reformist movement like the Veeraśaiva which stemmed out of the Śaiva creed. Veeraśaivism evolved its own ritual; it prescribed wearing the linga—the symbol of god-head on the body of the initiate; the Linga more than the sacred Śiva shrines which contained the ‘Sthāvara Linga’ was the object of adoration; the Guru and the Jangama, the holy ones who trod the divine path, were held in reverence; the emphasis on equality in society was very much marked; individual worship and discipline were more important. Kannada was used in preference to Sanskrit; greater value was attached to the teachings of contemporary mystic saints rather than to ancient scriptural texts. These things marked off Veeraśaivism from Śaivism, and made it a militant religious movement fired with missionary zeal.

Most parts of Karnataka fell into the hands of the Hoysalas after the liquidation of the Chālukyan Empire. Since then the Hoysala empire had numerous contacts with the Śaraṇas of Kalyāṇa.

Later, with the extinction of Hoysala rule, and the rise of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, the Veeraśaiva Movement witnessed a period of further revival and wider vogue.

VEERASAIVISM

(ŚAKTI-VIŚIṢṬADVAITA)

Apart from the three schools of Vedānta, Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita, there arose in the 12th century in Karnataka the dynamic movement of Veeraśaivism, under the leadership of Basavēśvara, Allamaṇḍaprabhu, Channabasavēśvara, Siddharāma and others, which produced profound effects on society and on the religious thought and practices of the period. The tenets and philosophical content came to be known as Śakti-Viśiṣṭādvaita, to which we may now turn our attention.

The Śaiva religion, perhaps one of the most ancient living faiths in the world, is identified with the worship of Śiva in the form of Linga, the symbol of Śiva. The finds at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, according to Sir John Marshall, have brought to light evidence showing that the cult of Śiva and His worship as Paśupati (the Lord of beasts) seems to have existed as early as the Indus Valley Civilization which is considered to be pre-Aryan. Pre-Aryan Śiva became identified with the Vedic Rudra, Paśupati etc., during the Vedic period. Various names of Śiva such as Rudra, Paśupati etc., occur in all the four Vedas. In the

Upanishads also, Saiva philosophical doctrines are found. A careful reading of *Śatarudreeya* and the *Vājasnēya Samhita* will show that Vedic Rudra is described by a large number of epithets which are attributed to pre-Aryan Siva. Similarly, in the *Svetāśvatara Upanishad*, the words Siva and Rudra are used in the same sense and meaning.

The Linga was an object of worship in pre-Aryan times. From the objects found in the excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa it appears that the people of those times worshipped Śiva both in the anthropomorphic and Linga forms. Śivalinga as the symbol of Śiva is universally the object of worship of the Saivas.

Dr. Ananda Kumaraswami says : ‘Lingam is not properly an instance of sex symbolism. It is not probably of phallic origin, but derived from the stūpa and is now regarded as the highest emblem of Śiva because the least anthropomorphic.’ Svāmi Vivēkānanda maintains that the worship of Śivalinga originated from the famous Lingam in the *Atharva-Veda Samhita* sung in praise of Yūpastamba, the sacrificial post.

The *Taittiriya Nārāyaṇōpanishad* gives a clue into the reason why Śiva was worshipped in the form of a Linga :

Leeyatē yatra bhūtaāni nirgachchanti punah punah
Tēna Lingam param vyōma nishkalah Param Śivah

“That into which all beings merge, and emerge again and again, its symbol (Lingam) is the transcendental One, the unsullied, the Supreme Śiva.” Linga, the symbol of Śiva, transcends space. It is shapeless, formless and endless. This quality gives it a unique significance.

In the 6th Paṭala of *Sūkshmāgama*, the following description of Linga is given:

Leenam prapancha rūpam hi sarvamētat charācharam
Sargād gamyate bhūyās-tasmai-Linga mudeeritē
Nirāmayam nirākāram nirgamam nirmalam Śivam
Tasmāt-Lingam param Brahma satchid-ānanda lakṣaṇam

“Created again and again: Hence this is known as the Linga. It is without taint or form or attributes; pure and auspicious—therefore Linga is the Supreme Brahman, having the quality of Existence, Knowledge and Bliss.”

The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* gives a description of God-head in both ‘mūrta’ (having form) and ‘amūrta’ (formless.)

The form and the formless are the two modes of the existence of Brahman.

The Supreme Being is ‘amūrta’ (formless) in His unmanifested (avyakta) condition and has ‘mūrta’ form (sākāra) in His manifest condition. Linga, the

formless symbol of Siva, represents the 'mūrta' form of Siva. Linga is not an image (pratikriti), nor is it a representative substitute (prateeka), but it is a symbol signifying the Lord Siva Himself. It is with this conception that Saivas in general worship Sivalinga.

Saivism was gradually influenced by the Āgamas and Purāṇic Hinduism. Amongst the votaries of Saivism, the Pāsupatās and the Kālāmukhas came from the north to the Deccan. Those who came to the south practised all the rituals ordained in the Āgamas, including the wearing of the Linga, though it was not considered compulsory. From the cult of Saivism which prevailed in pre-Vedic and Vedic times, several systems of Saivism came into being in several parts of India. Veeraśaivism is one such system that flourished mostly in the Deccan, viz., Karnataka, Andhra and Tamilnāḍ.

The philosophy underlying Veeraśaivism is generally called Sakti Viśiṣṭādvaita or Sivādvaita. This system has been influenced in its thought and practice by the other Saiva systems, viz., Kashmir Saivism, Kālāmukha, Pāsupata, Saiva Siddhānta, and Śrīkanṭha's Sakti Viśiṣṭādvaita; but as a religious sect of Saivism it has its own distinct features, viz., Lingadhāraṇa, Aṣṭāvaraṇa and Shaṭsthala.

The religious tradition is that Veeraśaivism was founded by five Āchāryas (1) Rēṇuka, (2) Daruka, (3) Ekōrāma, (4) Paṇḍitāradhya, and (5) Viśvārādhya; that these Āchāryas are believed to have sprung from the Sivalingas of (1) Sōmēśvara at Kollipaki (2) of Vaṭavriksha Siddheśvara at Ujjaini, (3) of Rāmanātha at Drākshārāmakshētra, (4) of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila and (5) of Viśvanātha at Kāśī. The Maṭhas associated with these teachers exist even to this day at the following places:

(1) Bālēhonnur (Rambhāpuri) in Chikmagalur Dist. (Mysore State). The Maṭha that was first established at Kollipāki (Andhra State) was transferred to Bālēhonnur originally but transferred later to Ujjaini. (2) Ujjaini in Bellary Dist. (Mysore State). (3) Himavat Kēdāra in Gharwal Dist. (U. P.). (4) Śrīśaila in the Kurnool Dist. (Andhra) (5). Kāśī (Vāraṇāsi) in Uttara Pradesh.

The traditional account of the Āchāryas given above should not lead us to think that these teachers are not historical persons. The historicity of these teachers can be established on the basis of references to them in the available literature, whose authenticity is beyond all doubt and which can be assigned to definite periods. In *Śrīkara Bhāshya* of Śrīpati Paṇḍita, there is a detailed account of Rēṇuka or Rēvaṇasiddha Maruḷa, and Ēkōrāma, their history and the work they did.

Among Saiva writers in Andhra, Manchanṇa Paṇḍita, Śrīpati Paṇḍita and Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita (Paṇḍitatrayas as they are called) are the most important. Of the three, Manchanṇa Paṇḍita preceded Śrīpati Paṇḍita and

Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita succeeded Śrīpati Paṇḍita. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita wrote several works and was a contemporary of Basavēśvara, the great Veeraśaiva saint, who revitalised and popularised the Veeraśaiva faith in Karnataka. Śrīpati Paṇḍita was a native of Vijayavada on the banks of the Krishna river. He is said to have been the guru of Anantapāla, a General under Vikramāditya VI of the Western Chālukya dynasty, who ruled from 1074 to 1126 A.D. This is evident from the Pallikēṭana Śāsana (1120 A.D.) He is the author of *Śrīkara Bhāshya*, an authoritative work on Veeraśaiva religion and philosophy. Dr. S. Srikanta Sastry says that there is reliable evidence that Śrīpati Paṇḍita lived half a century earlier than Basavēśvara (12th c.). That Veeraśaivism existed prior to Basavēśvara is evident from the following religious literature. One of the chief features of Veeraśaivism is the wearing of the Linga on the body after the deeksha or initiation by the guru. Rājasēkhara, who belonged to 900 A.D., refers to the wearing of *Prāṇalinga* on the arm by a Śaiva sect. Śivayōgi Sivācharya of *Siddhānta Sikhāmaṇi*, which is earlier than the 11th century, has given a detailed description of Lingadhāraṇa. *Vatulāgama* mentions the existence of Veeraśaivism and the wearing of the Linga on the body. The term 'Veeraśaiva' is as old as the Āgamas, which are undoubtedly prior to the advent of Basava. Apart from these, there is definite evidence that there were small Lingas which were capable of being carried on one's person in the Mohenjodaro findings, and Sir John Marshall avers their existence and use.

The philosophy underlying Veeraśaivism is known as Śakti Viśiṣṭādvaita. Veeraśaivism generally follows the authority of 28 Śaivāgamas, but Vedic texts are quoted here and there to show that the particular principle propounded is in agreement with Veda. Veeraśaivism owes its allegiance to and acknowledges the authority of the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* only in so far as they agree with the Śaivāgamas.

The development of Veeraśaivism prevalent in Andhra is somewhat different from that in Karnataka, though the main tenets remain the same. The emphasis is more on Vedic rites and religious practices in Andhra, whereas in Karnataka it is more on ethical conduct and social reform based on certain philosophical concepts concerning God, the individual soul and the world.

The development of Veeraśaivism in Karnataka during the 12th century under the guidance of Basavēśvara, Allamaprabhu, Akka Mahādēvi and a host of other Śivaśaraṇas, or mystic saints, may be summarised as follows:

- (1) The highest importance was attached to devotion to Śiva.
- (2) Women were given equal status in religious worship in as much as they were ordained to deeksha (initiation) and the wearing of the Linga.
- (3) The rigidity of Varṇāśrama was very much loosened amongst the followers of the Veeraśaiva faith.

(4) Attempts were made to uplift the Harijans by giving them equal status in worship and religious practices. Vegetarian food and ban on intoxicants were emphasized.

(5) The dignity of labour was emphasized amongst the followers of this faith *Kāyakavē Kailāsa* (Bread labour is verily Heaven).

(6) Religious literature in the regional language Kannada—in easy prose-poetry style, called *Vachanas*, was developed to propagate the tenets and doctrines as propounded by Veeraśaiva saints and mystics called Sivaśaraṇas. This literature greatly enriched Kannada language and literature.

SHATSTHALA :

The leading doctrines of this system are Lingadhāraṇa, Ashtāvaraṇa and Shaṭsthala. In the scheme of Shaṭsthala philosophy, the Linga and Anga are the twofold manifestations of Paraśiva. 'Sthala' is defined as Brahman, the ultimate category of Siva. 'Stha' means 'Sthāna', the substratum or source of all energies and beings. 'La' means 'Laya', the same source to which all energies and all beings return. As the empty space can be distinctly qualified as space inside the room or inside the jar, so 'sthala' has been bifurcated as the object of worship (Brahman) and the worshipper (jeevātman). These are respectively called, Lingasthala and Angasthala.

Upāsyōpāsakatvēna swayamēva dvidhā bhavēt
Lingasthala mupāsyam syād angasthala mupāsakam.

"It became two of its own accord, one as the Deity to be worshipped, the other as the worshipper of the Deity. The Deity is the Lingasthala and the worshipper is the Angasthala. (*Anubhava Sūtra*.)

Lingasthala is threefold, known as Bhāvalinga, Prāṇalinga and Ishṭalinga. These are postulated with a view to enable the aspirants to reflect and contemplate according to their vision, capability and understanding. Similarly, Angasthala is of three kinds, Yōgānga, Bhōgānga and Tyāgānga. 'Am' means Brahma and 'ga' means that which goes. Yōgānga is the state of 'prajna'. In Yōgānga one attains the bliss of union with Siva. Bhōgānga is 'Taijasa'. In this one enjoys with Siva his all as 'Prasāda' (consecrated things). The third is 'Tyāgānga' which is no other than 'Viśva'. Here one leaves aside the illusion or the false notions of the cycle of births and deaths. Each of these Angasthalas is subdivided into two, making altogether six, corresponding to six Lingasthalas. This division is made on the principle of the Shaṭsthala philosophy to enable the aspirant to reach the highest, i. e., the Absolute by gradual stages.

It has been a cardinal principle of Veeraśaivism that Sakti (Energy) is inseparably bound with Siva. When the energy of the Lord Siva moves forward

(spanda) for creation, it is called 'pravritti', and the same Sakti when reversed is 'nivritti', and called Bhakti (devotion). The twofold functions of Sakti—the upper and the lower—show themselves in the fact that the upper tends to manifest the universe and the lower one appearing as Bhakti tends to return to God. In these twofold forms, the same Sakti is called 'Māya' and 'Bhakti'. The Sakti in the 'Linga' (Śiva) appears as Bhakti in the 'anga' (jeeva), and the unity of Linga and Anga is the identity of Śiva and jeeva. This is technically called 'Lingānga sāmāsyā'.

The unity of the finite self (anga) and the universal self (Linga) can be achieved by following the path of devotion. Devotion manifests itself in diverse graded forms, *viz.*, Śraddhā, Naishṭika, Avadhāna, Anubhāva, Ānanda and Aikya (Samarasa). Śraddhā Bhakti is the main motive power of the spiritual discipline. It progresses from simple and sincere faith to the place of Nishṭa, or a confirmed feeling of devotion to the Lord. It is called Avadhāna Bhakti. These three are in the first division of the Shatsthala scheme of devotion. In the next division Bhakti develops the power of partially experiencing divine life, and is, therefore, called Anubhava, the initial stage of Anubhāva. Further, it grows into Ānanda Bhakti, in which there is real joy of divine life. Ultimately, it rises to the full experience of divine life, of being at one with the divinity. It is thus Samarasa Bhakti. The followers of this graded six kinds of Bhakti (devotion) are called respectively Bhakta, Mahēśa, Prāsādi, Prāṇalingi, Śaraṇa and Aikya. These six angasthalas correspond to six Lingasthalas.

Ashṭāvaraṇa: There are eight aids for the attainment of spirituality and final union with the Lord. These aids are Guru, Linga, Jangama, Vibhūti, Rudrākshi, Pādōdaka, Prasāda and Mantra. The Guru is the spiritual preceptor who initiates the devotee into the knowledge of Śiva and guides him in the practice of worship and devotion after performing the Deeksha ceremony. Linga is Śiva. Jangama is the perfected soul. The aspirant for release should surrender all to these three and worship them to obtain divine grace and identify himself with them. These are the three aspects of the divinity. When Guru or Jangama is not available for worship, the devotee will worship the Linga, invoking Guru and the Jangama aspects in the Linga itself.

Ēkamūrṭi-strayōbhāgaḥ gururlinga tu jangamam

'The one Form comprise three parts, Guru, Linga and Jangama'.

The devotee has to observe eight rules in order to obtain spiritual advancement: (1) obedience to Guru, (2) daily worship of the Linga, (3) reverence to Jangama, (4) Smearing of the sacred ash (bhasma) on the forehead and on several portions of the body, (5) wearing of rosary beads (rudrāksha), (6) Sipping of the water in which the feet of the Guru or Jangama are worshipped and washed, or the water poured on the Linga after worship. This water is sipped as it is sacred and purifying. (7) Prasāda is the offering of food to Linga or Guru

or Jangama and partaking sacramentally of what is left over in the vessel. (8) Mantra is uttering the five-syllable formula 'Namahśivāya' in the contemplation of God. This is the daily observance of a Veeraśaiva.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that Veeraśaiva mystics and saints played a great part in Karnataka in the 12th century in propagating the Shaṭsthala doctrines in the form of vachanas and in emphasizing the importance of ethical conduct in the path of devotion. They also demonstrated that religion is a way of life and that purification is essential for religious life. They laid great stress on the need for complete self-surrender in the path of devotion and declared that realization is the sole criterion of spiritual progress.

JAINISM

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

The tenets of Jainism have been dealt with in an earlier chapter. For centuries before the Hoysala period, Jainism held an honoured place in the land. It contributed greatly to the cultural life of the people. As we have seen, the earliest masterpieces of Kannada literature were the creations of Jaina authors. With the resurgence of Vedic faiths like Sri Vaishnavism, Vaishnavism, Saivism and Veeraśaivism, Jainism suffered a decline to some extent. But it had its vogue and continued to exercise considerable influence.

We shall now consider the condition of Jainism in the Hoysala period.

Jainism entered Karnataka as a new faith from the north before the Christian era and gradually grew to be a dominant religion for nearly a thousand years. It guided the fortunes of some of the most powerful royal families of Karnataka. The Ganga and the Hoysala Empires were blessed and encouraged by the Jaina Āchāryas. We may say that the Hoysala Kingdom owed much to their foresight and their wisdom. Whenever the country required political regeneration, the Jaina Āchāryas were always ready to encourage capable leaders to found new kingdoms. This can be seen in the case of the Gangas and the Hoysalas. The Jaina Ācharyas like Simhanandi and Sudatta were intellectual giants. It is also clear that the Jaina Āchāryas gave every form of material help to the founders of new kingdoms. Their main idea was the creation of a proper political background for the regeneration of the country. The period between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries was very favourable for the propagation and glorification of the Jaina faith. Most of the Hoysala kings were Jainas and they actively supported and patronised Jaina temples and institutions. The Jaina temples,

shrines, images, nisidiges and epitaphs found strewn all over the south, clearly indicate that during the Hoysala period the Jaina religion was very popular. It was a living faith of many classes of people from the royalty to the peasantry, inspiring them to deeds of piety and philanthropy during life, and affording them solace and hope in death.

The Hoysala Empire may well be said to be the creation of Jaina genius. The birth-place of the Hoysalas was Sosevūr or Saśākapura (Angaḍi in Muḍigere Taluk) which was a great stronghold of Jainism (*E.C.*, VI p.13). Even today it has a large number of basadis and the temple of Vāsantika (Śrī Padmāvatidēvi), the patron deity of the Hoysalas.

The founder of the Hoysala Vamśa, Sala, had the benediction of the great Jaina Āchārya, Sudatta or Vardhamānamuni, who belonged to the Nandi Sangha of Kunda Kundānvaya. He was 'foremost in the management of the affairs of the Hoysalas'. He helped the continuance of the Hoysala rule in its early stages. Probably, this accounts for the deep devotion which the Hoysala kings showed to Jaina Dharma.

The successors of Sala gave unstinted patronage to Jaina Dharma. Probably Sudatta continued to guide the destiny of the kingdom during the reigns of Sala, Vinayāditya and Nripakāma. The preceptor of Vinayāditya II was Sāntidēva, who died in 1062 A. D. (*E.C.*, II, p. 67). He was not only a Rājaguru but was also a Rāshṭraguru. As a Jaina, Vinayaditya II (gladly built many tanks and temples, and Jaina shrines, and excelled the celebrated Balindra..... (*E.C.*, VI, p. 143).

King Ereyanga did not fall behind his predecessors in his devotion and liberality to the Jaina faith. His guru was the great Āchārya Gōpanandi, the head of the Dēśiyagaṇa Mūla Sangha and Kunda Kundānvaya. The Kattale Basadi Record at Sravaṇabeḷagoḷa says that Gōpanandi 'caused the Jaina religion, which had for a long time been at a standstill, to attain the prosperity and fame of the Ganga King'. (*E.C.*, V, p. 148).

The preceptor of King Ballāḷa I (1100–1106 A.D.) was Chāru Keertimuni. The Siddhēśvara Basadi Inscription describes him as 'an accomplisher of everything that had to be accomplished. He was a great grammarian, logician, and was also well-versed in medicine. Even the air that had but touched his body cured diseases; was it any wonder that his medicine cured King Ballāḷa of his disease?' (*E.C.*, II, p. 254).

Vishnuvardhana, the greatest and the most celebrated of the Hoysala rulers, is said to have changed his faith, under the influence of Rāmānujāchārya. Even then he continued to be a benevolent and generous patron of Jainism all through his reign. Even as late as 1125 A.D., he showed his devotion to the Jaina guru Śrīpāla Trividya-dēva. The guru is described as a Shaṇmukha of the six schools of logic, a great disputant, Vādibhasimha, Vādikōlāhala, Tarka

Chakravarti and a promoter of his 'gaṇa'. According to the Bhaira dēva Temple Inscription (*E.C.*, VI. p. 149, 190), Vishnuvardhana built a Jaina abode at Chalyer and made suitable grants for the repairs of Jaina temples as well as for the maintenance of Jaina saints. According to the Bēlūr Inscription (1129 A. D. *M. A. R.*, 1911, p. 43), he made a gift to Malli Jinālaya. In 1133 A.D., he granted a village to the Pārśvanātha Temple to commemorate his victories. He named the God 'Vijaya Pārśvanātha' in his capital Dōrasamudra and named his son Vijaya Narasimha (*E.C.*, V, p. 83, 124.). Vishnuvardhana appears to have held the balance between his ancestral faith and the faith of his choice.

Vishnuvardhana's queen Śāntalādēvī was a staunch devotee of Jainism. She made large donations to Jaina temples. She built a Jaina temple called 'Savati Gandhavāraṇi Basadi' at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. Her preceptor was Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva, the disciple of Mēghachandra Trividyadēva.

Some of the most outstanding ministers and commanders of Vishnuvardhana were staunch Jainas. The most outstanding of such officers was Gangarāja, who built many Jaina temples, both at Śravaṇabelagoḷa and at Jinanāthapura village to the south of Chandragiri or Chikkabetta at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. He constructed the enclosure to the Temple of Gommaṭēśvara. He repaired not only many old Jaina temples but also endowed many Jaina institutions. His wife Lakshmīmati died by 'sallekhana', fasting into death, which was commemorated by her husband through an inscription at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. The other Jaina commanders of Vishnuvardhana were Boppa, Punisa, Mariyāne and Bharatēśvara. There are a large number of inscriptions at Śravaṇabelagoḷa and other places which record the acts of piety and devotion to Jaina teachers and Jaina institutions.

The greatness of the Hoysala Empire under Narasimha I was more due to the reputation of Vishnuvardhana and the loyalty of his generals than to his own military prowess. The most capable General and Treasurer (Bhaṇḍāri) of Narasimha was Hulla, who was a great devotee of Jainism. The Bhaṇḍāri Basadi Inscription of 1159 A.D. says that Narasimha after bowing to Gommaṭēśvara saw the Chaturvimśati Teerthankara Basadi erected by his great General Hulla and 'lovingly bestowed upon it the second name of Bhavyachūḍāmaṇi after Hulla's title Samyaktva Chūḍāmaṇi'.

Ballāḷa II or Veeraballāḷa (1173-1220 A.D.) was a great patron of Jainism. His preceptor was Vasupūjya Vratī of Arungalānvaya and Nandi Sangha. Ballāḷa II confirmed the grants made by his father at the request of Hulla. He always granted the wishes of his generals and citizens. An inscription of 1176 A. D. (*M. A. R.*, 1923) describes the construction of a Jaina temple at Dōrasamudra called Veeraballāḷa Jinālaya by a rich merchant Dēviśeṭṭi at the request of his teacher Bālachandramuni of Dēśikagachcha Mūla Sangha.

The benevolence of the Hoysala kings was such that Dōrasamudra itself became a famous Jaina stronghold. In 1192 A.D., Śrīpāḍḍēva's disciples Mariṣeṭṭi, Kāmiṣeṭṭi, Bhāratiṣeṭṭi, and Rājaṣeṭṭi erected in Dōrasamudra a fine Jinālaya for God Abhinava Sāntināthadēva.

The next rulers, Narasimha III and Rāmanātha, were devout Jainas. King Narasimha III, according to the Bastihaḷḷi Inscription of 1254 A.D., repaired and endowed the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Dōrasamudra built by Boppa. Kavi Chakravarti Janna (1180-1260 A.D.) was his Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief and Poet Laureate. Janna built the mukha-manṭapa of Vijaya' Pārśvanātha Temple at Haḷēbiḍ, and distributed 1000 copies of his monumental Kannada poetical work *Ānathanātha Purāṇa*, the life story of Anathanātha, the Fourteenth Teerthankara of the Jainas. His spiritual adviser was Mēghanandi Siddhāntadēva of Bālakaragaṇa, to whom a grant was made for the maintenance of Trijuta Ratnatraya Sāntinātha Jinālaya. Mahānandi has been described as a Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya and as the Rājaguru (*E.C.*, II, 334). Rāmanātha, the rival of Narasimha III was also a devout Jaina. He made liberal grants to Chenna Pārśva of Kogili. We have no information regarding the attitude of Ballāḷa III towards Jainism.

Many feudatories of the Hoysalas also professed Jainism. The Sāntaras were great devotees of Jainism. Bhujabala Sāntara erected a Jaina temple in his capital Pomburcha and granted it to his guru, Kanaka Nandidēva along with a village. Nāgalarasa, the Minister of Veera Sāntara (1061 A.D.), was like a fortress to Jina Dharma. (*M.A.R.*, 1931, p. 198).

The Kongāḷvas, who ruled over Arakalgūḍ and Coorg, were great patrons of Jainism. They also constructed and endowed a large number of Jaina temples.

The Changāḷvas (of Hunsur Taluk) were also great patrons of Jainism. Between 1091 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (*M.A.R.*, 1925, p. 25; *E.C.*, VI, p. 26), they constructed and endowed sixty-four basadis in the city of Hanasōge.

ASCETIC ORGANISATIONS :

A large number of inscriptions found at Śravaṇabelagoḷa record the genealogical lists of pontiffs for several centuries and afford an insight into the organisation of monks and their activities. The Siddhara Basadi Inscription of Śaka 1320 (1398 A.D., *E.C.*, II) records the tradition that Arhadbali acquired brilliance by his two pupils Pushpadanta, and Bhūtabali and that he split the Mūlasangha Kunda Kundānvaya into four branches, namely, Sēna, Nandi, Dēva and Simha, in order to assuage the jealousies arising out of the nature of the age. Records show that by about 1000 A.D., the sanghas, the gaṇas, the gachchas, the balis and the śākhās of monks had grown into a very large number.

During the Hoysala period we gather the following names of the Jain orders. Mūlasangha, Nandisangha, Mayūrasangha, Kittūrasangha, Kollatūrasangha, Nandigaṇa, Dēsiḡa Drāmilagaṇa, Kānūragaṇa, Pustakagachcha, Vakragachcha, Tagarilagachcha, Manditalagachcha, Induliśvarabali, Panasōge-bali etc. Inscriptions show that some of the pontiffs of these branches of the Digambara Jain community distinguished themselves in learning, asceticism and penance.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

The story of the social life and economic conditions during the Hoysala period is a continuation of the past. Institutions like the Village Assembly and the Temple contributed not a little to the high degree of civic sense, public co-operation and corporate activity of the people in the socio-economic sphere. The keen and abiding interest in the growth and development of such institutions was an important factor in the continuity of social and economic life of the people in accordance with the Hindu Dharma and its traditions and usages.

SOCIAL LIFE :

Next in importance to the individual, whose particular religious need greatly influenced his social and economic activity, comes the family as a primary group in society. The social implications of the family in that period were largely determined by the religious tenets and beliefs which dominated its life and being.

Patriarchal authority prevailed in the family. The aims of the family had their own special features according to the functional groups to which they belonged. But, generally speaking, friends, children and wealth constituted worldly happiness.¹ Morality, modesty and intelligence ensured a truthful life. We learn from inscriptions that the fivefold aims of life were long life, wealth, fame, dignity and valour.

The reciprocity of love and affection between parents and children was an integrating force in stabilising the family life, and natural obligations were enjoined within its frame work. Tanks were dug, idols were set up and stones were erected to commemorate valiant sons or worthy parents.²

During the period with which we are dealing Varṇāśramadharma had taken firm roots in South India. The Hoysala kings took upon themselves the duty of protecting and promoting this dharma. An inscription states that under the Hoysala King, Narasimha I, the most wonderful thing was that there was no mingling of castes (varṇasankara). Titles like 'Chatus-Samaya-Samuddhāraṇa',³ 'Sakala-Samaya-Rakshā-maṇi', were borne by the Hoysala Kings⁴ and their Mahā-Sāmantas. 'Samaya' here connotes ancient custom, as well as religious faith and outlook.

Among the middle classes of the times may be mentioned a group called the 'Settis' ⁵ who played a remarkable role during this period. Of equal importance were the members of the trading and artisan class called the *Veera Pānchālās*, ⁶ comprising jewellers, goldsmiths, carpenters, masons, brass and bronze workers.

Not much information is available regarding the varied marriage practices and customs and the rituals connected therewith that must have been in vogue, but it may be surmised that the people in the Hoysala period followed in this, as in other activities of life, ancient customs and usages and, in respect of the upper classes, in conformity with the laws laid down by ancient law-givers.

It appears to have been the practice and a matter of social prestige, particularly among the wealthy classes, to have more than one wife. Among common people, however, monogamy may have been the rule.

The position of women was not one of servitude as is sometimes supposed. Women had an honourable status in society and even took part in the administration of the country. The famous Queen of Vishnuvardhana, *Sāntalādēvi*, was said to be ruling the whole country and guiding its destiny. ⁷ *Bāganabbe*, the senior wife of the great feudatory, *Baramayya*, was said to be ruling in 1089 A.D. ⁸ Not only in the political sphere but also in the administration of religious institutions, women were considered competent to assume a responsible position. We have instance of one *Gana Kumāri Chandavve* being made owner and executive authority of the *Kunjēśvara* Temple to which her father *Kunjanambīsetti* had made a grant of lands, according to an inscription dated 1255 A. D. ⁹

Women also acquired a prominent place in the field of literature and arts. *Kanti* ¹⁰ achieved fame as a poetess—one of the earliest to do so in the history of Kannada literature. Queen *Sāntalādēvi* has been described as a jewelled lamp in the house of *Bharatāgama* (science of music), a 'hand jewel' in all manner of dancing and a *Sarasvati* in singing. ¹¹ Women could own property, and sell and buy it. We notice from inscriptions that when gifts were made, the concurrence of the women, the sons and cognate members of the family is specifically mentioned. ¹²

In spite of all this, however, a great deal of reformist activity appears to have been necessary to raise the status of women in society as a whole. This was provided by the great *Veeraśaiva* reformers under the inspiration of *Basava* whose conception of womanhood was noble and exalted.

So far as recreation and amusements were concerned the following among others appear to have been popular: (1) wrestling, (2) gambling, (3) music and dancing, and (4) dramatics. Descriptions of wrestlers and their physical prowess occur often in the literature of the time. ¹³ The fascination exercised by gambling and the ruin caused by addiction to it are also referred to in the literature of the period. ¹⁴

Music seems to have been widely practised and appreciated. It has already, been mentioned that Queen Sāntalādēvi was an expert in music and dancing.¹⁶ In this, as in other matters, the Hoysala kings and noblemen gave a lead to the people in the practice and development of these arts. Musical instruments like drums, cymbals etc., are often mentioned in contemporary literature. Among the employees of the temple are mentioned singers, dancing masters and dancing girls.

Inscriptions speak of grants made on account of 'rangabhōga', which may mean patronage to the stage or performance of dramas or religious spectacles or dialogues. A stage manager was among the regular employees on the staff of temples. Milk and its products were abundantly used as food. Rice and jowar were usually ground into flour and made into cakes. Fruits and vegetables were in common use. Jowar and the cakes made from its flour were the staple food. Among the special dishes may be noted: mandige, iddalige, śalyānna, manasara-valige; ¹⁶ mangoes, plantains and jack-fruits etc., are mentioned among fruits.

Payments for labour and other services were often made in grain rather than in cash. This was a feature of the country's economic life not only in the Hoysala period but through the ages till recent times. The Hoysala Kingdom like other ancient kingdoms acquired its stability and greatness as a result of the collective effort of the common people and their spontaneous allegiance to the King and the State. The remitting of certain taxes paid by the people to be spent for religious or social purposes is constantly mentioned in the inscriptions of those days.¹⁷ The people vied with one another in making contributions to works of public utility, like constructing tanks and maintaining them. Transactions relating to agriculture also give us an idea of the corporate life of the people.¹⁸ The construction of tanks for agricultural purposes figures greatly in inscriptional records. The people gave eloquent proof of their sense of solidarity in the political sphere, whether it was a boundary settlement, ¹⁹ the protection of cows ²⁰ or matters relating to legal disputes.

People expressed their sense of loyalty to kings in numerous ways. The fulfilment of one's engagement and vow to give up one's life for kings was another common urge in that period. We have the example of Kuvara Lakshma ²¹ who devoted his wealth and life for gifts, and for the victory of Veeraballāḷadēva.

In an inscription at Bēlūr dated 1220 A.D., it is stated that King Ballāḷa cherished him as his own son. "Between servant and king there was no difference: the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both; and both together protected the earth in great prosperity his wealth and his life, Kuvara Lakshma devoted for the gifts and the victory of Veeraballāḷadēva. . . the word uttered by Kuvara Lakshma was one single word, true and fine as letters engraved on stone. He gave his word to King Ballāḷa that he would keep him free he remained faithful to King Ballāḷa in all circumstances. . . as evidence that in faithfulness

to his master, Garuḍa alone was his equal and that he and no others were equal to Garuḍa, the images of himself and of Garuḍa were equally engraved thereon."

Being admitted to the order of the 'Garuḍas'—warriors faithful unto death—was the highest honour that could be conferred on the warriors attached to the king.

The clearing of jungles for establishing villages, constructing tanks, granting of lands etc., were the concrete expressions of this public spirit. Many agrahāras, towns and villages owe their origin to kings and queens. The innumerable temples and tanks bearing their names stand even today bearing eloquent testimony to the way in which the kings endeared themselves to their people.

The Hoysala kings recognised the merits of those who rendered service to the State in various ways. Granting of lands was one method of appreciating the loyal services of his people. Umbaḷi, Mānya and Koḍugi were some of the forms of grant.²² There were also other honours conferred for meritorious service. Kuvara Lakshma, or Lakkayya, already referred to, received the privilege of binding the golden 'tōḍar' (anklet) on his left leg.²³ The setting-up of memorial stones for those who faced death in the service of the State was another way of bestowing honour. These commemorative tablets called 'veergals' are met with in great number strewn all over the country, and are peculiar to Karnataka.

Beliefs and ideas, apart from expressing the state of culture and civilisation of a people largely reflect their modes of life and behaviour. For instance, great reverence was attached to the cow and the recipient of its gift, *i.e.*, the Brahmin.²⁴ Traditional practices or ancient usage were not only to be conserved but also to be continued. This love of ancient usage or practice governed the outlook of the people in all walks of life in very great measure.

It appears that men, and more particularly women, paid a good deal of attention to dress and cosmetics and to what might be called 'beauty culture'. The requirements of the male dress were few and simple. The dress consisted of an unstitched cloth called 'dhōti' and perhaps a stitched upper garment called the 'bandi', or baniyan, and, generally, a turban. A special mention of women's clothes on which customs dues were levied²⁵ is an indication of the attention given by women to the elaborate designing of clothes as also their meticulous care in wearing them.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS :

The Hoysala kings had placed before themselves the precepts of the ancient and mediaeval Hindu writers not only in matters of revenue administration but also in determining the social and economic policy of the State in general.

A study of the inscriptions enables us to get an idea of the activities of the Hoysala kings in respect of the creation and maintenance of works of public utility like irrigation, reservoirs, and roads and the relief of indigence, unemployment and suffering and the protection afforded to men and cattle. Inscriptions invariably allude to the protection given by the kings to their subjects. They had fully understood the implications of taxation as designed primarily for the welfare of the subjects.

From a study of the inscriptions, ²⁶ it is found that :

(a) The Hoysala kings encouraged a policy of progressive reclamation of land, and offering inducements by way of exemption from taxes.

(b) Not only the purpose but also the very procedure of bringing a vast area under cultivation formed an important part of the Hoysala land policy.

(c) And this policy led to increase of the Hoysala land revenue.

Successful schemes were executed to mitigate the hardships on account of insufficient water supply by constructing tanks, sinking wells, digging canals and making sluices and embankments.²⁷ All this is proof of the attention bestowed by the Hoysala kings on the improvement of agriculture throughout their country. Individuals or corporate bodies were encouraged to build tanks by means of grants of land or remission of taxes to them.

The maintenance of irrigation works involving repairs to damaged tanks, removal of silt and prevention of damage was a duty which was vested in the Village Assembly. The source of finance for their maintenance often came from private charity, temple contributions, State help and income from the tank. The irrigation work consisted of construction, maintenance and distribution. Closely connected with agriculture is another important activity, namely, improvement of the live-stock necessary for tillage, transport and irrigation.

The industries ²⁸ during the period comprised metal industries (including gold, silver, copper and brass articles), textiles, wood-work, pottery, etc. These industries enjoyed the patronage of the State and the support of the public. All these handicrafts catered to the common needs of the large majority of the people whose demands were simple; and it was more or less a self-sufficient economy. It may be noted that the Veera-pāṇchālas (i.e., the artisan class) received the special favour of royal patronage. The development of these industries went a long way in stabilising the rural economy of the country.

The growth and development of trade as the back-bone of the country's economy received great attention. The following trades ²⁹ are commonly met with in inscriptions : 1) dealers in grains, 2) dealers in cloth, 3) dealers in elephants, horses and other cattle, 4) jewellers, 5) oilmongers, 6) betel-leaf sellers, 7) dealers in fire-wood, and 8) hawkers.

We are told in an inscription³⁰ that one Kammaṭa Chaṭṭaseṭṭi imported horses, elephants and pearls in ships, and sold them to kings, as stated in an inscription at Bāṇavar in the Arsikere Taluk dated 1188 A. D. His brother Dāsayya-seṭṭi transported goods from the east to the west, and north to south and *vice versa*. Kunjanambiseṭṭi, during the time of Hoysala Somēśvara (1255 A. D.), is said to have supplied the wants of the great Māḷava kings, and of the Kalinga, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya rulers. He was not only a merchant prince but a great diplomat and obtained credit in negotiating for peace and war as an embodiment of perfect truth (satyavākya) and of mercy.

People engaged in all these different trades had formed their own associations, or what may be called 'trade guilds'. Possibly, it was through these guilds that they must have sought the development of their respective trades. These guilds wielded great influence in the social, economic and political life of the country. Mosale, Beḷagoḷa. Arsikere, Dalige are mentioned as some of the great trading centres. The exports during the period consisted of cotton-yarn, cloth, muslins, incense, betel-nuts, coconut and ivory. It may be stated that trade, in general, whether external or internal, flourished under the Hoysalas who followed a fairly liberal policy of taxation in respect of trade and commerce.

FOOT NOTES

1. *E.C.*, Vol. II, No. 66, p. 22 (2), (2nd edition).
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, AK. 57, 22; Ag. 76; Hn. 39.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, BI. 193.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak. 39, 71, 79; BI. 58; Hn. 102.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, VII. SK. 118.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. V-VII, SK. 118.
7. *E.C.*, Vol. V, Hn. 89.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kd. 21.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Pt. I, AK. 108-09.
10. *Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 91.
11. *E.C.*, Vol. V, BI. 58.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, AK. 82.
13. *Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 227.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 110-111.
15. *E.C.*, Vol. IV,; KP. 3.
16. *Kavi Charite*, Vol. I, p. 259, 294.

17. *E.C.*, Vol. V, Hn. 84; VI, SK. 112, VII, HI. 8.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Au. 49, 113.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Pt. I, Hn. 70.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kd. 47.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, BI. 112.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 38; IX, Bn. 23.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, BI. 112.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 73. (59).
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 327.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, BI. 137, 175; X, Bn. 133.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, NG 70: V, AK. 22; V, Hn. 107; Kd. 161; Cm. 73.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, MI. 65; V, BI. 177; VI, Mg. 33; VII, SK. 225; XIV, Tn. 178, Tn. 26.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol. II. 241; V, BI. 114, AK. 22; VI, Kd. 49; TK. 45; IX Db, 31, CP. 66.
30. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, AK. 22.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

Educational institutions in the Hoysala period may be classified under two heads, *viz.*, the Hindu and the Jaina. Though the influence of the Jaina sect waned to some extent after Viṣṇuvardhana had embraced Vaishnavism, yet their centres of learning continued to flourish till the last days of Hoysala rule. The Hoysala kings extended their patronage equally to both.

Among the Hindu centres of learning may be noted the *agrahāras*, the *ghaṭikas*, *Brahmapuris*, *Maṭhs* and temples, which flourished from earlier days.

Sarvajnapur in the Hassan District¹ Nāgarakhaṇḍa² and Kellangre³ (in the Shimoga District) were some of the famous *agrahāras*. An inscription⁴ dated 1234, A.D., for instance, gives a vivid description of the learning and literary activities of the Brahmins of Sarvajnapura. 'In some streets', the inscription states, 'were those reading the Vedas, stōtras and six systems of Tarka (Logic); in some were maṇṭapas for new shows... (there would be seen always) groups of Brahmins either reading the Vedas to all at once; sometimes listening to expositions of profound knowledge; sometimes carrying on continuous discussion in Logic; or joyously reciting Purāṇas, settling the meaning of passages in Smṛiti, drama, and poetry.' And there were 122 such scholars in that *agrahāra*. In an inscription dated 1204 A.D., at Bandalike (Shimoga District), there is mention

how in Nāgarakhaṇḍa in the 'Seventy Banavāse nāḍu' there were five agraḥāras from which proceeded the voices of all the Brahmins who were reading or teaching the Vedas, Purāṇas, etc. These institutions were being maintained by assigning the village to the teachers and providing them with houses together with such articles of furniture, utensils, etc., as they needed. It was considered a meritorious act to keep alive the tradition of Vedic recital and learning handed down from times immemorial.

Another centre was known as the 'ghaṭika',—an institution where students and teachers strove after knowledge. Inscriptions⁵ speak of the 'ghaṭikās' and 'ghatikāsthānas'. The temples also were used for educational purposes. We learn, for example, that the Noṇambēśvara Temple was called the great ghaṭikāsthāna of Henjāra-Paṭṭaṇa⁶.

Another allied Institution, was the 'Brahmapuri'⁷, a seat of higher learning.

Among the public places which were devoted to the cause of learning and education in those days, temples occupy a pre-eminent place. Like the Buddhist monasteries, the Hindu temples and activities carried on therein reflected the spirit of the age. They were, among other things, centres of educational and cultural activity. We are told that in 1158 A.D., a small Sanskrit College flourished in Tāḷagund (Shikarpur Taluk) in a temple, where freefood and education were given to forty-eight students studying Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sama-Veda, Prabhākara, Mīmāṃsa, Vedānta, Bhāṣhā-Sāstra and Kannada⁸. Both the richer classes in society and the State vied with each other in advancing the cause of education by their benefactions.

The pre-eminence of some individuals in learning and scholarship had much to do with the growth and development of public educational institutions, and with attracting students from far and near to their portals. Balligāme was the capital of Banavāsi 12,000, a large city with three Puras, seven Brahmapuris and five original maṭhs dedicated to Śiva, Vishnu, Brahma, Jina and Buddha, and scores of fine temples, besides several Jain basadis and Buddhist viḥāras. Among the maṭhs founded later was the Kōḍiya Maṭh belonging to the Kāḷāmukhas whose gurus commanded great reverence. Inscriptions describe very eloquently the attainments of one of the gurus called Vāmaśakti⁹.

The great Minister of Veeraballāḷa, Chandramauḷi¹⁰ is described (in 1182) A.D., as 'versed in music, Āgamas, logic, grammar, Upanishads, Purāṇas, drama etc. The great Nayakeerti yatipa 'Siddānta Chakrēśvara', who lived in the times of Narasimha I, 'was skilled in grammar and logic, in poetry, in drama, in composing verse with purpose, in philosophy, in religious lore, in worldly wisdom, in all arts, and in agreeable speech.'¹¹

There was no caste distinction observed in the Jaina and Buddhist maṭhs. Higher learning was available in them for all who sought for it.

Besides the Hoysala rulers and the noblemen and merchant princes of the Hoysala Kingdom, Chālukya and Kalachūrya kings and the noblemen of the neighbouring kingdom made endowments and gave gifts to these maṭhs, temples and Brahmapuris, as evidenced by inscriptions.

The necessity and importance of primary education seems to have been recognized by society. The existence of schools for some kind of primary education in this period almost in every village can be assumed, though specific information regarding their scope, method and organization may be wanting. We learn how in 1174 A.D., the great Minister of Ballāḷadēva, Heggade Ereyanṇa built a house in Narasimhapura, appointed Bōleya-Sōviyaṇṇa of the agrahāra to teach boys 'Karnata', and fixed for his livelihood 12 gadyāṇa for 20 boys, and for a female cook 3 gadyāṇa.¹² Eloquent testimony is available to show that making gifts in the cause of education was looked upon as an act of merit. In an inscription dated 1158 A.D., in the Shikarpur Taluk,¹³ we get the following memorable sentiments. "Whosoever gives a 'vritti' to a teacher and thus provides for instruction to the people, what gift has he not made for procuring Dharma, Artha and Kāma? Whosoever supplies students with food, unguents and clothes and also gives them alms, that man will have all his desires fulfilled; of this there is no doubt. Whatsoever merit arises from pilgrimages to holy bathing places, whatsoever merit for performing sacrifices, a crore-fold greater merit shall the man obtain who makes gifts for learning.'

“Upādhyāyasya yōvrittim dattāt dhyānyatē janān
Kim na dattam bhavēt-tēna Dharma-kāmārtha dārśinām.
Chhātrāṇām bhōjana-abhyanga vastram bhiksham athāviva
Datvā prāpnōti purushah sarvān kāmān na samśayah.
Yat-puṇyam teertha yātrāyām yat-puṇyam yājvanam tathā
Tat puṇyam kōṭiguṇitum vidyādānāt labhatē narah.

Coming to women's education, we find some women who shone in the field of literature and other fine arts. Kanti¹⁴ was a poetess as well as a philosopher of a high order. Akkamahādēvi¹⁵ was another. Sāntalādēvi¹⁶ is well-known. It is, however, doubtful whether education of the same sort was within the reach of an average woman. The education of women-folk as of the masses consisted mostly of what might be called audio-visual instruction provided by public musical recitals of Purāṇic stories, religious discourses, dramatic shows etc., of which the temples were often the venue.

The Hoysala kings were, for the most part, busy with wars. For that purpose they had to maintain a large army. Enormous military equipment, such as bows, arrows, chariots, lances and other armour had to be manufactured and stored. This must certainly have given an impetus to smithy, carpentry, mining and metal industries. These industrial trades had become hereditary and family

professions. And there were trade-guilds like the Veera-pāñchālas which set standards and organized the activities of craftsmen. The home of every good craftsman was a small technical school, and apprentices earned while they learnt, and lived in close touch with their masters. Craftsmanship and skill were thus handed down from person to person, and from generation to generation.

The beautiful and splendid temples and shrines built during the Hoysala period pre-suppose the existence of expert sculptors and architects who had an intensive training in their craft. Their training included grounding in the Purāṇas, mathematics, painting and civil engineering. We learn that the family of one Hoysalāchāri was known for its skill in sculpture, architecture, iconography and painting.¹⁷ Education in music and fine arts was generally confined to royal and noble families, as also to a few hereditary families specialising in them.

Among the several sciences reported to have reached a stage of prominence during the period, Ayurveda, Veterinary Science and Mathematics may be mentioned.

Mangarāja, though technically outside the Hoysala period was supposed to have lived in the Hoysala Kingdom in about 1360 A.D. He was the author of a work known as *Khagēndramaṇidarpaṇa*. The work reveals the extraordinary knowledge of the author about various kinds of human diseases as well as their diagnosis and treatment.

The Hoysala kings themselves evinced keen interest in the development of veterinary science. We are told in an inscription (Tk. 45., dated 1196 A.D.) that King Veeraballāḷa delighted in the study of elephants.

FOOT NOTES

1. *E.C.*, Vol. V, AK. 82.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, SK. 225.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, AK. 110.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, AK. 82.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Si. 23 ; Vol. VII, SK. 197.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, TK. 43, 45.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Si. 23.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, SK. 185.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, SK. 92, 96.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Cp. 150.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Hn. 57.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, AK. 138.
13. *E.C.*, Vol. VII, SR. 178.
14. *Kavi Charite*, Vol. p. 91.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
16. *E.C.*, Vol. V, Bl. 58.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, KP. 68.

KANNADA

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

The rule of the Hoysalas is noted for its religious zeal, heroic struggles, material prosperity and the patronage extended to learning and the arts. Many seats of learning (agrahāras etc.) were founded and the old ones were developed. The spirit of healthy emulation among the scholars of those days yielded a rich literary harvest. Poet-Laureateships were instituted. While men valued valour, women showed proficiency in the fine arts. Devotion towards the country, king, religion and a highly virtuous personal life, self-sacrifice and philanthropy—these characteristics of the age are reflected in the writings, and particularly in the inscriptions, of those days. It would be seen, therefore, that the life as lived in the Hoysala period provided a powerful inspiration for literary production. From the point of view of quality, quantity and variety, Kannada literature of the Hoysala period shows significant achievement.

Nāgachandra was the Poet-Laureate at the court of Ballāḷa I (1100-1110 A.D.). He called himself 'Abhinava Pampa' after the great poet of the 10th century. He was a Jaina and both his works deal with Jaina religion while Pampa wrote one work on religion and the other on a secular theme.

Nāgachandra did not favour the idea of glorifying the kings who had human failings. His conception of a hero worthy of being celebrated in poetry was different from that of Pampa. In his work called *Rāmachandra Charita Purāṇam*, popularly known as *Pampa Ramāyaṇa*, he has pointed out that to praise a human being as a hero would be like dealing with an image of iron, whereas eulogising a godly being like Ramachandra would be like possessing an image of gold. It is for this reason, he goes on to say, that with Ramachandra as the hero,

his poetical work would be noteworthy. Such a change of conception regarding the choice of hero for a poem marks a new tradition in Kannada literature. Nāgachandra's high moral tone, fervour for religious life, fine delineation of character and use of melodious language make him one of our great poets. In emotional effects, he touches great heights. His depiction of Rāvaṇa's character shows a rational approach and is intensely human. Though *Pampa Ramāyaṇa* is based on a Prākṛit work, viz., *Pauma Charita* by Vimalasūri, Nāgachandra has shown originality and skill in handling the theme. His second work deals with the life and teachings of Mallinātha, the 19th Teerthankara. The descriptions of nature in this work are among the best to be met with in Kannada literature.

The first Kannada poetess, Kanti, was a contemporary of Nāgachandra. Her resourcefulness and talents are displayed in *Kanti-Hampara Samasyegaḷu*. In the court of Ballāḷa, Nāgachandra is said to have tested the ability of Kanti in completing the incomplete verses. This is called 'samasyāpūrti'. Kanti came out victorious in the contest. It is believed that it was Nāgachandra's ambition to be praised by Kanti. But he could not get his desire fulfilled until he pretended that he was dead. She is then said to have written a fitting obituary.

The next king, Vishnuvardhana, had also a court poet called Rājāditya. He was a great Jaina scholar. He had mastery over mathematics as well as over poetical composition. He wrote, in verse, works on Mathematics, such as *Kshētra Gaṇita*, *Vyavahāra Gaṇita* and *Leelāvati*. His works contain complimentary references to King Vishnuvardhana.

Sumanōbāṇa was an officer at the court of Narasimha I (1152-1173 A.D.). He was a teacher and a poet. He was the father of another great Kannada poet, Janna. A Jaina Purāṇa is attributed to him, and later poets held him in great reverence. It is said that he helped in correcting a work on medicine, viz., *Karnataka Kalyāṇakāraka* by Jagaddala Somanātha. This is the second work on medicine in Kannada, the first one being *Gō Vaidya* by Keertivarma 1125 A.D. In *Kalyāṇakāraka*, various diseases, their causes and prescriptions for curing them are lucidly explained. During the Hoysala period, along with religious works, treatises on the sciences and books of secular interest also came to be written.

The reign of Narasimha I is justly famous for a new epoch in respect of literary form, content and style. The pioneer in this regard was Hariharadēva who was an accountant at Narasimha's court, and later on gave up this office for the purpose of serving God. He settled at Hampi where he founded an Academy and composed several works which have enriched Kannada literature and have influenced works of later poets to a great extent.

Hariharadēva and his nephew and disciple, Rāghavāṅka are known as epoch-makers in the history of Kannada literature. *Girijā Kalyāṇa* by Hariharadēva is in classical style and deals with the story as narrated in Kālidāsa's *Kumāra Sambhava*. Hariharadēva has adapted the story to suit his philosophical

outlook. In point of imagination, descriptions and diction *Girijā Kalyāṇa* is one of our major Kannada works. It is the triumph of the devotion of Girijā rather than the birth of a divine son that is emphasized in this work. Hariharadēva has a special message to convey in the book.

The composition of more than one hundred works called *Ragaḷe*, a form of blank verse, is a solid and memorable contribution of Hariharadēva to Kannada literature. The lives and achievements of the Saiva saints of South India and the Veeraśaiva saints of Karnataka are narrated by Hariharadēva in a forceful and lively manner. He has depicted these saints as gnostic beings. Their staunch devotion, steadfastness, self-surrender and the divine light by which they led their lives are a source of inspiration. Hariharadēva was himself a staunch devotee and his works, therefore, inspire devotion in the readers. Hariharadēva's method of narration, and his assemblage of characters remind one of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Hariharadēva has portrayed for us a distinctive and a noble vision of life in his works. With Hariharadēva's writings, Kannada language attained a new phase of vigour and beauty.

The vogue to idealise kings started by Pampa was repudiated by Hariharadēva. He took a vow to sing only the praise of God and the saints. Rāghavāṅka and several other poets followed Hariharadēva in this respect.

To Rāghavāṅka goes the credit of establishing the shaṭpadi (six-lined stanza) tradition in Kannada literature. While Hariharadēva composed an entire work in ragaḷe, Rāghavāṅka wrote all his works in shaṭpadi, an indigenous metrical composition which became very popular in later Kannada literature. As a staunch follower of Hariharadēva, Rāghavāṅka is remarkable as the pioneer of a new phase in Kannada literature, language and prosody. He is credited with six works, viz., *Hariśchandra Kāvya*, *Siddharāma Purāṇa*, *Sōmanātha Charite*, *Veerēśa Charite*, *Śarabha Charitra* and *Harihara Mahatva*. His works are well-known for their dramatic element, fine portrayal of sentiments, rich vocabulary, original approach and significant message. His boldness in the use of Kannada expressions paved the way for a new development in the Kannada language.

Associated with Hariharadēva and Rāghavāṅka is another important poet, Kereya Padmarasa (so-called because he constructed the Bēlūr tank) who was a Minister under Narasimha Ballāḷa. He was held in great respect for his learning. Like Hariharadēva and Rāghavāṅka, he was well read in Sanskrit. Like Rāghavāṅka, he had made a name for himself for debates and disputations. He followed Hariharadēva in composing the work, *Deekshā Bōdhe* in ragaḷe. The work deals with certain aspects of Veeraśaiva religion. A number of poets at the court of Narasimha Ballāḷa are said to have composed verses in praise of Kereya Padmarasa. Rāghavāṅka is said to have visited this King's court on account of the influence of Kereya Padmarasa.

Buchirāja, a Minister of Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A. D.), is referred to in an epigraph as well-versed both in Kannada and Sanskrit literatures. A good number

of epigraphs composed by the poets of the period of Narasimha Ballāḷa II are available. We may deal with some of them.

Dēvapriya, Sri, Virūpāksha Paṇḍita, Kallayya, and Maleya are among such poets. The Hoysala period is rich in epigraphs which are marked by high poetic quality. This is particularly true of those of the reign of Narasimha Ballāḷa II. During his reign a great many seats of learning developed and persons skilled in poetical composition flourished.

Rudrabhaṭṭa is the first important poet of the Brahminical faith who wrote in Kannada. His *Jagannātha Vijaya* is written in the classical style. It deals with the life and victories of Lord Krishna. Rudrabhaṭṭa was a learned person with deep devotion to Lord Krishna. *Jagannātha Vijaya* was written, Rudrabhaṭṭa tells us, as a means of realising God. Poetry for him was intense meditation (Kāvya-samādhi) for divine communion. *Jagannātha Vijaya* is based on the story of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

There have come down to us three Jaina Purāṇas written by three poets who were associated with the court of Ballāḷa II. Of these, Nēmichandra and Janna are extolled by Madhura, a poet of a later period, as epoch-makers in Kannada literature.

Nēmichandra is the author of *Nēminātha Purāṇa* dealing with the life and teachings of Nēminātha, the 22nd Teerthankara. That poetry should be spontaneous and not made to order is a statement Nēmichandra has made in a telling manner. As the narration in this work is incomplete it is known as *Ardha* (half) *Nēmi Purāṇa*. The other poetical work of Nēmichandra is a romance called *Leelāvati*, probably based on *Vaśavadatta* of Subandhu. While it was the intention of Nāgachandra to preach religion through his poetry and that of Rudrabhaṭṭa to use poetry as a means for the realisation of God, Nēmichandra claimed to infuse the emotion of love into his work. He compares his work *Leelāvati* to the flow of the Ganga wherein the thirsty for love could find fulfilment. A later Jaina poet has suggested that this work surpassed Bāṇa's *Kādambari*. Nēmichandra is a fascinating poet with his portrayal of love, flights of imagination and mastery of diction. The third Jaina Purāṇa was written by poet Achchaṇṇa, (1195 A. D.). It is the *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* which deals with the life and teachings of the 24th Teerthankara. Rēchana, one of the Ministers, caused this work to be composed, as is mentioned in an Arsikere Inscription. This work brings out the personality and the achievements of the 24th Teerthankara very vividly. It is written in a style which inspires devotion in the readers and displays great rhetorical qualities.

The greatest poet of this period was Janna. The title of 'Poet Emperor' (Kavi Chakravarti) was conferred on him by King Ballāḷa. With justifiable pride, Janna has mentioned that he was honoured by the King as were Ranna and Ponna, the poets of the 10th century. Janna was held in high esteem by later poets and critics. He was himself an officer at the court of Ballāḷa and intensely religious in his outlook. Like the poetry of Nāgachandra, his two works deal with the Jaina

religion. Like him again, Janna caused Jaina shrines to be built. His masterpiece is *Yasōdhara Charite*. It is an effective narration dealing with Jaina ethics. He composed a good number of epigraphs which have a distinct poetic quality. His *Anantanātha Purāṇa* depicts the life and the teaching of the 14th Teerthankara, Anantanātha. Janna has shown great skill in the delineation of character. He is one of the few Kannada poets who has treated the theme of love in all its multifarious aspects. Though they have a religious background, the themes are intensely human. While the perverseness of human nature is depicted as being terrific, the utter helplessness of the persons involved in a tragedy is described as pitiable. The frankness and the subtlety with which Janna has treated the theme of human passions are remarkable. Along with the inevitable play of human passions, Janna has pointed out the eternal values of life.

The reign of Ballāḷa II is glorious in point of literary abundance and excellence. Another significant factor is that the three main religious streams of Kannada literature came to be mingled in this period.

Janna continued to be a Poet-Laureate under the next king, Narasimha II (1220-1238 A. D.). There were several persons who composed epigraphs in this period. Among them were Somanātha Paṇḍita, Chidānanda Kavi, and Daśakeertidēvar. Evidently, they were gifted poets. The first one had the title "Sukavi Kanṭhābharaṇa".

Pōḷālva Daṇḍanātha, one of the ministers of the king, is said to have written *Hara Charitra* in shaṭpadi. The merits of this poet are described in an inscription of the period. He popularised the Harihara cult and he built the Harihara Temple at Harihar.

The religious fervour of writers and the patronage extended to learning and literature continued to be in evidence during the time of the next Hoysala king, Sōmēśvara (1233-1257 A. D.). Many seats of learning were revived. Epigraphs were composed. A galaxy of eminent Jaina poets who were incidentally related to one other is a special feature of the history of Kannada literature of this period. Reference has already been made to the poets, Sumanōbāṇa and his son Janna. Janna's sister was married to Mallikārjuna (1245 A. D.), who compiled an important poetical anthology bearing the name *Sūkti Sudhārṇava*. The founding of the Hoysala dynasty and the genealogy of the rulers are set forth in this work. The valour of King Sōmēśvara is graphically described. This anthology is particularly helpful for a study of ancient Kannada poetry, as it includes good poetical pieces from about twenty important Kannada poets who preceded Mallikārjuna.

Mallikārjuna's son Kēśirāja is the illustrious grammarian of old Kannada. He is the author of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, an exhaustive and authoritative Kannada grammar. The rules of grammar that he has expounded and the illustrations he has culled from the earlier works are evidence of his deep scholarship and vision.

Scholarship in Kannada cannot be said to be complete without a study of *S'abdamaṇidarpaṇa*. Though only a work on grammar it makes interesting reading. This work is also useful in ascertaining the changes that the Kannada language underwent during the preceding two centuries. Kēśiraja is said to have written some other works, which are not, however, available.

Two poets Nayasēna (1112. A. D.) and Āṇḍayya (1235 A. D.) illustrate by their characteristic writings the new trends in the development of Kannada language during this period. Both of them advocated purism, the use of pure Kannada and the avoidance of Sanskrit words in Kannada poetry. The two, however, approached the problem each in his own way. Āṇḍayya went the extreme way and vowed, as it were, not to use a single Sanskrit word in his work. While he had the satisfaction of keeping his vow to the letter, he had to fall back on *tadbhava* (derivative) words. The experiment was not, however, pursued by any of the later poets. Nayasēna did not think of such an extreme step, though he states that an admixture of Kannada and Sanskrit words in Kannada poetry amounted to the mixing of oil with ghee. His advocacy of purism paved the way for simplicity and lucidity of expression in Kannada. Prior to Nayasēna, the Kannada poets were keen on recognition by paṇḍits. But, during the Hoysala period, appeal to the common man became the predominant feature. The works of Hariharadēva and Rāghavāṅka and, particularly, the 'ragale' works of the former provide clear evidence of this new tendency. The vachanas of Basavēśvara and the other Veeraśaiva saints, which were composed in this period, contributed to the richness of the Kannada language. It was, indeed, a unique contribution. The grammarian Kēśiraja made heroic efforts to introduce rigidity and control the onward march of the Kannada language. But any such attempt against the natural growth of a language is bound to be futile. Kēśiraja's efforts proved unavailing. Some of the ancient words were dropped from the Kannada language as it advanced. For instance, words ending in vowels came into use. Several rules as given by Kēśiraja became inoperative. Kannada language towards the close of the Hoysala period passed into a new phase.

A rich heritage of the Hoysala period is the epigraphical literature of the time. The poetic talents of Janna were utilised for the writing of inscriptions also. He is the one eminent poet whose inscriptions have been now collected in a volume. The inscriptions of this period give us fascinating descriptions of several personalities who lived in those days. Their valour, piety and nobility of character are beautifully depicted. Apart from illustrious kings like Vishnuvardhana and queens like Sāntala, there are a good number of persons from different walks of life who are mentioned in these inscriptions. The following are some among them : Chaṭṭa, Gangarāja, Boppa, Biṭṭiyaṇṇa, Muddarasa, Chāvimayya, Taila, Sṛimati, Kanti, Pōchikabbe, Jakkiyabbe, Bāchavve, Maidavve and Suggalā-dēvi.

The ideals of personal, social, religious and national life as lived in those days are reflected in the pen-portraits of these persons.

Kannada language attained higher levels of lucidity, terseness and beauty during this period.

SANSKRIT

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

The Hoysala period witnessed two great land-marks in the history of philosophical literature in Sanskrit, while general Sanskrit literature also received sufficient attention. The two land-marks were made by the two great Āchāryas Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Madhva, the founders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita Schools of Vedānta respectively. Śrī Rāmānuja converted the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana to the Śrī Vaishnava faith. Śrī Madhva was a contemporary of the two famous kings of the Hoysala dynasty, *i.e.*, Narasimha III and Ballāḷa III. The poets of the family of Vidyāchakravartins were Poet-Laureates at the court of the Hoysala kings. The following brief sketch will give an idea of Sanskrit literature during this period.

In the field of Vedic literature, *R̥gbhāshya* of Śrī Madhva and *Rudrapraśna-bhāshya* of Vidyāteertha deserve special mention. Many commentaries and treatises on portions of Samhita, Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, etc., written during this period and earlier were probably absorbed in the great commentary of Sāyana. Sāyana acknowledges a large number of earlier writers whose works are not available now.

In the field of Purāṇas, the *Bhāgavata* is belived to have taken its present shape during this period, probably in the region of the Krishna and the Godavari. Neither Śrī Sankara nor Śrī Rāmānuja has quoted from the *Bhāgavata*. But Śrī Madhva has written an epitome of the *Bhāgavata*, *i.e.*, *Bhāgavata Tātparyanirṇaya*. The *Bhāgavata* is now available in two recensions; one followed by Chitsukha, Puṇyāraṇya and Sridhara in their commentaries and the other followed by Vijayadhvaja, Yādavārya and Satyadharma. The *Mahābhārata Tātparyanirṇaya* is an epitome of the *Mahabharata* by Śrī Madhva particularly bringing out the philosophical import of the *Mahābhārata*. Vishnuchitta has written a commentary on the *Vishnu Purāṇa* following the Viśiṣṭādvaita line of interpretation. *Sangraha Ramāyaṇa* by Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita is an epitome of the *Ramayana* as summarised by Madhva in his *Tātparyanirṇaya*.

On Smṛiti, Nibandha, Worship, Prayer and such other religious practices, not many works, apart from the works of the two founders of the Vedānta Schools,

are available during this period. *Bhagavatārādhana* and *Gadyatraya* of Śrī Rāmānuja, *S'riguṇaratnakōśa* of Parāśarabhaṭṭa, *Sadāchārasmrīti*, *Tantrasāra*, *Dvādaśastōtra*, *Krishnāmritamahārṇava* etc., of Śrī Madhva are the works on these subjects. *Dinatraya Mimāmsa* of Nārāyaṇapandita is another small treatise on religious practices.

On the Darśana side, not many works on Pūrva Mimamsa, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika etc. were written in this region during this period, even though in other parts of the country a good many works, particularly, in Prāchīna Nyāya and the two schools of Mimāmsa were written. However, in Vedānta, epoch-marking contributions were made during this period and the following centuries by the two great Āchāryas and their followers and, consequently, by the followers of Advaita also.

Śrī Rāmānujāchārya, though he was born, had studied, and taken holy orders in the Chōḷa country, came to the Hoysala Kingdom during the reign of Vishnuvardhana. He founded his Viśiṣṭādvaita School of Vedānta and wrote Bhāshyas on the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad Geeta*. He commented on select Upanishadic passages in his *Vedārthasangraha*. He also wrote two more treatises, i.e., *Vedāntasāra* and *Vedāntadeepa*. His interpretations made a great impact on Vedānta philosophy and his School found a firm footing in the Hoysala country and other parts of South India. Rāmamiśra Dēśika wrote his *S'ri Bhāshyavivṛiti* under the instructions of Śrī Rāmānuja. Vatsavarada, a nephew of Śrī Rāmānuja, wrote *Tattvasāra*. Varadavishnu Miśra's *Mānayatātmyanirṇaya* deals with the question of the validity of knowledge in the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. *Prajñāparitrāṇa* by Varadanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka and *Tattvaratnākara* by Parāśara are two more works of this period that are referred to by Vēdānta Dēśika in his *Nyāyaparīśuddhi*. *Divyasūriprabhāvadēepika*, *Sarvadarśanaśirōmaṇi*, *Mōkshasiddi* and *Nyāyakulīśa* are the works of the maternal uncle of Vēdānta Dēśika. Vishnuchitta's *Pramēyasangrahasangalimālā* is another useful work. Sudarśana Sūri, the author of *S'rutaprakāśika* on *S'ri Bhāshya* and *Tātparyadēepika* on *Vedārthasangraha*, was an elder contemporary of Vēdānta Dēśika. Thus a good deal of literary activity in the field of Viśiṣṭādvaita immediately followed Śrī Rāmānuja. This reached its height by the writings of Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika during the Vijayanagar period.

Śrī Madhva was contemporaneous with Narasimha III and Ballāḷa III of the Hoysala dynasty. In his thirty-seven works he has handled the entire sacred literature of the Hindus and maintained his Dvaita doctrine. His commentary on the *Rig-Vēda* has been already referred to. He has written four works on the *Brahma Sūtras*, viz., *Bhāshya*, *Aṇubhāshya*, *Aṇuvyākhyāna* and *Nyāyavivaraṇa*; two works on the *Geeta*, viz., *Bhāshya* and *Tātparya*, and commented upon ten *Upanishads*. In his ten *Prakaraṇas* he discussed the supremacy of Vishnu (*Vishnusrvōttamatva*), the doctrine of Difference (*Bhēda*), how the Vedas are not man-made, (*Vedāpauruṣhēyatya*), etc. He has given a new meaning and significance to the performance of sacrifices and rituals in his *Karmanirṇaya*. He criticises the

Mithyatva (Illusoriness) doctrine of Advaita in *Khaṇḍanātraya*. His epitomes of the *Bhārata* and the *Bhāgavata* and his other minor works have been already referred to. His sister Kalyāṇidēvi has left a small treatise on *Tāratamya*, i.e., hierarchy of souls, and two stōtras. Trivikramapaṇḍita's *Tattvapradeepa* is the earliest commentary on Sri Madhva's *Brahmasūtrabhāshya*. Śankarācharya, the younger brother of Trivikramapaṇḍita, has written *Sambandhadeepika* explaining the ground for the sequence of adhikaraṇas in the *Brahma Sūtras*, *Nayachandrika* of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita, the son of Trivikramapaṇḍita, is a commentary on *Aṇuvyākhyāna*. His *Pramāṇalakṣhaṇa ṭippaṇi* and *Tattvamanjari* are known only by references. Ānandamālā of Trivikramāryadāsa is a commentary on *Aṇubhāshya*. Padmanābhateertha, a resident of Puṇatāmbe on the bank of the Godavari, accepted the faith of Sri Madhva after a great philosophical disputation with him and wrote about fourteen works on the system. His *Sattarka Ratṇavaḷi* and *Sannyāya Ratnāvaḷi* are commentaries on *Sūtrabhāshya* and *Aṇuvyākhyāna* respectively. Among his commentaries on the Daśaprakaraṇa (theten minor works), a few are available in manuscripts and the rest are known by references. He has commented upon *Geetābhāshya* and *Geetātātparya*. Padmanābha's former name was Ānandabhaṭṭāraka. His family continued in Puṇatāmbe for three more centuries up to the time of Ānandabhaṭṭāraka, the author of *Nyāyāmṛita Kanṭakōddhāra* and then migrated to Andhra and Karnataka, via Pandharpur. Baladēva refers to Padmanābhateertha in his commentary on *Tattvasandarbhā* of Jeevagōsvamin. Narahari-teertha was another direct disciple of Sri Madhva. The traditional account of his being a regent in Kalinga is confirmed by the Srikūrma and Simhāchalam Inscriptions. Portions of his commentary on *Geetabhāshya* and on *Yamaka Bhārata* are available. His commentaries on *Vishnutattvanirṇaya* and *Karnirṇaya* are quoted by Jayateertha. His commentaries on other Prakaraṇas are lost to us. The period of Bhashyakāra and these old commentators coincides with the Hoysala period, while the great Teekāchārya belongs to the Vijayanagar period.

Many eminent Advaita writers flourished during this period. *Nyāyamakaranda*, *Nyāyadeepāvaḷi* and *Pramāṇamālā* are three great works of Ānandabōdha Bhaṭṭāchārya. *Brahmaprakāśika* referred to by Chitsukha and Jnanōttama Miśra's commentary on Surēśvara's *Vārtika* are the works even anterior to Ānandabōdha. Gangāpur Bhaṭṭāraka was also an earlier writer. His *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* has a commentary by Ānandajnāna. Anubhūtiśvarūpa, the teacher of Ānandajnāna, has commented on all the three works of Ānandabōdha. Chitsukha and Sukhaprakāśa have also commented upon *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabōdha. *Prakaṣārtha* is a commentary on *Brahmasūtrabhāshya*. A commentary on *Prakaṣārtha*, i.e., *Vivaraṇa* is quoted in *Siddhāntalēśasangraha*. *Tattvalōka* is a work of Ānandajnāna. Probably, he has also written a commentary on *Prakaṣārtha* though in his other works he does not fully endorse the views of *Prakaṣārtha*. *Vedāntakaumudi*, referred to in *Siddhāntalēśa*, also appears to be a work of this period. *Panchapādi-ka vivaraṇa* by Prakāśātman and *Tattvodeepana* by Akhaṇḍānanda are the works in

the line of the Vivaraṇa School of teachers. *Mahāvidyāviḍambana* of Vādeendra evoked much interest in later writers. Vādeendra was a religious counsellor to King Singhaṇa of Dēvagiri. Bhuvanasundara Sūri wrote a commentary, *Vyākhyāna-deepika* on *Mahāvidyāviḍambana*. The great works of Śrī Harsha and Chitsukha made a great impact on these and later writers. Their works also evoked counter-works by Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita writers. Amalānanda or Vyāsāśrama was a pupil of Anubhavānanda and Sukhaprakāśamuni and the latter was a pupil of Chitsukha. *Geetā Tātparyabōdhini* and *Upanishad-ratna* are the works of Sankarānanda. The great Vidyāraṇya was his pupil. Thus, Advaita literature was enriched by many great writers up to the period of Vidyāraṇya with whom the Vijayanagar period commenced.

Among the Jaina scholars, Bālachandra, the author of a commentary on *Sārachatushtaya*, and Ramachandramālādhāri, the author of *Gurupanchasmṛiti*, belong to this period. The names of some Jaina scholars of this period such as Sreyāṇiśa Bhaṭṭanātha, Bāhubali Mālādhāri, Srutamuni, Sēnagaṇa, Subhachandra etc., occur in inscriptions.

Though the scholars of Veeerśaiva and Pāśupata were not directly associated with the court of the Hoysalas, the domain of the Hoysala dynasty extended to the areas where some of the famous centres of learning of these religions flourished. Therefore, some of the prominent scholars of these religions during this period may be mentioned here. Pālkuriki Sūraṇṇa, Gurulingārya, Gobbūru Sangana, Mallinātha, Chennarāma etc., are prominent among Veeerśaiva thinkers. Golakimaṭh and Hulimaṭh were prominent centres of Kālamukha Saivism during the 13th century while Baḷḷigāme was the foremost centre during the 12th century.

In the field of secular literature, in the court of Hoysala kings flourished a line of poets, three of whom bore the title Vidyāchakravartin. The first Vidyāchakravartin was at the court of Veeraballāḷa II. He was the author of many poetic inscriptions engraved on stone. His son Vaidyanātha was in the court of Veeranārāsimha II. Then came Vaidyanātha's son Vidyāchakravartin II who wrote *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*. This prose work describes the war between Narasimha II and the combined army of the Pāṇḍyas, Magadhas and Pallavas. His son Vāsudeva was called Śrī Vallabha and his son was Vidyāchakravartin III. He has written a mahākāvya, *Rukmiṇikalyāṇa*, in 16 cantos. The first canto gives the genealogy of the Hoysala kings and a short account of his own family. He has written commentaries on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* and *Alankārasarvāśva*, with illustrations of his own which are in praise of the Hoysala kings. These works of the family of Vidyāchakravartins reveal their poetic gifts and shed useful light on the history of the Hoysala dynasty.

Ushāharaṇa of Trivikramapaṇḍita is a fine poem in the Pāṇchālī style. The poet reveals his skill in bandhas such as ardhabhramaka, muraja, gomūtrika etc.

Though the theme is the marriage of Aniruddha and Usha, Śrī Krishna is the hero of this poem. Nārāyaṇapandita's *Madhva Vijaya* and *Maṇimanjari* are biographical poems. Besides giving the biography of Śrī Madhva, *Madhva Vijaya* briefly mentions the works and tenets of Śrī Madhva, while *Maṇimanjari* explains the cosmology. *Pārijātaḥaraṇa* is a small poem by the same author. Thus secular literature also made some progress during the Hoysala period.

PRAKRIT

(EARLY PERIOD)

We have considered in earlier chapters the development of Kannada and Sanskrit literatures during the reigns of various Karnataka dynasties.

We shall now try to learn something of the development of literature in Prākṛit, almost wholly by Jaina scholars who had made Karnataka their home. The period covered here is not limited to the time of Hoysala rule: but since the end of the Hoysala period may be said to mark the end of the Early Period of Karnataka history to make way for the Mediaeval Period beginning with the Vijayanagar rulers, and since most of the writing in Prākṛit belongs to the pre-mediaeval days, it would be appropriate to deal with the topic in this section.

Prākṛit languages, as they are available today, are moulded essentially on the pattern of Sanskrit, though in their vocabulary and syntax they contain striking elements which are not necessarily Indo-Aryan. It is difficult to state precisely when the Prākṛit-speaking people came to Karnataka; but it must be an age-old event, as old as the contact of the peoples speaking Dravidian, on the one hand, and Indo-Aryan on the other. There is a persistent tradition that when there was a great famine in Bihar and round about, Bhadrabāhu, accompanied by his Sangha, including the royal disciple Chandragupta Maurya (c. 300 B C.) came to Karnataka and stayed near Śravaṇabelagoḷa for practising penance.¹ Though this is a good land-mark to start with, it cannot be denied that itinerant Jaina and Buddhist monks, who as a rule, preferred Magadhan Prākṛits for their preachings, might have penetrated into the southern peninsula through various routes now and then. The term 'Śramaṇa' or Śravaṇa' for a Jaina (especially a monk) is current both in Tamil and Kannada; and this is a good proof that Jainism came in contact with these parts of India in very early ages.

Then a portion of Karnataka was included in the Mauryan Empire; and this is evident from the fact that Asokan edicts are found in a few places in

the Chitradurga District and also at Koppal and Maski.² These edicts are in the Prākṛit language; and there must have been at least a few people who read and explained these royal documents which were meant for the enlightenment of the people.

Preservation of the basic Sūtras, writing of various Prākṛit and Sanskrit commentaries culminating in *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā* and the location of the only available manuscripts of these commentaries are all associated with the area of Karnataka. The world of scholarship is very much indebted to the custodians of these manuscripts, which contain the elaboration of the Karma doctrine. It is, indeed, a valuable contribution by the Śramaṇa culture to Indian heritage.

The only available manuscripts of *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā* exist in the Siddhānta Basadi at Moodbidri (South Kanara Dt.) They are written in old Kannada characters on palm-leaf with ink, and are as old as the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. The basic Sūtras of the Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama are a relic of the Pūrvas which are no more available; and they contain elaborate details of the Karma doctrine peculiar to Jainism. Dharasēna possessed this knowledge, and he was practising penance at Girinagar, or Girnar, in Kathiawar. When he realised that his end was near, he taught whatever he knew to Pushpa-danta and Bhūtabali; both of them reached Banavāsi (in Karnataka) *via* Ankuleśvara (Broach Dt.) in Gujarat. According to another tradition, Bhūtabali went further down to the Tamil territory. It is in Karnataka and round about it that elaborate commentaries in Prākṛit and Sanskrit were written by outstanding authors like Kundakunda, Śyāmakunda, Tumbūlūra, Samantabhadra and Bappa-dēva. These are not independently available today, but were possibly absorbed in the *Dhavalā* commentary composed by Veerasēna and completed in 816 A. D.³ It is partly in Prākṛit and partly in Sanskrit, and it extends to 72,000 slokas. It covers the five khaṇḍas, and the sixth khaṇḍa is known as *Mahābandha* or *Mahādhavalā*⁴ which has got some 30 to 40 thousand 'granthas'.

Likewise, Guṇādhara also had inherited the Anga—knowledge based on which he composed the Sūtras of the *Kashaya-prābhṛita* in Prākṛit. It was subjected to glosses in Prākṛit by Āryamumukshu, Nāgahasti and Yativriṣhabha; and possibly incorporating all this material, Veerasēna started writing the *Jayadhavalā* commentary⁵ (in Prākṛit and Sanskrit), but he died after writing 20,000 granthāgras. It was completed with 40,000 'granthāgras' more by his distinguished pupil Jinasēna, the preceptor of Rāshtrakūta Amoghavarsha, in Śaka 759, i.e., 837 A.D. The monks of the Panchastūpānvaya were the great custodians of the ancient Karma lore; it is through them that the remnants of this lore were conveyed from eastern to southern India *via* Saurāshtra and Gujarat; and Veerasēna and Jinasēna proved to be so eminent that their Sēna 'gaṇa' replaced for ever the Panchastūpānvaya.⁶

Among the Jaina authors of the south, Kundakunda is a great figure and an undisputed authority, next only to Mahāveera and Gautama. There is the Kundakundānvaya, which indicates that a spiritual line of teachers started from him. Traditional tales, however, have shrouded his personality; and all that he himself tells us is that he was a pupil of Bhadrabāhu. Both the Tamil and Kannada areas have a claim on him; but his works are more popular and more often studied in Karnataka. He flourished some time at the beginning of the Christian era, later than Dharasēna referred to above. All the works of Kundakunda available today are in Prākṛit or, in what is called lately, Jaina Saurasēni. His three major works are: i) *Panchāstikāya*, which is an exposition of five Astikāyas and of the path leading to mōksha; ii) *Pravachanasāra*, which is a systematic discourse on *jnāna*, *jnēya* and *chāritra* (especially of a śramaṇa); and iii) *Samayasāra*, which presents a high-flown disquisition on the ātman from the realistic point of view. The *Samayasāra* is looked upon by all the sections of the Jains as one of the important texts to be studied for self-realization. His other works are the *Niyamasāra*, *Prākṛit Bhaktis*, eight *Pāhuḍas*, *Bārasa Aṇuvekkha* etc., some of which, though short, are systematic manuals on different aspects of Jainism. Balachandra has written a Kannada commentary on the three major works of Kundakunda. Padmaprabha (died in 1185 A.D.) who has written a Sanskrit commentary on the *Niyamasāra*, and possibly Jayasēna as well, whose Sanskrit commentaries are available on the three major works of Kundakunda were residents of Karnataka.⁷

It is quite likely that the *Mūlāchāra*⁸ of Vaṭṭakera (often identified with Kundakunda) and the *Bhagavati Ārādhana*⁹ of Śivārya were compiled in the South, if not specifically in Karnataka. The two early Prākṛit works on Jaina cosmography, the *Lōkavibhāga*¹⁰ of Sarvanandi and the *Tiloyapannatti*¹¹ of Yativri-shabha were in all likelihood composed in Karnataka.

Eminent Jaina monks in the South were occupied with the study of *Dhavalā* etc., and that is how the study of Prākṛits was kept alive among the Jaina monks of Karnataka. These texts were not only highly abstract and difficult, but also looked upon as too sacred to be read by householders. As tradition tells us, Nēmichandra (who is called Siddhānta Chakravartin, Siddhānta being the name given to *Dhavalā*, etc.) prepared their digests in Prākṛit verses for the benefit of that great śrāvaka or householder, Chāmunḍarāya, the Minister and General of the Ganga King Rājamalla or Rāchamalla (974-84 A. D.), who got erected the monolithic statue of Bāhubali at Sravaṇabelagoḷa. Chāmunḍarāya had a name Gommaṭa; and because this digest was prepared for him, it came to be called the *Gommaṭasāra*¹². It has two parts: *Jeevakāṇḍa* and *Karmakāṇḍa*; *Labdhisāra* and *Kshapaṇasāra* are its accessory texts. The *Dravyasamgraha* of Nēmichandra in 58 gāthās in Prākṛit is a succinct manual of Jaina dogmatics. The traditional statement that Chāmunḍarāya wrote a commentary on the *Gommaṭasāra* (in Kannada?) is based on slender, if not doubtful, evidence. Kēśavavarṇi wrote a Kannada

commentary on it (1359 A. D.); this was later rendered into Sanskrit by Nēmi-chandra who was a contemporary of Sāluva Mallirāya (beginning of the 16th century A. D.). It is through the *Gommaṭasāra* that the study of the contents of *Dhavalā* etc., was kept alive in Karnataka wherein Jaina monks from the North flocked for inspiration and instruction.

The great poet Pushpadanta was not a native of Karnataka, but it was under the benevolent patronage of Bharata and Nanna, the dignitaries under the Rāshtrakūṭa King Krishna III, that he stayed at Mānyakhēṭa (Mālkhēḍ) and composed three Prākṛit-Apabhramśa works: i) *Mahāpurāṇa* (965 A.D.),¹³ ii) *Nayakumārachariu*¹⁴ and iii) *Jasaharachariu*.¹⁵ As already mentioned in the Introductions to these editions, Pushpadanta gives very interesting details about himself, his patrons, how he came to Mānyakhēṭa and how he wrote his works. The first work deals with the traditional account of sixty-three Salākā-Purushas, as in the *Mahāpurāṇa* in Sanskrit by Jinasēna Guṇabhadra; while the second and third deal with the didactic and religious biographies of Nāgakumāra and Yaśōdhara who have later figured in Kannada works as well. It is not unlikely that even Svayambhu, the Apabhramśa poet,¹⁶ had close ties with Karnataka, as the names of some of his kinsmen indicate and as he is said to have belonged to the Yāpanīya Sangha which had its home mainly in Karnataka.¹⁷ Later, the poet Kanakāmara, the author of the *Karakandachariu* in Apabhramśa,¹⁸ shows close acquaintance with Karnataka, because he describes in detail the Jaina caves at Tera, the ancient Tagara of the Śilāhāras. It is not unlikely that the catching Apabhramśa metres had their influence on Sanskrit and Kannada poets in Karnataka. The *Vaḍḍārādhane*, the earliest Kannada work in prose, betrays many elements which seem to indicate that portions of it are based on Prākṛit originals.¹⁹

Possibly, it is the study of the *Dhavalā*²⁰ etc., in Karnataka that urged Trivikrama to compose his Prākṛit Grammar;²¹ he did it so creditably, drawing most of his material from the Prākṛit Grammar of Hēmachandra (died in 1172 A. D.). It proved to be the Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa for the entire South, with the result that even many non-Jaina authors wrote Sanskrit commentaries on it. Trivikrama was a pupil of Arhanandi, and his Prākṛit Grammar, consisting of Sūtras as well as his own vṛitti, was composed soon after 1236 A. D. He can be called the pioneer of the southern school of Prākṛit grammars; his grammar came to be studied even outside the circle of Jaina monks.

The Jaina monks, and even some householders, were well-versed both in Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages and literatures; it is they who enriched the early Kannada literature and gave it a classical status. This is evident from the works of Nripatunga, Pampa and others. In these many-sided literary efforts of these authors, Kannada words gradually got into Prākṛit idiom under the convenient garb of Dēśī.²² Similarly, rules of Prākṛit phonology extensively operated in shaping the so-called 'tadbhava' words,²³ many of which came to be used by

authors like Nayasēna, Āṇḍayya etc., in preference to pure Sanskrit vocables. Thus early Kannada language and literature owe as much to Prākṛit as to Sanskrit.

FOOT NOTES

1. B. A. Saletore : *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 3 f., Bombay 1938 ; R. S. Mugali : *The Heritage of Karnataka*, p. 10, Bangalore, 1946.
2. R. S. Mugali : *The Heritage of Karnataka*, p. 43, Bangalore, 1946.
3. *Shatkhandagama* with *Dhavalā*, edited by H. L. Jain, Vols. I–XVI, Amraoti-Vidisha, 1939–59.
4. *Mahabandha*, Vols. I–VII, published by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Benares, 1947–58.
5. *Kashaya-prabhrita* with *Jayadhavalā*, published so far Vols. I–VIII, by B. D. Jaina Sangha, Māthura 1944, onwards.
6. A. N. Upadhye : *Panchastupapuvaya*, Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara, XVI, 1, Arrah, 1949.
7. A. N. Upadhye : *Pravachanasara*, Bombay, 1935. Its introduction is an exhaustive essay on Kundakunda, his works etc.
8. Ed. with Vasunandi's Sanskrit Commentary, Bombay, 1919 ; also intro. to the *Pravachanasara*, p. 26.
9. N. Premi : *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihasa*, pp. 1 f., 2nd edn., Bombay, 1956.
10. A. N. Upadhye : *Brihat Kathakosa* of Harisena, Bombay, 1943, see pp. 50 f.
11. Its edition has appeared from Sholapur (1943 and 1951) in two parts.
12. S. C. Ghoshal : *Dravyasamgraha*, Intro., Arrah, 1917 ; A. N. Upadhye : *Jivatattvapradipika on Gommatasara* : its Author and Date, *Indian Culture*, VII, 1, pp. 11, 23–33, 1, pp. 48–58, Bombay 1940 ; *Ibid* : Material for the interpretation of the term Gommata, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVI, Pp. 819–26, Calcutta 1940.
13. P. L. Vaidya : *Mahapurana*, Vols. I–III, Bombay, 1937–41.
14. Ed. by H. L. Jain, *Karanja*, 1933.
15. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya, *Karanja*, 1931.
16. N. Premi : *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihasa*.
17. Yapaniya Samgha, A Jaina Sect : *Journal of the University of Bombay*, I, 4 pp. 224–31, Bombay, 1933.
18. Ed. by H. L. Jain, *Karanja*, 1934. A revised edition of this to be published by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Benares, is in the press.
19. A. N. Upadhye : *Brihat Kathakosa*, Intro. pp. 63 ff., Bombay, 1943.
20. He refers to Veerasēna and Jināsena and to the flood of ocean of their writings.
21. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Sholapur, 1954.
22. A. N. Upadhye : *Kanarese words in Desi Lexicons*, *Annals of the B.O.R.I.*, XII, 3, pp. 274–84, Poona, 1931.
23. See the Apabhramsa prakarana in the Sabdamanidarpana of Kesiraja.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

The Hoysala period (11th to 13th centuries) witnessed a remarkable outburst of architectural and sculptural activity. Since the Hoysalas started as the feudatories of the Chālukyas, it was only natural that they should have closely followed the architectural traditions and standards set by their masters. But very soon they developed their own style. With a view to understand their distinctive architectural peculiarities, the Hoysala temples may be studied under the following heads: (1) the configuration of the building and the shape of the plan, (2) the treatment of the wall surfaces, (3) the formation of the tower, or śikhara, and the design of the pillars.

The structure in its simplest form resolves itself into the customary three compartments, namely, the garbhagriha (cella), attached to a vestibule known as the Sukhanāśi, which is connected with a pillared hall, or navaranga. Sometimes there is an open pillared pavilion in front of the navaranga known as mukhamanṭapa. Occasionally, instead of a single cella, the Hoysala temple might consist of double, triple, quadruple and even quintuple ones. The plinth plan is star-shaped.

A typical Hoysala temple stands on a platform (*jagati*) which is quite in accord with the star-shaped character of the building. It is of great architectural value because it gives some height to the temple, which is generally small. Since the platform is wider and more spacious, and since there is no provision in the interior for circum-ambulation, this space was a good substitute for the same.

The wall surface is greatly indented so as to secure the play of light and shade, as well as provide more room for decorative sculpture.

The basement of the temple on the platform is composed of a number of bands, containing animated sculptured designs and running right round the temple. These carved borders are usually ranked in the same conventional sequence: the lowest consisting of a procession of elephants in a variety of attitudes and poses signifying strength and stability; then a border of horsemen; and further up a floral scroll.

The pierced stone windows were, of course, employed at Paṭṭadakal and Ellōra, but the richly carved and highly ornamented ones belong specially to the Hoysala style.

On the wide wall surface, the sculptor placed within ornate niches and under foliate canopies the images of the gods, elaborately chiselled, and so displayed his skill.

The design and treatment of the tower (*śikhara*) should be regarded as the key-note of the style, according to Percy Brown. The stellate system is continued through the tower to produce a fluted effect on it.

The lathe-turned pillars, in their shape, design and variety, constitute another important characteristic of the style. The stone was first roughly shaped to the required proportions and then mounted in an upright position on a wheel, by means of which the block was rotated as on a vertical lathe against a chisel set as a turning tool. In the preparation of the mouldings and their contours, whether sharp convex rims or deep sunk grooves, the workmen showed considerable ingenuity. As an enrichment to this type of pillar in the Hoysala temple, there was attached a sloping bracket-stone imposed on the turned capital to which it was fixed by sockets.

A cursory exploration has revealed the existence of eighty to ninety monuments in the various districts of the old Mysore area. There are a number of ruined temples and Jaina basadis at Sosevur (*Angaḍi*) where the Hoysalas first rose to power. The figure of *Kēśava*, those of *Saptamātrikas* in the *Vasanthamma Temple* and the image of the *Yakshiṇi* form some of the earliest examples of Hoysala architecture and sculpture. The ruined Jaina temple at *Haḷebelagoḷa* belongs, in all probability, to the time of *Ereyanga*. The *Lakshmidēvi Temple* at *Doddagaddavaḷḷi* which is in the quadruple form, built in 1113 A.D. by a great merchant and his wife, belonging to the reign of *Vishnuvardhana*, is another early specimen. The *Kēśava Temple* at *Bēlūr*, which is an exquisite specimen, was built under the orders of *Vishnuvardhana* himself in 1117 A.D., to commemorate his victory over the *Chōḷas* at *Talakāḍ*. There is a spirited sculptural panel depicting *Vishnuvardhana's* *Durbar* in the Temple. The *Keerti-nārāyaṇa Temple* at *Talakāḍ* was also built by *Vishnuvardhana*. The *Kappe Chennigarāya Temple* adjoining the *Kēśava Temple* was erected by *Sāntala*, the Queen of *Vishnuvardhana*. During the reign of *Narasimha I*, building activity continued unabated. Over fifteen temples are known; the most important ones are the *Īśvara Temple* at *Ānekonda*, near *Davanagere* (c. 1160 A.D.), the *Buchēśvara Temple* at *Koramangala* near *Hassan* (1173 A.D.), and the famous *Hoy-salēśvara Temple* at *Halēbiḍ*. During the reign of fortyseven years of *Ballāḷa*, the erection of temples reached its zenith, the most famous ones of this period being the *Amritēśvara Temple* at *Amritapura*, near *Tarikere* (1196 A.D.), the *Kēdārēśvara Temple* at *Halēbiḍ* (1219 A.D.) and the *Īśvara Temple* at *Arsikere* (1200 A.D.). The *Sōmēśvara Temple* at *Hāranahaḷḷi* (1234 A.D.) and that of *Mallikārjuna* at *Basraḷ* belong to the reign of *Narasimha II*. To *Sōmēśvara's* reign belong the *Lakshminarasimha* and *Sadāśiva Temples* at *Nuggihaḷḷi*. The *Panchalinga Temple* at *Gōvindanahaḷḷi* (c. 1250 A.D.), the only quintuple

example so far known, also belongs to the same reign. The reign of Narasimha III witnessed the construction of the Kēśava and Mūleśankarēśvara Temples at Turuvekere, Tumkur District (c. 1260 A. D.), the Yōgamādhava Temple at Seṭṭikere (c 1261 A.D.), and the splendid and superb Kēśava Temple at Sōmanāthpur (1268 A. D.).

The temples at Bēlūr, Halēbīḍ, and Sōmanāthpur may be regarded as masterpieces of this style. Fergusson, an eminent authority on Western and Eastern architecture, considered the Hoysaleśvara Temple at Halēbīḍ as a gem of architecture, and that it far surpassed anything in Gothic art. It was begun by the orders of Kētamalla, an officer of Vishnuvardhana, in 1121 A.D., and completed twenty years later by King Narasimha's celebrated architect Kēdārōja who added the four doorways and perforated screens. Fergusson also institutes a comparison between the Parthenon at Athens and the Hoysalāśvara Temple at Halēbīḍ. It is true that these two buildings are quite unlike each other, being almost like the alpha and omega of architectural design; but they are the best examples of their class, and between them lies the whole range of the art. Fergusson writes: "The Parthenon is the best example of pure, refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every effect is calculated with mathematicial exactness and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. The Halēbīḍ Temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular but with a studied variety of outline in plan and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian Temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mathematical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon.

"The great value of the study of these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely our basis of architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion."

Percy Brown echoes the same feeling when he says that the Temple of Halēbīḍ is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestation.

The Kēśava Temple at Sōmanāthpur, a triple (*trikūṭachala*) occupies the middle of a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by sixty-four cells with pillars in front of each, the whole enclosure measuring 215' x 177'. It is unique for its stellate towers and elegant sculptures. The main image in the central garbhagriha is perhaps gone and its place is taken by a poor substitute. The figure of Vēṇugōpāla in the right and that of Janārdana (Vishnu) in the left cells, respec-

tively, are superb in workmanship. Both the town and temple were founded by Sōma, a general of Narasimha III in 1268 A.D.

It is interesting to note that we can glean some valuable information about the famous sculptors and architects who built some of the great Hoysala temples. The common belief that the temple of Bēlūr came into being as a result of the labours of Jakaṇachāri and his son Dakaṇachāri belongs more to the realm of myth than to history. As a matter of fact, we know the name of Vishnuvardhana's sculptors at Bēlūr by the short inscriptional labels found under the sculptural pieces they carved. Pre-eminent among them was Dāsōja and his son Chavana who came from Baḷḷigrāma (Balligāme). Of the thirty-eight bracket figures on the outside walls, the damsel with the monkey tugging at her dress, the lady squeezing water from the long, plaited hair of her head, Kāḷi with ear drops (*lōlāku*) belong to Dāsōja. There is also the figure of a damsel squeezing water from her long plait of hair on one of the brackets of the four pillars of the navaranga by Dāsōja. On a rubbing of an inscription on the pedestal of a Kēśavaim age, sent by Dr. Aschwin Lippe, the Curator of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, the name of Dāsōja of Baḷḷigāme was found. This beautiful image of Kēśava, 4 feet high, belongs to Kikkēri. The fact, then, emerges that our famous sculptor Dāsōja was also working at Kikkēri, if the provenance, as entered in the Museum register, is correct. A signed image by Dāsōja also comes from the Hoysalēśvara Temple at Halēbid.

Chavana also executed four bracket images at Bēlūr. The supple huntress and the dancing damsel, an exquisite and an elegant piece on one of the brackets in the navaranga go to his credit. Dāsōja and Chavana had a number of titles. The former was a 'Confounder of the crowd of titled sculptors', Birudarūvāri gondala baḍiva), while the latter was a 'Siva to the Cupid of titled sculptors', (Macheharipa birudarūvāri Madana Mahēśa). Another title of his was 'Macheharipa birudarūvāri śarabhabhērunḍa,' i.e., a bherunḍa to the śarabha of rival sculptors. We have the names of other important sculptors who contributed to the glory of the Bēlūr temples: Padari Mallōja, 'A pair of large scissors to the titled sculptors' (Biradarūvāri ganaḍgattari); Malliaṇṇa, 'A Thunder-bolt to the hill of rival sculptors' (Macheharipa rūvāri girivajra danḍa); Nāgōja of Gadag was 'Rūvārijagaddāla', and 'Chikkahampa'.

Halēbid also gives us the names of some celebrated sculptors. Kālidāsi was working for Kēdārōja. Maba was another great sculptor of the Hoysalēśvara Temple. The fine figure of dancing Sarāsvati in the Kēdarēśvara Temple was the work of Haripa.

Another great sculptor of the Hoysala times was Mallitamma whose name first appears in the Amritēśvara Temple at Amritapura, Tarikere Taluk, built by Amritēśvara Dannāyaka in 1196 A. D., during the reign of Ballāḷa II. We find him working next on the Kēśava Temple at Hāranahaḷḷi, a village five miles

south of Arsikere, Hassan District, in 1234 A.D. He carved twenty-five figures there.

The Lakshminarasimha Temple at Nuggihaḷḷi, twelve miles north-east of Channarāyapaṭṇa in the Hassan District, which was constructed in Sōmaṇṇa Dannāyaka in 1249 A. D., during the reign of Sōmēśvara, witnessed the execution of sixteen figures on the north wall by Mallitamma. A colleague of his, Baichōja of Nandi, confined himself to carving images on the southern wall of the same temple. Baichōja's name also occurs on the Kēdārēśvara Temple at Nāgalāpura, Tumkur District.

The TLakshminarasimha emple of Jāvagal, Hassan Dictrict, and the Panchalinga Temple at Gōvindanahaḷḷi, Mandya District, contain many signed images of Mallitamma. He carved seventeen images in the Javāgal Temple and the figure of dancing Lakshmi with drummers on either side is a good one. There are two signed images of Dvārapālas (Door-keepers) by Mallitamma at the Panchalinga Temple, Gōvindanahaḷḷi. But the greatest monument displaying his elegant and consummate workmanship is the famous temple of Kēśava at Sōmanāthpur, built in 1268 A. D. About forty figures bear the name of Mallitamma.

It is interesting to note that Sōma, the patron of Mallitamma, also employed one Jakkaṇṇa to beautify and embellish the Mulēśankarēśvara Temple at Sarvajna Srivijaya Narasimhapura (modern Turuvekere) in the Tumkur District. Though Jakkaṇṇa comes much later than Dāsōja and Kālidāsi, still his name is on the lips of even the unlettered village people of Karnataka and the whole Hoysala school of architecture and sculpture, sometimes, goes after his name.

It was the fashion among these sculptors merely to put their initial or first letter of their name under the sculptures, that they carved. Mabamerely puts 'Mē, Honoja, who worked on the Kēśava temple at Araḷaguppe (13th century), has merely 'Hē' under thirteen images out of twenty-seven.

Besides Mallitamma, Chauḍaiah, Bālaiah, Masaṇitamma were among those who worked at Sōmanāthpur. The standing figure of Sarasvati, playing on the Veeṇa, a beautiful piece, was executed by Yalamasaya.

FINE ARTS

(HOYSALA PERIOD)

Fine arts in India owe their inspiration largely to religious feelings. The aim is the expression of beauty, and the evocation of aesthetic sensibility so as to subserve the highest ends of life, as laid down in religion and philosophy. Fine arts are also influenced by the environment, as conditioned by local circumstances. Karnataka has been in the current of deep religious influences for centuries. Being a province of the most varied and beautiful natural scenery, it has made a rich contribution to the treasures of Indian fine arts, mirroring the exuberance of her vigorous and joyous life. The architecture and sculpture of Karnataka give evidence of great originality in conception and execution, and artistry in plan and detail under the Hoysalas. There is not much direct evidence about the development and progress of the fine arts like painting, music and dancing under the Hoysalas. But a close study of the Hoysala sculptures found in plenty in the temples at Halēbid, Bēlūr, Sōmanāthpur and other places enable us to have some idea of the development of these fine arts during the Hoysala period. The numerous and varied stone figures are instinct with life.

The achievement in terms of naturalism is remarkable. The elegance and grace of the several figures, human and animal, the blending of grace and power seen in many of them are proof that the plastic arts reached a high water-mark during these days.

The region of the famous Ajanta Caves may have been part of the Karnataka kingdom during the days of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. In any case, they were close to the frontiers of Karnataka. One of the frescoes is supposed to represent Pulikēśin II receiving a Persian embassy, though this identification is not beyond controversy. In any case, many of the geometrical designs which are painted on the panels and ceilings of the Ajanta Caves are found sculptured in the panels and ceilings of Karnataka temples in later times, as in the 'makara tōraṇa' or the 'bhuvanēśvari'. The ornament and jewellery with which the figures are represented at Ajanta occur in Hoysala sculptures and seem to be southern in style. It is probable that craftsmen from the South worked at Ajanta. There are very few remains of the paintings of the Hoysala period as such in Karnataka. Kannada poetry, however, teems with references to portraits and pictures, accompanied with competent art criticism and appreciation. The illustrated manuscripts of Kannada works, especially Jaina, in which the artist is seen at work in drawing designs and figures are also worthy of notice. Kannada poets, Ponna and Rudrabhaṭṭa mention a renowned painter, Chiraghaṭṭi by name. The

calligraphy in inscriptions is by itself a work of supreme artistry with its flourishes at the top and the bottom elongated out of letters which are part of the inscription, and the fine frieze of sculptures at the head of the panel. There is mention of a sculptor in 1159 A. D., who within a single page (of an *ōle*, or palmyra leaf) wrote the whole of the *Gōgrahāṇa* (Virāḷa parva portion) in the finest style so as to please every one. (A. K. 141, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 192). The beauty of handwriting or calligraphy approximated to the art of the brush or the chisel. Sanskrit literary works refer to painted halls, travelling exhibitions and execution of portraits.

An intimate knowledge of the art of dancing is considered essential for the painter. "The remarkable rhythmic quality which characterises Indian painting throughout the ages, the poise, the grace of movement and the eloquent gestures of the figures, are undoubtedly the result of the painter's deep insight into the beauty of movement he learnt from a study of dancing. The *Vishnudharmōttaram*, a later work, refers to the classification of paintings as satya (true), nagara (secular), vaiṇika (lyrical) and miśra (mixed) and also recognizes what is appropriate to decorate palaces". (K. Bharatha Iyer: *Indian Art* P. 66, 1958).

Dancing and music express some of the highest spiritual gifts of man. The friezes of the Kēśava Temple at Bēlūr exhibit exquisitely carved tiny figures playing on musical instruments. Commencing from the south of the east door-way of the Bēlūr Temple, No 11 depicts to a boy dancing and playing on a flute. No. 12 represents a lady musician who has just begun her song. Her beautiful lips are just open expressive of dignified and restrained singing. No. 14 shows a lady holding a musical instrument, the Rudraveṇa, in her left hand on which she has just played a mode. The Rudraveṇa was the original veṇa before the heavier Sarasvathi Veeṇa, which is today in use, was invented. It was light, having only two gourds attached to a bamboo stick and could be wielded by the hand of a dancer. The sculpture illustrates the combination of instrumental as well as vocal music in a dance of the Hoysala days. No. 18 shows a man dancing, and drumming on a 'davani' while two men accompany him on the 'mridanga'. No. 20 is that of a lady standing in front with a cymbal in each hand, evidently singing. It is interesting to notice that many of the queens of the Hoysala dynasty were experts in music and dancing.

Along with music, dancing was also highly developed. Dancing is an expression of religious fervour, of joy in victory or of domestic pleasure. The Kannada literature of the period is replete with glowing descriptions of the arts of music, dance and drama. The sculptures of the temples everywhere reveal the variety, grace and abandon of Karnataka dance in poses of rare charm. Dancing was regularly practised as a fine art by ladies of the higher classes in the Hoysala period. The 'madanakai' figures in the Kēśava Temple at Bēlūr are wonderful works of art. Most of the figures are

either dancing or playing on musical instruments or dressing or decorating themselves. They are full of 'rasa' and 'bhāva'. They are finely proportioned and fully ornamented and show the loveliness of a well-developed young woman's body without even a remote touch of sensuality in spite of their partial nakedness. The poses, faces and hands are highly expressive, while the figures are given the most graceful poses while standing or dancing. Most of the figures appear to represent the dances of Mōhini. According to local mythology, Kēśava, who was previously inhabiting a part of the Bābābudan Hills, is stated to have incarnated as Mōhini to slay Bhasmāsura who was staying in the neighbourhood. It is highly probable that many of the dancing female figures are those of the various phases of Mōhini's dance rather than of secular dancers. Commencing from the south of the eastern doorway, of the 'madanakai' images, No. 8 deals with Drum Dance. A lady is in a vigorous dancing pose with her arms lifted high near her head beating time with a curved stick on a 'davane'. The latter is exactly like a 'ḍamaruga' but much larger, and is very popular in temple music. The pose is one that is possible only for a practised athletic dancer and exhibits the strength and suppleness of a woman's delicate-looking waist. No. 10 is of a lady dancing while playing on a 'davane'. Nos. 13, 19 and 25 represent a Mōhini Dance. No. 22 represents Durga dancing. The Goddess who wears a diadem of skulls is dancing with a skull-headed trident in her left hand. No. 29 is that of the Fan Dance. A lady has just started on a dance with a *lāvancha* (lavender) fan in the right hand and betel leaves in the left. No. 30 refers to the Nāgaveeṇa Dance. A lady is dancing while playing on a rod-like musical instrument. She is marking time, as usual, with the left toes, while a man is drumming to her right on the mridanga and another is fanning her and holding, ready for her use, a cup full of drink. No. 32, the Flute Dance, shows a beautiful lady in the favourite pose of Krishna's Flute Dance. She is pretending to play on a flute without having it actually in her hand. Her face and body are three quarters to the front, while her fingers are active as if playing on the flute. A monkey is admiring her from the right, while an attendant on the left is offering her a flute. The ḍamaruga Dance (No. 33) shows a lady dancing with a small 'ḍamaruga' or drum, in her left hand, a 'chitte tāḷa' in her right, two drummers accompanying her on the mridanga. The pose is dynamic and life-like.

The reference to pantomimes and doll shows in works as early as the 12th century proves the existence of a theatre which catered to the masses. There were also 'bayala-āṭas' or open-air shows. Folk-plays, based on epic and historical themes, were a common feature. They combined music, dance and dialogue.

It is evident that the people of the Hoysala period lived a life of aesthetic enjoyment, and were lovers of the beautiful in life, judging from the literature and the monuments of the period.

MUSIC

(EARLY PERIOD)

We have so far dealt with the Architecture and Sculpture and the Fine Arts, in general, as they flourished in the Hoysala period. Incidentally, references have also been made to music and musical instruments when mentioning examples of dancing figures in sculpture, as dance is indeed inseparable from music.

While an attempt has been made to deal with the plastic arts like architecture and sculpture as they flourished under the several dynasties that ruled over the country, such a division is not feasible in respect of the arts of painting and music.

Music and its practice as an expression of human emotion is as old as man himself. Music is at once the most spontaneous and the subtlest of the fine arts. But its characteristic features are different in different regions in the world and its evolution and development from age to age have proceeded along different lines in the various parts of the world.

And even in the same country, when it is a big one, different styles have developed in different regions, as in the case of India. And all South Indian Music has come to bear the name 'Karnataka Music'.

We shall now consider the origin and growth of Music so far as Karnatak is concerned.

Indian Music has a hoary past going back to the chants of the Sama-Veda. Because of its musical rendering of Vedic hymns which is the characteristic of this Veda, it was considered the best of the Vedas, as mentioned in the *Bhagavad Geeta*: "Among the Vedas, I am Sama-Veda," (*Bhagavad Geeta*, X, 22).

The basic philosophy of Karnataka Music (and Indian Music generally) is an extension of the classical grammarian 'theory of the sphota,' according to which, sphota (or *paranāda*) is the ultimate cause of all articulate discursive meaning, and the Universe is the manifestation of *Śabda-brahman*. This theory is extended by analogy to *nāda*, the ultimate cause of all musical meaning. The theory of sound and its subtle effects formed the subject of minute and systematic study by ancient Seers and these were applied to the proper chanting, perfect in word and intonation, of the Vedic hymns,

which were transmitted from teacher to pupil by word of mouth. The practice has survived to the present day.

Apart from this religious discipline, music was cultivated as a fine art for secular purposes. Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, perhaps the oldest treatise on the subject, seems to have been known in Karnataka from early times. Ancient Karnataka (like the rest of the country) had developed three distinct strains of music: religious, secular and folk, born of different fundamental stimuli. There is evidence to assume the existence in ancient India of two complementary but distinct systems of melody: one, with all its tonal movement naturally gravitating towards the lowest (fundamental) note of the scale; another, with all its tonal movement swinging about the middle note of the scale, that is, a melodic movement tending upwards. The musical interval between an arbitrarily chosen fundamental note and its first overtone (that is, a note congruent in quality with, but exactly twice the frequency of the fundamental) was made to cover all known melody in terms of a definite number (seven) of natural steps or groups containing their sharps and flats. These were called the 'svaras'. The 'svaras' were regarded not so much as a definite point in the scale as a region in each of these seven groups. The lowest note was chosen as the standard of reference and designated as the corresponding *śuddha svara*, (pure note); the other notes in the group higher in pitch than these were called 'vikṛtasvaras' ¹ (variant notes). These notes, known and used in practice, were fixed in the scale objectively in terms of more or less unitary intervals, called the 'śruti', by dividing the octave into twenty-two śrutis and assigning a definite fixed number of śrutis for every 'śuddha' and 'vikṛta' svara of the scale.² Thus the basic scale of Indian Music was defined with the following śruti distribution:

Sa (4), Ri (3), Ga (2), Ma (4), Pa (4), Dha (3), and Ni (2).³

The ancient modal material, preserved in its purity by strict observance of rules was termed 'mārga'. Sacramental music, preserved in its pristine purity in the form of Kambalas and Kapālas have been described by Śārṅgadēva.⁴

Some data of musical practice in ancient Karnataka, as gleaned from contemporary literary sources, may be noticed. The names of a few great practical exponents of music flourishing in Karnataka during this period are also known. Akkamahādēvi, Saigotta Śivamāra, Sāntala, Chāndala and Padmala, Rēchabhūpāla and Chandrarāja, Tippanōja and Poḷāḷva Daṇḍanātha.

Votaries of music and dance in ancient Karnataka seem to have drawn inspiration from the dance and musical systems propounded by Bharata.⁵ The terms Bharata and Bharatajña have been generically applied to dancers, while Bharatasāstra and Bharatāgama, synonymously used for the science and art of

dancing, frequently occur in Kannada poetry. Though classical authorities have employed the term 'gāndharva' in the sense of preserved archaic music as sung by the gāndharvas, Kannada poets freely denote current music by this term. A few, authors were so conversant with musical theory that they actually quote verses from theoretical treatises. ⁶

Music was practised by both professionals and amateurs. The former formed a well-defined section of society. Both men and women practised and professed the art, though the latter appear to have outnumbered the men. Musical skill was a part of royal training and practically every prince and princess in Kannada epic poems is described as an adept at music or at least a great connoisseur. Separate extensions of the town housed the musicians. ⁷ The towns contained separate theatres for music and dance. ⁸ Instrumental solo music was performed usually on the veṇṇa or the flute to the accompaniment of the drum, but the percussion instruments were seldom performed solo. Vocal music was rendered, with suitable accompaniments, solo, ⁹ duet, ¹⁰ or choral ¹¹. The chief vocalist, called 'mukhari' ¹² was often assisted by second voices. Chamber vocal music was usually accompanied by the lute or the flute, while on a larger scale it was assisted by percussive, stringed or wind instruments as well. The system of orchestra, called 'vrinda' or 'gōshṭi' and the spatial and temporal arrangement of music in terms of the instruments employed, called the 'Kūṭapa', seems to have been well developed and flourishing. ^{12a} Though a large number of ragas were known and practised in ancient Karnataka a group of thirty-two, called 'battisa raga', appears to have been popularly used and peculiar to Karnataka. ¹³ Music was so integral a part of the social life of ancient Karnataka that the upper classes invariably included lutists, drummers, flutists, singers and dancers as well as the 'kuṭapa' in the dowry to their daughters. ¹⁴

We get references to several percussion instruments such as the many varieties of 'paṭaha', the 'bhēri', etc., as also wind instruments like the conch and the trumpet. These were used on occasions of festive joy, victory, rally-call, hunt, tom-tom, sacrifices, rituals (yāga), auspicious occasions, and to indicate the time of day. The 'Panchamahāśabda', an honorific title consisting of the sound of five instruments, was very much in vogue in Karnataka. ¹⁵ Music was also employed in story-telling, probably to emphasize the affective content, and while reading poetry. ¹⁶ The musical reading of great poems was developed as a fine art. Artistic and appropriate names were assumed by artists or given to musical instruments. This is evident from the danṭe-eacher called Angaja, ¹⁷ a songster called ukakula ¹⁸ a lady Sattendant named Madanaveṇṇa ¹⁹ (Cupid's lute), a danseuse named Rāgamanjari, ²⁰ veṇṇas known as Dharavi and Sareeri, ²¹ and Kalābhāshiṇi, ²² and a trumpet named Abhirāma. ²³

The Kannada poets were well aware of the classical four-fold division of musical instruments into string, wind, percussive and solid. ²⁴ They also reveal familiarity with an astonishing number of these instruments which were in current

vogue and are found described in the musical treatises of the age. Thus among the stringed ones, kinnari, vallaki, vipanchi, rāvaṇahasta, daṇḍika, trisari, jantra, svaramaṇḍala and parivāḍini find mention. Some wind instruments repeatedly named are śankha, śringa, vamaśa, tittiri, bambuli and the kahaḷe. A large number of percussion instruments were known; ottu, karaḍi mṛidanga, ḍhakka, paṭaha, avaja, dundubhi, paṇava, bhēri, ḍiṇḍima, trivali, nissana, ḍamaru, chambaka, daṇḍe, runja and ḍōlu. Some instruments of this class such as mukunda,²⁵ ravali,²⁶ kaṇṭheerava,²⁷ gajaḍhakka,²⁸ simhaghaṇṭa,²⁹ pavala,³⁰ and chinkiru³¹ still await a modern equation. Some solid instruments used were ghaṇṭa, jaya-ghaṇṭa, kinkiṇi, jhallari, tāla and kamsāla. Occasionally, the component parts of a musical instrument like the veeṇa or mridanga are also described. Special mention must be made of Pālukuriki Sōmanātha who mentions by name thirty-two veeṇas, eighteen flutes, etc., and gives a great deal of information on musical instruments.³²

In the matter of musical composition, again, Karnataka has laid the nation under a heavy debt. Matanga has for the first time collected together much valuable information on song patterns. He describes nearly fifty prabandhas of which many originated in Karnataka. Some of the latter are kanda, vṛitta, gātha, dhōtaka, jētaka, varma, dvipadi, śukasārīta, and kaivada. Sōmēśvara III, the Western Chālukyan King, has described a large number of prabandhas with invaluable illustrations.³³ Jagadēkamalla II in his *Sangeeta Chūḍāmaṇi* has described more than a hundred of such compositional modes.³⁴ These great scholars have provided much source material to Sārṅgadēva who has described seventy-six prabandhas in great detail.³⁵

Besides these, other forms of musical composition were also known in Karnataka in the period under consideration. These are bedanḍe, chaṭṭaṇa, melvāḍu, pāḍu, pāḍugabba, bajanegabba, suvvi, chaupadi and aḍḍatana. Some of the song types such as onekevāḍu, ōvi, dhavala, mangalachara and ela are also mentioned in Kannada works.

FOOT NOTES

1. Bharata: *Natya Śāstra*, (Kavyamala edn.), XXXIX, 25-28, pp. 301, 306, 307; Sarṅgadeva: *op. cit.*, I, 314-16; 1, 14, 17.
2. Bharata; *Loc cit*: Matanga; *op. cit.*, p. 10 and *inter alia*; Sarṅgadev; *loc. cit.*
3. e.g. Sudhakalasa, *Sangitasara*, *op. cit.*, *Abhinava Bharatasarasangraha*, II, 53.
4. Sarṅgadeva, I-8.

5. Pampa, *Bharata*, II, 34 ; Ranna, *Ajitatirihankara-puranatilakam*, III, 8, Aggala, *Chandraprabha Purana*, II, 17 ; XII, 179, Janna, *Anantanatha Purana*, II, 11 ; Chaundarasa, *Abinava Dasakumaracharite*, VIII, 164 Prose following the verse indicated.
6. e.g. Ranna, *op. cit.*, IV, 30 pr ; Aggala, *op. cit.*, XV, 12.
7. Ranna, *op. cit.*, X, 1 pr ; Aggala, *op. cit.*, VIII, 48 ; XI, 120 ; Somaraja *Udbhatakavya*, I, 80.
8. Ponna, *op. cit.*, XI, 84, pr ; Nemichandra, *Leelavati*, II, 21 ; Aggala, *op. cit.*, VI, 87.
9. Aggala, *op. cit.*, VII, 96 ; Nagachandra, *Mallinatha Purana*, VI, 98.
10. e.g., Ponna, *op. cit.*, II, 28.
11. Pampa, *op. cit.*, V, 58 ; Nagachandra, *op. cit.*, I, 57 ; Janna, *op. cit.*, VIII, 7 pr.
12. Janna ; V, 2 pr ; Ponna, X, 36.
- 12(a) Aggala, *op. cit.*, VI, 85.
13. Basava, Vachana No. 498 ; Palkuriki Somanatha, *Basava Purana*.
14. Aggala, *op. cit.*, VI, 85.
15. e.g., Aggala, *op. cit.*, XIII, 144 ; Harihara, *Girija Kalyana*, V-1, 9 ; Nayasena, *op. cit.*, V, 51 ; VII, 63 ; Raghavanka, *op. cit.*, III, 57, Rudrabhatta, *Jagannatha Vijaya*, XVII, 31, Janna, *op. cit.*, X, 15 pr ; Pampa, *op. cit.*, X, 36 ; Basava, *op. cit.*, 638 ; Ponna, *op. cit.*, X, 151.
16. Gunavarma II, *op. cit.*, IV, 28 ; IX, 86
17. Pampa, *Adi Purana*, IV, 15.
18. Ponna, *op. cit.*, VII, 129.
19. Aggala, *op. cit.*, VII, 85.
20. Chaundarasa, *op. cit.*, VIII, 164 pr.
21. Nemichandra, *Leelavati*, VI, 36.
22. Gunavarma II, *op. cit.*, VI, 34.
23. *Ibid*, VIII, 30.
24. e.g. Pampa, *Adi Purana*, V, 35 ; Ponna, *op. cit.*, VI, 113.
25. Pampa, *Bharata*, I, 107 ; XIII, 12, XIV, 11.
26. *Ibid*, X, 32, 35 pr.
27. *Ibid*, X, 150.
28. Ponna, *op. cit.*, X, 1 pr.
29. Santinatha ; *Sukumaracharite*, VIII, 63.
30. Nayasena, *op. cit.*, XIII, 19.
31. Nemichandra, *Leelavati*, VIII, 74 pr.
32. Palkuriki Somanatha, *Panditaradhyacharitramu, Parvata Prakarana*.
33. Somesvara III, *Abhilashitartha Chintamani*, Ms. A, 626, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.
34. Jagadekamalla II, *Sangeetachudamani*, Ms. 5081, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.
35. Sarngadeva, *op. cit.*, IV.

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS

(EARLY PERIOD)

UNDER THE MAURYAS :

The edicts of Asoka make mention of Āyaputa, or Prince, in charge of a provincial government assisted by Mahāmātras who were required to deal with the different aspects of administration, while Dharma Mahāmātras among them were required to occupy themselves with all matters of charity and duties associated with creeds, ascetics, and the religious activities of householders. 'The beloved of the gods' commanded the superintendents and subordinate officials to fulfil faithfully the duties assigned to them. Asokan inscriptions are found in Karnataka, and it may be presumed that Mauryan administration, as described above, was introduced in these areas also, Isila near Siddāpur having been an outpost of the Mauryan Empire.

UNDER THE SATAVAHANAS :

During the 1st and 2nd century A.D., when there was the Sātavāhana hegemony of Karnataka, and the Deccan the system of administration by rajjukas, mentioned also as officers in Asokan edicts, was popular, and their proper duties were measurement of lands and revenue assessment. As Rajjuka meant the holder of the rope, and Sheristadar in Persian means also the holder of the rope, it is interesting to note how some ancient executive appointments have come down to modern times. Under the Kadambas and the Gangas the kingdom was divided into nāḍus, each nāḍu containing a number of villages. Gangavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi and other kingdoms were divided into different nāḍus, which, in turn, were sub-divided into groups of villages, perhaps for purposes of revenue settlement and collections. The Mahājanas of the villages enjoyed large powers of local administration without interference from central authority.

UNDER THE GANGAS :

There was an enlightened conception of kingly duties among the Gangas. There seems to have been a further elaboration of this system of administrative

machinery under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Emperor being known as 'Śrī Prithivī Vallaba Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and Rāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, and so on, primarily engaged in extending the kingdom by being incessantly at war with neighbours, by conquests and by consolidations. The primary functions of the king were *dushṭa nigrāha* and *śiṣṭāparipālana*. The Mahāmātyas administered and exercised delegated royal authority in all parts of the Empire under the vigilant supervision of the Emperor, and the secret of successful government lay, according to them, in the perfect confidence which the people had in their kings and ministers, in the identity of government with popular interest and the united effort of the king and the people. The sovereign's duty was to promote the highest well-being of the people and the *raison d'être* of all political institutions was the satisfaction of material wants and the moral elevation of the entire community. An inscription records: 'The practice of the kings was that of Manu; the policy they adopted was the policy of the ancient kings, the good of others was the wealth they accumulated; the satisfaction of their dependents they reckoned as their own satisfaction.' The kings bore responsibility for the maintenance of the social and moral order according to the Varnāśrama Dharma. 'The King shall never allow the people to swerve from the appointed duties (Dharma); for whoever upholds his own duty, adheres to the usages of the Āryas, and follows the duties of the castes and orders (Varnāśrama Dharma) will attain happiness in this world as in the next. These references relating to the maintenance of Dharma as a sacred and inviolable duty of the King, persist with extraordinary frequency in Ganga and Kadamba inscriptions. Mādhava Kongāṇivarma acquired and ruled a country of gentlemanly population (Svabhūja-java-jaya-janita-janapadasya); and he was known as Kongāṇivarma Dharma Mahādhirāja. Viṣṇugōpa was devoted to the worship of gurus, cows and Brahmins. In the Uttanur Plates, Durvineeta is described as resembling Vaivasvata Manu in the protection afforded to the castes and religious orders. Neetimārga is praised as the foremost of the kings ruling according to Neetiśāstra. The duty of protecting the subjects extended not merely to the promulgation and enforcement of ordinary laws, but also to save the State from and to prevent the oppression of the weak by the strong. The King received his share of the revenues of the State, as well as a corresponding portion of the increase in spiritual merit among the people, in return for the protection that he gave to the subjects. Though the idea of protection extended to the private as well as the public life of the subjects, there was no restriction on individual liberty and the State definitely recognised the institution of private property and individual proprietary rights over all forms of wealth, including land.

The Ganga State was not theocratic because the priestly class had no organisation fitting them to act together for common purposes under acknowledged leaders, and also because the kings never allowed themselves to be swayed by any sect or fettered by any priestly organisation. Still the advice of the priesthood was ever deemed important, and the history of the lives of Simhanandi,

who assisted Daḍiga and Mādhava in the foundation of the Ganga Kingdom and rule it according to his instructions, of Vijayakeerti and Pūjyapāda, contemporaries of Avineeta and Durvineeta, of Tōrahāchārya and his disciple Pushpanandi, gurus of Śivamāra, and of Ajitasēna, the royal preceptor of Mārasimha and Chāvunḍarāya, provides eloquent testimony to the influence they brought to bear on the administration of the State. The Āchāryas greatly determined the character and career of their royal disciples.

Inscriptions of the period are rather fulsome in their adulations of their royal donors. Durvineeta is spoken of as an abode of matchless strength, a Yudhishṭhira in virtuous conduct, an expert in the theory and practice of politics. The Kadlur Plates of Mārasimha praise 'his delight in doing good to others, his aversion to woman and wealth and in the matter of giving ear to evil report regarding the good, his diligence in making gifts to Sages and Brahmins and his solicitude for those who sought his protection.' Learning, forbearance, truth, self-restraint, purity, non-injury to life, obedience to spiritual guides, pity for the afflicted, profundity, high-mindedness, spurning the riches of others, reverence towards God and Brahmins, were some of the attributes which the inscriptions mention in praise of Ganga sovereigns.

LIMITATIONS OF POWER:

The royal authority was by no means despotic, for the Constitution itself was designed not in the interest of the King or of one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material advancement as their respective capacities and considerations for the common weal permitted. Kingship was established for the maintenance of the whole system of traditional laws, religious and civil, which governed society. The subjects acquiesced in the divine nature of kingly authority; at the same time they sought to impose a check on the autocracy of kings by holding that laws of Dharma were also divine and immutable. The kings had thus no legislative power. Their main duty was to administer justice and to maintain peace and justice by suppression of evil-doers. Besides, the existence of local Rājas or Sāmantas who were left more or less in the full enjoyment of their authority, greatly limited the sphere of royal power. The opposition of a confederacy of Sāmantas to an oppressive ruler could be formidable.

Though kingship was usually hereditary, the right of succession to the throne was not vested in the family of the reigning monarch absolutely; it was contingent on the approval of the State Council. Its power, no doubt, was nominal, the King having the right to choose and dismiss his own Ministers. Still, at the King's death, the Council exercised their traditional prerogative in the interest of the State to over-rule family rights to the throne, if necessary. Instances of Harsha, Rājarāja and Vikramāditya invited by Ministers to accept the throne

of Nandivarman Pallavamalla elected by both Ministers and leaders of the people, of the supercession of Rāshtrakūṭa Kambha by his younger brother Gōvinda, of Durvineeta's claim to the throne being set aside by his father Avineeta in favour of another son by a different mother, amply exemplify the prevailing practice of the day. There are many instances where the reigning monarch chose the fittest amongst his nearest relatives or sons as heirs to the throne, and the eldest son had no prescriptive right by birth alone. The choice of an heir presumptive to the crown lay among the following: the Kings uncle, if younger than himself, a younger brother or son of his elder brother, his own son or an adopted child. The Yuvarāja, as well as other princes of the family while young, were given a liberal education not only in the sciences of politics, of elephants, archery, medicine, poetry, grammar, drama and Itihāsa, but also in the art of dancing (*Bharata Sāstra*), singing and instrumental music. They were appointed early as Viceroys or Governors of provinces, so that they might gain experience of the duties of administration. Later, they brought rich and valuable administrative experience to bear on the efficient management of the State. Ereyanga governed Torenāḍ, and Kongalnāḍ, during the sovereignty of Sivamāra, while Śrī Puruṣa, himself a Governor of Elenagarnāḍ, Avanyanāḍ, and Ponkunda before he came to the throne, entrusted the work of administration of Kadumbūr, Asandināḍ, and Kovalaṇanāḍ, during his reign to his sons Sivamāra, Vijayāditya and Duggamāra Ereyappa. The Princes were sometimes associated with the sovereign in the task of administration, and the responsibility of Government devolved on their shoulders when the King was engaged in hunting or foreign expeditions. Transfer of Viceroys and Governors seems to have been resorted to frequently with a view to ensure the safety and integrity of royal power. The practice of polygamy, in spite of marked predilection being shown by the King to one or other of his wives, often caused embarrassing situations, and frequently embroiled the children of the King by different wives in civil wars for succession.

THE COURT :

The maintenance of a splendid Court where the King presented himself on public occasions decked in all the magnificent trappings of royalty, was intended to demonstrate the awe and majesty of kingship before the people. The Court consisting of Sāmantas, Court officials, the Queen, the chowrie-bearers, royal gurus, and other dignitaries presented an imposing spectacle. The King often drew around himself, by means of his lavish generosity, a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars. He listened to their works or discussions in the Durbars and sometimes took part in philosophical disputations. These afforded intellectual recreation. Gifts of land to Brahmins and Āchāryas and remission of taxes were made on such august occasions.

THE MINISTERS :

The King was the apex of the whole administrative system, but the complicated duties of the kingly office made him seek the assistance of a Council

composed of Ministers, Military Commanders, men of the priestly class and poets. There was no system of election and all the members of the Council were appointed by the King. The Ministers constituted a powerful body and administered the State during the minority of its sovereign. They sought to reconcile the will of the King to the wishes of the people. Often popular opinion exonerated the King in times of distress and held the Ministers responsible for having misguided him. The Panchapradhāna became more powerful with the establishment of Hoysala power and the extension of dominion.

The number of Ministers depended on the needs of the State, and there was no hard and fast rule about it. The officers of State were differentiated from those of the Palace. Ministers like Daṇḍanāyaka, Commander, Sarvādhikāri (the Prime Minister), the Mannevergade (the Royal Steward), Hiriya Bhaṇḍāri, Yuvarāja and Sandhivigrahi (Minister of Peace and War), spoken of also as 'Mallavijaya Sūtradhāri', Mahā Pradhāna (the Chief Minister and spokesman of the Council) assisted the sovereign not only in the task of government, but also accompanied the King on his tours and expeditions. The Council in the time of the Hoysalas was composed of Śrīkarannādhikāri, the Hiriya Bhaṇḍāri, the Senādhipati, the Mahāpasāyita, and the Sandhivigrahi. In emergencies the offices of Sandhivigrahi and of Sarvādhikāri seem to have been combined in the Hiriya Daṇḍa Nāyaka, who had to advise the sovereign on momentous issues of declaration and suspension of hostilities. The Ministers were recruited entirely by merit. It was sometimes inherited as can be seen from the life of Chāvunḍarāya, who like his father and grand father, Ministers of Būtuga and Mārasimha, entered with his brother Nāgavarma the service of Mārasimha and Rakkasa and served them with signal loyalty and devotion.

PALACE OFFICERS :

The chief officers of the Palace were Mahāpasāyita (Minister of robes), Mahālayaka, probably 'Mahā Āryaka', (the Palace Chamberlain) or Antahpurādhyaksha, Antapasāyita, connected with the Palace (Secretary) and Nidhikāra (Treasurer), Sasanādhikari Kakshapātālika. Rājapālaka, Padiyāra, Hadiyāra or Hadihāra (the Superintendents of the guard at the Palace), Sajjevalla (Durbar Bakshi), Haḍapada (betel carrier) and so on. The officer, Sarvādhikāri is referred to in some inscriptions as Superintendent of Ceremonies and in others as chief of the Karaṇas— 'Śrīkarana Heggade'. Another officer associated with the kings was Dharmmādikaraṇa or Dharmakaraṇika, mentioned as investigating religious as well as local boundary disputes and administering justice. He was known under Hoysala rule as Lōkōpakāraṇa, an officer appointed for confirming public benefactions made by the King. With the growth of Hoysala power, officers like Tantrādhikāri Manevegadde (Royal Steward) and Bahattara Niyōgādhipati, (Superintendent of officers), seem to have been added to the Palace establishment.

For the effective administration of the Kingdom, the King needed reliable Private Secretaries and confidential clerks whose counsel he sought on every question of importance. There are references to Rāya-Sūtrādhāri (Royal Draftsman), to Mahāmātra, not as a moral censor but as a supervisor of Sāsana expressions, to Rajjuka, probably an officer in charge of revenue settlement, and to Rahasyādhika (Private Secretary) and Lēkhaka. The Lēkhaka who made records in 'Kaḍita' was expected to possess ministerial qualifications, to acquaint himself with all kinds of customs and languages, methods of revenue collections and expenditure, to be smart in composition, good in legible writing and sharp in reading. The written orders of the King were to pass through the Royal Secretary to the Chief Secretary who after scrutiny by several heads of departments directed that it should be entered in the revenue register, by the revenue officers and accountants.

The power of the Council and the King's secretaries seems to have considerably weakened in a later period, when the Kings engrossed in military aggrandisement, preferred to come under the sinister influence of military officers rather than under the men learned in the *Dharmaśāstras*.

STATECRAFT :

That great importance was attached to diplomacy and statecraft is inferable from the fact that the study of Neetisāstra was considered obligatory on Princes. Mādhava prided himself on being an expert in the science of polity. The Bedirur Plates of Durvineeta refer to him as endowed with the three constituents of regal power. *Pra bhuśakti* (imperial power), *Mantraśakti* (diplomacy), *Utsāhaśakti* (active and enthusiastic will). To many of the Kings, warfare for the vindication of the right of conquest and military aggrandisement seem to have been a constant occupation. Consequently, alliances with other States were made for defence against the aggression of formidable powers on their territory and, in certain cases, to prevent the dangerous outgrowth of one particular State. Some times alliances were made for the acquisition of territory. It was an accepted political doctrine that no war should be waged without previous declaration of hostilities, that unfair methods of fighting should not be resorted to, that non-combatants should not be molested and that in the pacificatory settlement that followed the war, local rights and usages should be respected, as well as the vanquished local dynasty restored to the people. This was the norm of Dharmayuddha. The Ganga King Avineeta claimed to have maintained the rights of the country which he conquered. Not only was Sivamāra restored to the throne with all his territory by Gōvinda III Rāshtrakūta, but also both Gōvinda and Nandivarman II bound the diadem on Sivamāra's brow with their own hands, as if in recognition of his rights to his ancestral kingdom.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION :

From the glimpses we obtain of the social and political life of Gangavāḍi we see that the State was organised elaborately with a full supply of departments

and elaborately graded officials, with well-defined duties, resembling in details features of the Mauryan and Gupta administrations. The Kingdom was divided for purposes of efficient administration into a number of Provinces which were subdivided into Nāḍus and Vishayas, Ventyas, Kampanas, comprising of groups of villages and towns, the village constituting the last administrative unit. (Rāshṭrapati, Vishayapati, Grāmakūṭa, Kayuktaka Niyuktādhikāra). The territorial divisions were more popularly known as Gangavāḍi 96,000, Banavāsi 12,000, Punnāḍ 10,000, Kerekunḍa 300 the Elenagarnāḍ 70, Āvanyanāḍ 30, and Ponekunḍa 12. Some of the oldest inscriptions bear out that the reckoning, in the opinion of R. Narasimhachar, had a more direct reference to the amount of revenue realised rather than to the extent of cultivation or to the real or exaggerated and traditional number of cities, towns and villages, that constituted the District or the State. There is enough evidence available to substantiate the various interpretations given above.

Each Province was held by a Viceroy who was either a prince of the royal family or a powerful noble of the State, or some representative of the old ruling dynasties. Ministers of the King were often appointed as Governors. The Government of every Province was a replica of the Central Government. The Viceroy kept his own army, held his own court, made charitable grants and behaved like a virtual sovereign within his own jurisdiction. He was generally styled the Danḍanāyaka, or Dannāyaka, who combined both civil and military functions. In newly acquired territories, he acted as a Sēnādhipati, Chamūpati or General. Those who exercised control over Sāmantas or feudatory Chiefs obtained the title of Mahā Sāmantādipati, an office which the Hoysalas continued, and designated as the Superintendent of feudatories (*Manneya Mahā-sāmantara Adhisṭhayahara*), and reinforced it with additional duties, for instance, that of acting as the warden of the marches, particularly in the most strategic and vulnerable northern frontier.

The Governors of Provinces variously known as Sēnādhipati Hiriya Heddavala, Mahā Prachanḍa Danḍanāyaka or Dannāyaka Sarvāhikāri were responsible for the collection of taxes and for the administration of justice. But the Governor could neither make remissions of revenue nor increase the revenue by levying tolls and other imposts without the consent of the King. In relation to the King, the position of Governors was that of a feudal vassal, though they exercised supreme authority in their respective spheres of jurisdiction and even possessed the right of waging war with each other. During the period of Hoysala sovereignty the Governors became primarily military officers enjoined with the duty of preservation of peace and order, and protection of the frontiers and the maintenance of a permanent body of troops under them (*Padaiviḍu*).

The Heggāḍes, variously known as Rājādhyaksha Heggāḍe or Rajadhyakshada Karṇam in charge of Districts, likewise combined civil and military functions, but in financial matters were subject to the control of Śrikaana

Sarvādhikāri, who was one of the chief Ministers of the Council supervising the revenue and financial departments of the Kingdom. Changes in administrative organisation, apportionment of territorial divisions for administrative purposes and clearer definition of the duties of officers, seem to have appeared with the establishment of Rāshtrakūṭa overlordship. Owing to the complication and arduous nature of civil administration, several important towns were made treasury centres and were assigned to the care of Bhandāris, as Śrīkaraṇādhikāri, Māṇikyā Bhandāri and Kōśādhyakshas; and these assisted the Heggādes in the efficient management of revenue work and in the collection of taxes in the tracts that were not given exemption. Of the several other officers who were subordinate in authority to Heggāde were Sunkaveggāde and Śrīkaraṇa Heggāde. This latter was an important officer of the District; being assigned the work of writing down in the 'sevadi' (register) the taxes due from each individual to the Government and such of the remissions as the King had ordered. Similarly, accountants (gaṇakas) were placed under the control of Pattagāras and Nāyakas; officers in charge of military stations; manneya, officer in charge of fortifications; under Nāḍagaunḍas, Naḍa Prabhus in charge of Ventyas and Kampaṇas and, lastly, under Prabhus or gauḍas who were in charge of the village. Often these accountants were promoted, on the strength of honest and efficient service, to the position of a Śrīkaraṇa and sometimes to that of a Bhandāri of the local treasury.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION :

The principal source of government revenue was the land tax, the normal rate according to immemorial tradition, being one-sixth of the gross produce. For the assessment of this tax a very careful survey of cultivable land was made, of which a register was kept, so that every cultivator knew the exact amount which he had to pay. The King, in times of great emergency and with the consent of the popular assemblies, raised the rate to one-fourth of the produce, an enhancement made on very rare occasions. Though all cultivable lands were not measured according to one uniform measurement, the soil was divided into classes according to its fertility. The method of calculation of assessment was not arbitrary, for a moderate assessment was made for the first two years making due allowances for vagaries of the seasons and the nature of the soil, and assessment was definitely fixed in the third year. Remissions, however, were granted when lands were actually uncultivated, or when they had too little water or suffered from inundations.

The instrument used for purposes of measurement was generally a pole, of which different sizes are mentioned in the inscriptions. There were the Bhērunda pole, the Ganga pole, the Mārgundi pole, the Kachchavi pole, Ottola pole, the Daṇḍa or the staff of the royal standard, the Varisai kōl, which was used for the measurement of wet land, particularly 'Etta' land, and the pole of 18 spans each of 12 fingers' breadth called māna 'daṇḍa' as well as poles of thirty-six steps and forty

eight steps. The units of measure for the land generally used were nivartana, mattar and kamma, the last being the smallest unit. Other measures used for nava-dhānya (grains and pulses) were mishka; 10 mishkas formed a phala; 64 phalas a maṇa; 24 maṇas a koḷaga; 29 koḷagas a khaṇḍaga. *Adda* also was used for husked rice, sollage for paddy, and maṇa for oil.

Several inscriptions mention suvarṇa, nishka and gadyāṇa, types of gold coins which were used for gifts and daily transactions, as well as coins of smaller denominations. A half suvarṇa was called pon or hon, doubtless corrupted as paṇa and haṇa. References are made to coins of the type of hāga, koḍevaṇa and kāsū, whose ratio to the gold coins is not clear in the inscriptions. The absence of silver coins in currency organisation is to be accounted for by the inadequate supply of silver to meet the circulation of a vast country. All the gold coins of various denominations were in the form of spherules (guḷige), quite plain and smooth save for a single very minute punch mark. The Ganga gold coins had an elephant on the obverse, and a floral design on the reverse and weighed between 52.3 and 58.5 grains.

Besides the ordinary tax of one-sixth of the produce of communal lands, one-fifth of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry crops were raised, and one-third of the produce of lands cultivated below tanks, and one-third of under-ground treasures (tribhōgābhyantara), which were all the King's due according to the oldest Aryan tradition, there was also the revenue from irrigation assessments, tolls on merchandise and excise and fines imposed for various offences. The recognised principle with regard to the incidence of taxation, according to Sukra's *Neetisāra*, was that the King should levy taxes upon the peasant 'as a garland-maker gathers leaves and flowers from the trees in the forest and not like a charcoal burner.' The excise appears to have been farmed out or managed by an agent appointed by the Government, and it is referred to under the different heads of hejjunka or perjjunka. Customs duties on choice articles of trade, kirrikuḷa, or miscellaneous duties, on articles in which the transactions were small, vaddaravula and panneya, taxes on water supply and on areca and betel leaves, bilkoḍe sunka, tax paid on every load of betel leaves, by the towns' people, lailalike, manneya, āya, dāya and daśabandhas (a ten percent tax) on all miscellaneous articles of daily use, and veeravaṇa and tax on salt were some of the most important dues that were collected. In the levy and collection of customs duties, particularly in regions where the transport of grain and other commodities had to be carried on by means of pack bullocks, exemptions from payment of tolls were allowed to a few articles of necessity, as areca nut, husked rice, tamarind, oil and ghee.

The Village Assembly which was responsible to the Supreme Government for the collection and payment of dues, in addition to the special taxes levied by the Central Government, levied a number of other taxes such as hadike, herape, malabraya, avichhu, taxes on land occupied by houses, on looms, ploughs, on

markets, and on sugar mills, and received miscellaneous forced labour, accountant's fee, tribute, subscription for making boundaries, double-payment to the army or for compensation of loss incurred, and fodder for horses and elephants. These different obligations were not all in the nature of taxes, but more of free will offerings, of first fruits of orchards by gardeners and ryots, and of supplies of food and fodder and means of transport to royal armies or to officers while on tour. Though the rates of levy varied in different regions, several inscriptions mention 10 paṇas for elephants, an *ālāṅku* for every load of pepper, a *kavaḷige* for betel leaves, a *uri* for grain, and *kāsu* for cloth etc., as being levied as excise by the Village Assemblies. Performance of forced labour for the landlord, payment of land-tax, grazing tax, marriage tax, ordinary incidence of feudalism, and a number of indirect taxes in the shape of customs duties on articles of daily consumption, all seem to suggest that usually the interests of the tillers of the soil were not always consulted in such fiscal arrangements.

The system of collection of land and excise revenue was simple. The *gauḍa* and *karaṇa* of the villages were responsible for keeping a register of householders and their lands, which gave their occupations, caste, income, and property in servants and live-stock, and the amount of the tax payable whether in money or in kind if they were not exempt from taxation, or state the service for which they were liable in lieu of taxes. The *nāyaka* and *nāḍagāvunḍa* of the districts had under them a staff of revenue officials who performed similar duties for the larger groups of villages and townships. A collector of customs who probably combined the duties of administrator and judge and of an examiner of State records. A *dharma karaṇika* was posted for every district with an office staff to register merchants and their goods which passed through the district and to examine passports. The official staff of *karaṇikas* were not only writers of legal documents, and superintendents of accounts but were also officers in charge of village lands. We have references in several inscriptions to accountants, also under the control of *heggaḍes*, *pergaḍḍe* or *nāḍa prabhus*, and to *sēnabōvas*, and to collectors and *teridāra*, officers of land tenures (*manne magatin*), overseers, superintendents and keepers of land registers, all of whom were responsible for an accurate entry of excess and deficiency in the revenue register.

THE VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION:

The village, or the *grāma*, formed the backbone of the country and its administration. The villages remained undisturbed during internecine wars and were self-contained in their administration, having their hereditary headmen and accountants. The policy of the Central Government was one of developing local self-governing institutions so efficiently that there should be little need for interference from the central power. The main function of the Central Government consisted in helping local authorities in the just exercise of their rights, against power-

ful miscreants in high places who had defied their control. Each village had an Assembly which usually met in the *maṇḍapams* of the village temple. How the admission to the Assembly was regulated is not known, though in the south, in the ninth and tenth centuries, admission to the 'Mahājana' of the village was usually confined to shareholders in the *agrahāra*, if they know the Vedas, or at least Mantra, Brāhmaṇas and the Dharma Sāstras. But this condition did not preclude men of other castes and royal officers from being present at the deliberations of the meetings.

The Assembly had both deliberative and executive functions. Custodians of all charitable endowments themselves, they often provided endowments for temples and other religious institutions free of all taxes, by selling village lands and after making provision for royal dues. The Assembly not only collected some part of the revenue of the villages, including labour contributed by artisans in lieu of taxes, but also ordered that the temple authorities should take over judicial jurisdiction themselves and punish any offence committed against the land by villagers. If the *grāmaṇi* tried to destroy a charity and if the Assembly knowing this neglected to take steps ('Idanaridu upēkshiśidarāḍaḍe') the Assembly itself was responsible for the destruction of the charity. The Assembly through committees collected taxes such as *bittu vaṭṭa*, *talārike*, *balapaṇa* and granted exemption chiefly to temples. There was confiscation of lands in default of payment of taxes. The committee of the Assembly attended to public wells, reservoirs and irrigation works. They also kept the accounts of transfers of land and revenue receipts. The *mahāsabha* borrowed money and paddy, agreeing to pay a fixed rate of interest at stated times, probably to meet the expenses connected with the repairs of tanks, ponds and channels and gardens. It gave permission to landholders to use the water from the tank of the villages, sometimes free and sometimes on payment of a fixed water-tax. It was also responsible for the division of *agrahāras* into equal parts, the regulation of the amount of taxes payable by each division, as well as the relation between divisions, with regard to the introduction of improvements and use of roads, gardens and water. When the Assembly sold lands, it agreed to settle disputes about the boundaries of such lands and sometimes it set aside the former decisions on land as unequal and got the fields measured by agents before making an equitable distribution which had the force of law, and compelled recognition by the parties concerned. Such 'samāja śāsanās' were also endorsed by the King, and those who violated or transgressed the agreement were excommunicated or otherwise punished. All these accounts were periodically subject to audit by the King's officers and inspectors, who detected misappropriation of charitable endowments. In disputed matters, the King's authority was sometimes invoked. Inscriptions speak of a Dharma Karaṇika holding inquiry on land, or in religious disputes and effecting a settlement amicably to all parties concerned. But, for all practical purposes, the King's officers did not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local affairs, though they occasionally called for accounts and adjudged matters relating to temple endowments, particularly Brahmadēya

and Dēvadāna lands. the temple priests who were enjoined to maintain gifts of land endowed on temples and on their families enjoyed great respect in the village community and were designated as Tammadis or Sthānapatis.

LAND TENURES :

The method of allocation of gifts of land varied in character. Some were known as umbaḷi, a regular rent-free gift followed by the traditional eight-fold rights of possession. The epigraphical records make mention of three kinds of tenures under which the farmers held the land. The sarvamānya, a kind of gift wherein the government relinquished all rights; tribhōga, a joint tenure enjoyed by three distinct parties, *e. g.*, a private person, god of the village, and Brahmins; and talavrittis. The gifts of lands to gods, Brahmins and temples and other charitable institutions were made sometimes for definite periods free of all taxes and sometimes 'to endure as long as the sun and the moon,' immune from all taxes. We hear of land grants to Brahmins made in villages or groups of villages under the designation of 'agrahāra.' The entire landed property was divided into vrittis, which varied in extent according to the extent and area of the villages. Gifts of land were made to individual Brahmins for great scholarship (vidyādāna), for profound knowledge of the Sāstras and distinction in the ritualistic observances. Sometimes gifts were made to temples and temple priests on special ceremonial occasions. Camping places (biḍāra) on ceremonial occasions were constructed for the use of (atithi mahattigaḷ—itinerary priests) who came to receive alms. We have cases of lands acquired by purchase by private persons and transferred to temple authorities to make provision for the rites and festivals of the gods. The mention of grants of (bittu kaṭṭa or bittu kaṭṭu) for certain tanks is made in many inscriptions, and probably this was similar to daśabandha which was land granted at one-tenth of the usual rates, to a person in consideration of his construction or repairing a tank. Probably, it was a reduction on the usual rent for bittu, sowing or cultivation. Kerekodege and kaṭṭukodege were also grants of land made rent-free for the service rendered in the construction or up-keep of a tank. Another type of land mentioned in inscriptions is ētta land, or land irrigated by water levers. References to bittu-kaṭṭu, daśabandha, kerekodege grants bear testimony not only to the solicitude of kings for the promotion of the welfare of their subjects by the erection of dams on rivers from which channels were led off, construction and repairing of tanks, wells and reservoirs, but also to the vital importance that was attached to the provision of a good supply of water for irrigational purposes.

There are interesting references to other types of land gifts made rent-free and bestowed on the soldiery for the meritorious services rendered in expeditions and wars. Grants of land made to the family of the fallen man were sometimes styled as bal-galchchu or kalnād. The grants were made with the washing of the fallen man's sword, probably to purify it from the stain of

slaughter. *Kalnāḍ* means a stony tract, but, from the way it was used, signified a land granted for the support of the family of a man who had fallen in battle or been otherwise killed in public service. Mention is made in several inscriptions of *rakta koḍege* or *nettaru koḍege*, similar to *bal-galchchu* and *kalnāḍ*, signifying grants to the family of the fallen heroes, particularly while defending the village against aggressors or engaged in the recovery of stolen cattle, from robber gangs or enemies of the village. An essential condition, making the grant inviolable, was the immunity afforded to the gift from encroachments by the 'eighteen castes' of the village, composed of the agricultural, artisan and trading classes the *balagai* (right-handed) headed by the *banajigas*, and the *yeḍagai* (left-handed) headed by the *pānchālas* with the *mādigās* at the bottom.

The village authorities were the headman (*gauḍa*), a *senabova*, *madigār* and the *grāmalēkhaka*. It was the duty of the headmen to collect revenue and, with the help of the local men, to secure the village from the inroads of robbers. To the extent he was the chief revenue officer, he exercised judicial authority as well as that of the police magistrate. He was neither elected by his co-villagers nor appointed by the King. He was a hereditary officer with hereditary rights which he could transfer by sale. The office of the *gauḍa* sometimes was continued to the widow on the death of her husband and references to the skill and ability of her management of the village officers are noticed in a few inscriptions. The headman was entitled to all that the King could expect from a village, as fuel, grass, fodder, oil, cloth, vegetables, salt etc. The *gauḍa* probably was a member of the *nāḍu* (assembly) and, as he was also the settlement officer of the *nāḍu*, he participated in the deliberations of the council and assisted the members in arriving at an amicable settlement of disputes pertaining to definition of boundaries.

TOWN ADMINISTRATION :

The site for the construction of the town was always chosen in a place that was well-wooded, fertile with supplies of water and food and not too far from the hills. The towns were well fortified with several lines of forts, intercepted by deep and impassable moats. The town was required to construct good roads, walls and reservoirs, public parks, and orchards, taverns, temples, and 'garden tanks filled with lotus' and groves and *chattrams* (rest-houses) for travellers to rest in.

The town comprised all the eighteen castes. The Assembly was composed of the Mayor, the *Senabova*, *Maṇigara* and representatives of the *Mumuri Daṇḍa*, and of trading guilds. The administration of the towns was usually in the hands of merchant guilds, *Nigama Sabhas*, sometimes expanding themselves into an assembly of the citizens of which the *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* was the head. We learn from epigraphical records that all important towns such as *Talakāḍ*, *Mankunda* and *Mānyapura*, the residential capitals of the *Gangas*, had each a corporation and

a Paṭṭanasvāmi who looked after public health, maintained houses of charity and repaired roads. The town organisation was predominantly mercantile, comprising of guilds (śrēṇis) of oil-mongers, potters, bankers, day-labourers, bamboo workers, and pāṇchālas, or five guilds of artisans. The guilds received deposits and paid interest on them. Though merchants of Brahmin descent importing horses and elephants, and pearls in ships by the sea, and selling them to kings, are spoken of in a few inscriptions, the mercantile and traditional classes were mostly 'Veera Baṇajigas'. The towns were also the meeting places of merchant caravans, for instance, the Kēraḷa and Mālayāḷa merchants are mentioned as wearing vibhūtipaṭṭa, and as making gifts, as experts in testing gems and gaining credit as suppliers of the wants of kings and as truthful negotiators of alliances between hostile kings.

The Assembly of the town imposed taxes on houses, oil mills, potters, washermen, masons, basket makers, shop keepers, and customs on import and exports, giving exemption to Brahmins from payment of the chief taxes, and administered law and order through the Nāgarika or the Tōṭigāra, the magistrate and head of the city police. He had to dispose of all important disputes relating to the roads and houses, regulate prices, take the census and keep a record of all persons coming into and leaving the city, and at the same time send regular accounts to the King. He also enforced regulations regarding houses and streets and sanitation, assisted by Gōpas and Sthānikas. The Brahmins enjoyed exemption from payment of taxes and customs dues of the nāḍ, on condition of carrying out annual repairs or managing public affairs, which they successfully performed by appointing one of their number in rotation once a month. (Māsa veggaḍetana).

The Assembly of the towns enjoyed great autonomy and freedom, and their rights and privileges regarding making grants, licences and general administration of the town were zealously protected and safeguarded by the King who, in one of the inscriptions, is interestingly referred to as having bought the umbaḷi land belonging to a Seṭṭi, the Paṭṭanasvāmi of the town, by washing his feet (kalagarchchu) and with the knowledge of the priests and townsfolk, by making a suitable agreement with him.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION :

The military organisation of the kingdom was feudal. Besides the King's personal troops, the provincial Governors supplied their quota in times of war, and were also required to give all kinds of assistance. The kings could collect as many soldiers as they wanted without difficulty. The permanent standing army was composed of infantry, cavalry, and elephants, all thoroughly well-equipped and drilled to a high state of efficiency. Though references are made to the conventional Chaṭuranga, there is no specific mention of the chariot as an

integral part of military organisation. Chariots might have been used very rarely. A form of open trek cart with disc wheels and axles dove-tailed to the top of the cart with wooden bands and drawn by horses, seems to have been used in the field of battle. Mention is made of the cartmen (*bandīyakāra*) in Hoysala inscriptions and it is possible that he not only made supplies of war-vehicles, but often participated in battles.

The high military officials usually bore the title *Danḍanāyaka* or *Dannāyaka* or *Mahāprachanḍa Dannāyaka*, *Mahā Sāmantādhipati* and *Sēnādhipati Hiriya Heddavala*. Next in order in the military hierarchy, were the *Danḍādhipas*, the Generals, eulogised in several inscriptions for their firmness, goodness, generosity and courage. The masters of the horse were known as *Pallikaras*, *Adalajas* and *Aśvādhyakshas* or *Turaga Sahani*. The other officers were the Superintendents of Mines (*Okara Māṇḍalika*), *Vaidya*, and *Mahā Vaddavyavahāri*, who was probably an army contractor responsible for commissariat supplies. There were the wardens of the marches in all the frontiers of the kingdom and those who were stationed in the eastern frontier were known as '*Mūḍa Dātāra*'.

It may have been a custom among the Ganga rulers, as it was also in the time of the Hoysalas, to enlist in the army local tribes like the *bēḍas* who were expert archers. The army contained men of all castes, including goldsmiths and carpenters. Sometimes there were caste contingents separately organized and placed under *Dannāyakas* who were Brahmins. The infantry, composed of regular and irregular troops, the King's messengers and servants, was counted to be of not much value. The *Sāmantas* often engaged a mercenary army while campaigning in a distant country. The foot-soldiers armed themselves with flat coats of leather and flat helmets and steel armours and shields to protect themselves against javelin thrusts and arrows, while they used bucklers, broad swords, lances and arrows and javelins, for purposes of attack. They carried fire-arms of some sort. They were also initiated into the difficult methods of climbing hill forts. The cavalrymen wore breast-plates and flat helmets and used lances, daggers, swords and bucklers in the battlefield. The horses, which were mostly imported by sea for war operations, were protected by coats of mail.

The elephant formed a very important part of the army and it was given special training in killing warriors (*vadhakrama*) being made to trample under foot stuffed objects of human shape. *Māvanta* (elephant drivers) and *Okkaṭigāra* (soldier employed to guard the elephants during the battle) were given special training in elephant management. The commander of the elephants was known as '*Gaja Sahani*'. As the use of elephants developed the courage, strength and skill of fighters, special training seems to have been given to soldiers and princes in fighting the elephant, and many Ganga princes are mentioned in inscriptions as '*young lions breaking the pride of elephants*'. The art of catching elephants, of rearing and training them to fight had reached perfection under the Gangas, and from *Sivamāra's Gaja Śataka*, it is clear that there were regular treatises

on all these subjects. Probably, as wild elephants were caught and tamed in the country, every Sāmanta was required to maintain a number of them, and sometimes villages were assigned to chieftains in perpetuity for the purpose. Though the elephants constituted the first line of defence in the field of battle, standing like an impregnable wall, still, in the case of a stampede, they often determined the result of the battle, turning a situation in the imminence of a victory to one of defeat and disaster. The most terrible fighting was that with the elephant force, and the fight always tested the valour and physical strength of the fighters. Inscriptions extol the King's valour in attacking black masses of elephants in the words, 'soaked with blood issuing from the elephants falling under the stroke of his sword, like mountains struck by the thunderbolt of Indra and in which demons and paśāchas closely followed dancing headless trunks.'

Warfare was a constant occupation of kings employed for purposes of defence, and battles were always savagely fought out in the pasture region. The Government levied such taxes as 'āneya sese', 'kudureya sese' and 'danḍina bhyagate' to meet the special demands of the army during the period of warfare. Conchs, horns and kettle-drums were sounded while the army was on the march and 'javanikes' (tents) were used for encampment on the field. Bōvas (carriers), bidina bōvas, kiriya kottarada bōvakkaḷ and jagati kottaḷi were camp followers. When the elephants marched to battle, they were bound with chains on the legs and round the stomach so as to get control over their movements. The line of elephants was followed by the infantry with bows and arrows, the cavalry, and waggons carrying food for the army. The banner was attached to the king's chariot or the elephant in front of the army. The deep-voiced drum when sounded could be heard from afar elating the spirit of the soldiers and striking terror into the hearts of the enemy. A priest 'kētaki achārya' accompanied the army to perform daily ceremonies. Biting the straw by the enemy was taken to be a token of surrender. The unity of command was often hampered by tribal or sectarian divisions and personal jealousies. The loss of the leader meant usually the loss of the battle. When once a panic ensued nothing availed to keep together the fleeing troops and a defeat was often turned into a rout.

Border skirmishes usually began with the capture of cattle, taken to be one of the many hostile demonstrations of the enemy. The driving off of cattle from grazing grounds into the intervening woodlands was tantamount to a declaration of war, and was followed by an affray for recovery of the cattle. Whenever victory hung in the balance, it was customary for the commander to entrust the command to some noted champion and confirm it with the presentation of betel leaves. To be chosen for such an enterprise was always deemed a great honour. The courage of the warriors was stimulated by the belief that their deeds of valour were eagerly watched by celestial nymphs who, if they fell, would bear them away from the battlefield in a triumphant procession to enjoy the delights of paradise. A peculiar feature of the old days' military organisation was the dedication of a few to the service of their King swearing to die with

him on the field of battle or accompany him on the funeral pyre. One of Neetimārga's followers evinced his fidelity by being buried alive under his master. When Rājamalla Satyavākya died of hiccough at Kambale, a few of his followers committed themselves to death in the fire through sorrow for his decease. These lifeguards of the King came to be known in the time of the Hoysala kings as 'Garuḍas', and several inscriptions bear testimony to the inviolable vow of Garuḍa forces, varying from one hundred to a thousand, and their committing suicide, when their sovereign died, along with their wives and servants.

JUSTICE :

There is no evidence of a regular judicial procedure in inscriptions. A sort of rough and ready justice was dispensed according to the discretion of the authorities. The King was the Supreme Court of Justice and, in important cases, his intervention was effective. He never showed any partiality even towards his own kith and kin, and whenever any of his relatives committed an act of injustice, he never failed to grant redress to the aggrieved party. The King appointed judicial officers as 'Dharmādhyakshangaḷ' and 'Rajādhyakshangaḷ' who were to adjudge morals as well as judicial and political affairs. Their main duty was to check disloyalty to the throne, and to see to the proper administration of charitable endowments. The Mahā Daṇḍanāyaka and Chief of the Nāḍus also exercised powers of control and punishment and were spoken of as 'Drōha-Gharatta', 'Dharmādi Karaṇa' or 'Dharma Karaṇika' inquired into revenue disputes and administered justice.

One of the striking aspects of judicial administration in Gangavāḍi was that of partition and inheritance of property. Some inscriptions recognise the right of the widow and her daughter to the property on the death of the man without male issue. Some other inscriptions completely ignore the rights of the widow and recognise the claims of the brothers of the deceased. One inscription gives reference to the claim of the son-in law, failing which that of the uncles ('kiriyaṃya' and 'hiriyaṃya') and their sons. The practice of allowing the children of female slaves to inherit the estate, on failure of all other heirs, seems to have prevailed in the country, as can be gleaned from several inscriptions which mention the regulations regarding the claims of women and children of female slaves (tottinamakkaḷige saluvadu). The property was used for charitable purposes in the last resort, by common agreement among the people in the absence of all heirs, inclusive of the slaves, to the property. No great distinction was observed in civil and criminal cases. Civil cases to be settled by the King's court or the chief judicial officers were very few, and in practice the settlement of judicial disputes devolved on the shoulders of the Village assemblies and Corporations of towns. All disputes and questions had to be decided by or on the evidence of the leading men of the locality. When

disputes about boundaries arose, the officers of the *nāḍu*, like the *gauḍas*, merchants and the people of the village assembled at a place to inspect the property and to hear evidence and to give final decisions in the matter. The unanimous decision of a large assembly of persons was usually solicited. The decision was recorded by the *senabōva* of the village and it was incumbent on the parties concerned to accept the award of the arbitrators. Usually, the *kula* (tribe or community) in legal proceedings constituted the first court where attempts were made to bring about an equitable distribution of disputed territory. If its authority was questioned or repudiated, then the 'śrēṇi,' the trade guilds of the locality, the 'puga,' corporations of men of different castes and occupations and all residents of the same place, arbitrated in the matter. Superior to these local courts were the officers of the King, who, in consonance with the wishes of the assembly, enforced unanimous decisions on the contestants; when reliable evidence was not available, they gave decisions either by an examination of boundary marks or on the testimony of the respectable people of the village. The King settled the boundaries on his own authority and divided the disputed territory equally between the two parties. The scope of the disputes over land sales was further limited by the provision that tax-payers should sell their immovable property to tax-payers and the holders of 'Brahmadēya' (tax-free) lands only to those who possessed already such immunities.

Besides, the sale of immovable property had to be made in the presence of witnesses, with the consent of the sons, the *jnāti* (cognates), the neighbours, the relatives and the *Mahājanas* and was always to be accompanied by gifts of gold and water. The sellers agreed to settle the disputes about the boundaries, if any disputes arose after the transactions. The usual practice was giving land only for cultivation (*jalapāshāṇa varjita beḷe bhūmiyagoḷ*), and of forbidding its mortgage to another. Sometimes the sale of the land was restricted only to those who could carry on services, or its being transferred to the creditor himself on settlement of debts. In the administration of justice, strict regard was paid not only to the privileges of castes, corporations and families, but also to local customs, and any infringement of a recognised law or usage was visited with heavy penalties. Most of the disputes were in reference to demarcation of boundaries of land, and, to avoid the danger of injustice to any one of the parties, the King or officers of the *nāḍu* often allowed the parties to call in divine evidence in the form of an ordeal. The ordeals were resorted to only in the last instance when documentary evidence and testimony of neighbours were not available or were inadequate and unsatisfactory, and when the defendant and the plaintiff agreed to abide by the result. In trials concerning heinous offences, as treachery, disloyalty, assault, slander or violence, the ordeals alone were the witnesses. Probably ordeals were performed in the presence of a large body of people and invariably in front of a temple. After the worship of the deities of the village by wise and pious Brahmins, a 'śirapatra', a leaflet containing the subject matter of the accusation, was placed on the head of the man performing the

ordeal, by the chief judge with the mantra saying that the sun, the moon and the fire know the actions of men. After the ordeal the judges examined the result and gave a decision, certificate of victory (jayapatra) was issued to the successful party.

UNDEE THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI :

Most of the features of administration noticed already obtained under the rule of the Chālukyas also. A few special characteristics are, however, set down below.

Industries were kept in the hands of local bodies which were even responsible for the realisation of legitimate dues to the State, and taxes on all articles of production. There was a regular hierarchy of such local organisations administering partly statal, partly autonomous, and at the same time concurrent, functions along with the King. They acted as intermediaries between the State and the people, and, because of their representative character, enjoyed considerable patronage from both of them. Industry and agriculture received equal attention. Agriculture was looked upon as the noblest of all callings. These local bodies also fostered arts and culture. Architecture, sculpture, painting, making of ornaments, metallic wares, weapons, armours, silk, cotton and woollen fabrics and other things attained a very high degree of excellence under their patronage. From the study of inscriptions one learns that the local bodies were entirely free from communal jealousies, or sectional or personal interests, and carried on their functions in a non-religious and secular spirit.

Some inscriptions refer to the moral and educational attainments and qualifications of members, the manner in which the assemblies discharged their duties, their knowledge of the languages through which they transacted business, their proficiency in 'Rājaneeti' (political principles) and their political vision and statecraft.

The Mahājanas formed the entire group of all the families in any village. The Rāshtrakūṭa and Chālukya inscriptions, as of the Gangas and the Hoysalas, speak of the predominance of Brahmin members, designated as Mahājanas, in the dealings and jurisdiction of Brahmadēya lands and other gifts connected with endowments to temples, while in all other forms of gifts, other communities shared this honour. An inscription of 725 A.D. records the gift of a constitution by the crown prince, Vikramāditya, in favour of the Mahājanas and the Nagaras as well as the eighteen prakritis of a certain town. The Mahājanas are referred to in several inscriptions in a eulogistic manner, as men abounding in good conduct, men of incalculable merit, greatly worshipped by the world and skilled in arts. The Mahājanas performed the functions of trustees and bankers, managed schools, tanks and temples, raised subscriptions for renovation of temples and tanks and for the celebration of important festivals, and without default paid the annual dues to the King, 'mēlavaram,' and reserved enough for village

administrative expenses. The Mahājanas had considerable autonomy in the adjudication of civil and criminal cases pertaining to the area of their jurisdiction. Land disputes seem to have been fairly frequent, as the villagers were proprietors of the land, and not the Kings, though the King levied very high taxes on the peasants, sometimes to the extent of seventy per cent of their produce in order to finance renovations and war operations.

The Queens of the Emperors were often associated with the Kings in the administration of the nāḍus and minor divisions of the Empire. They were also associated in the making of gifts and in religious matters. The most notable characteristic of Karnataka Empires and of Kingdoms was the participation of Queens and of princesses in the campaigns.

The King was a constitutional monarch, limited in the exercise of his authority, by the Dharma of the country as interpreted by the priests. The designations of royal officers are the same as those already noticed under the Ganga and the Hoysala rulers.

Among the officers of the Central Government of the Chālukya Empire, particular mention must be made of 'Mahāsandhivigrahi' and 'Vishayapati' dealing with land grants, 'Mahāmattarādhikariṇis' representing the executive body of 'Mahāmattaras' (house-holders of the village), 'Srikaraṇa Sarvādhikari', 'Kari-turugavergaḍe', 'Sāsanādhikarin', 'Daṇādhikarin', 'Dharmādhikārin' and 'Lēkhaka' who was to record the grants in brief with accuracy to avoid in the future possible variety of conflicting interpretations. Kauṭilya, defining the function of a Lēkhaka, says for instance, 'sphuṭasusvara' yathāsthāna vākya pradhāna avīśrama subhaga paṭhana praveṇa'.

The Ministers of the Empire sometimes acquired even feudatory titles and were entitled to 'Panchamahāśabdās', the sounding of five instruments, viz., horn, drum, conch, bhēri (big drum) and jayaghaṇṭe or gong, in honour of dignitaries. They were also supplied with palatial buildings, elephants for festival rides, brilliant jewelled robes, a host of menial servants and other marks of distinction.

Some of them even maintained courts with almost as much magnificence as that of the King. The registers of all original grants and of royal documents, endowments and other forms of grant were kept at important thānas and all royal orders noted down by the lēkhaka and drafted by the secretariat were countersigned by 'Sāsanādhikārika Kshapatanka' before they obtained the imprimatur of royal authority.

UNDER THE RASHTRAKUTAS :

In the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions there were two kinds of administration, some areas directly governed by the ruling monarchs and their subordinate officers,

and others that were ruled by the feudatory families within the orbit of the Empire, the latter enjoying a large measure of independence in respect of their internal affairs.

The Empire was divided into provinces called Rāshṭras, a major political unit, which can be compared to modern divisions made up of districts. The term 'Rāshṭra' is sometimes substituted by Maṇḍala, as in the case of Lāṭamaṇḍala or Andhramaṇḍala. A smaller territory than Rāshṭra was Vishaya, also mentioned as Dēśa in some cases. Next came Bhukti lower than Vishaya, made up of several rural units. These contained a limited number of small villages and hamlets. The Kannada equivalent of Bhukti was Nāḍu, commonly occurring in the Kannada inscriptions. The term Nāḍu, however, gained greater currency in course of time. At the lowest level was the Grāma, or Ūr, forming a primary village unit.

The administrative framework consisted of three tiers, the Central Government, the Provincial Government and local administration. A few special characteristics may now be noticed.

The crowned Queen appears to have enjoyed *de jure* sovereign rights along with the King, though the occasions for actually exercising her authority might have been rare. A noteworthy instance is that of Seelamahādēvi, Queen of Dhruva. A Copper Plate document registering the gift of a village to Brahmins, issued by this lady independently, without reference to or formal approval by her husband has come to light. The charter introduces her with the paramount titles, *viz.*, 'Paramēśvari' and 'Paramabhaṭṭārika' and the order specifying the grant is addressed in the usual fashion to the Governors and subordinate officials of the State.

When the King was a minor, a Regent was appointed to administer the Kingdom. Yuvarāja or Crown Prince was the next important dignitary in the royal circle. Generally, the seniormost among the sons, and, in their absence, even a junior brother of the reigning King was elevated to this post. But seniority, irrespective of ability, was not always the criterion for this selection. A Yuvarāja was not recognised as such, unless he was invested with authority by a formal ceremony. The Yuvarāja had the privilege of officiating for the King. He was a member of the ministry and exercised almost all the prerogatives of the Ruler. Princes other than the crown princes and members of the royal household also participated in the governance, generally by holding the high posts of Provincial Governors.

To meet the requirements of internal peace and security and also for conducting largescale military expeditions in alien territories, the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs maintained a well-organized standing army manned by officers of different ranks. The Karnataka soldiers were renowned for their war-like spirit and military skill. They were held in esteem by the rulers of other

States, who invited them to serve in their armies. Poets like [Rājaśekhara and Arab writers like Al Masudi have paid glowing tributes to the natural strength and surpassing heroism of the Karnataka warriors.

The administrative machinery in the feudatory states and bigger provinces often followed the imperial model. There were different grades of feudatory rulers, those of higher status called 'Mahāsāmanta', and of lower status 'Sāmantas'. The King and the Ministers of the Central Government exercised control over the feudatory rulers without actually interfering in the internal management. The feudatory rulers as well as the Provincial Governors were honoured with the privilege of 'Panchamahāśabda', by virtue of which they could make their public appearance accompanied by the band of five musical instruments.

The Governors of bigger provinces enjoyed almost the same privileges as the feudatory rulers. A Provincial Governor was called Rāshtrapati. The designation, in course of time, gave place to that of 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara,' which became more and more popular.

Lower in rank than Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara was Māṇḍalika. Next below were Vishayapati, the head of a Vishaya, and Bhōgapati who was in charge of a Bhukti. The latter, however, is often mentioned with his Kannada designation, 'Nāḍa-gāmunḍa', i. e., prefect of a Nāḍu. The Headman of a village was called Grāma-kūṭa rendered into Kannada as Gāvunḍa or Gaunḍa. Bigger villages, towns and cities, called Pura and Nagara, constituted separate units having their own administrative set up.

The feudatory rulership was hereditary. The rulers of feudatory States of higher rank were subservient to the suzerain in the following respects. They had to pay the tribute regularly and entertain an envoy of the Emperor. It was obligatory for them to attend the imperial court on special occasions and whenever called for. They had to contribute a fixed quota of soldiers to the imperial army and participate in the wars of their overlords. But they were masters of their revenues, and could levy taxes and alienate villages without the sanction of the central authority. In regard to the smaller chieftains, however, their freedom was largely curtailed.

The Provincial Governors were high officials of the State functioning under the direct control of the Central Government. They attended to the revenue, civil and military administration of the region. Under the direction of the Central Government they levied and collected taxes; provided for the civil needs of the people; recruited and trained soldiers and maintained an efficient army ready for action to meet any emergency. Piety and religious fervour was kept at a high level among the subjects by the erection of temples which received liberal endowments from the State and generous citizens. Works of public utility were promoted. Schools, colleges and institutions of higher education were established through munificent grants.

The administrative machinery of towns and cities functioned on the basis of a municipal constitution or charter sanctioned or approved by royal authority.

The villages were administered by an Assembly of elders, whose strength was fixed with reference to the number of original families settling in the village. The strength and designation of this representative body thus once fixed usually remained constant. It was not changed though new families sprang up and their members also were admitted into it with the growth of the village. The members of the Assembly were generally called the 'Mahājanas.' This term, however, acquired a specific connotation in course of time, being used particularly with reference to the agrahāra villages.

Ūr, Ūravar and Okkal were other terms by which this body was indicated. The Village Assembly was described many a time along with the numerical figure specifying the original strength of its members.

The Village Assembly controlled and guided various activities concerning the welfare of the inhabitants of the village. With the help of a militia it safeguarded the security of life and property of the residents. It collected the land tax and other dues of the Central Government. It managed schools, temples and religious institutions. It attended to the upkeep of tanks, rest-houses and works of public utility. It operated as trustees and bankers of public property and money. It also settled village disputes.

Among the village officials, the Headman called Grāmakūṭa or Gāvunḍa occupied a key position. His post was hereditary. He received for his services rent-free land and a share of miscellaneous collections. Next to the Grāmakūṭa and equally essential was the Sēnabōva or the village accountant. He maintained an elaborate account of all the financial transactions of the village. Another dignitary who played an important role in the life of the village was the Ūroḍeya being the elective head of the Village Assembly. He was responsible for the execution of various matters pertaining to the well-being of the village.

The Mahājana Assembly of the agrahāra village constituting the senior members of the households were in overall charge of its administration. The strength of this Assembly is invariably indicated in numerical figures and it is observed that some big agrahāras had an Assembly comprising as many as one thousand representatives. Ūroḍeya was the chairman and executive head of this Assembly. Besides carrying out the manifold functions of the village, the Mahājana Assembly concentrated its activities on the promotion of education which often attained the high standards of a college or seminar. Though free from taxation, the agrahāra villages had to pay a nominal quit rent to the Central Government. They were, however, exempted from levies, imposts and other obligations to the State officials, to which ordinary villages were subjected.

UNDER THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA :

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa succeeded the Rashtrakūṭas, and their administrative machinery was similar to that of their predecessors. The Chālukyan Empire extended from the Narmada down to the Kāveri.

Inscriptions mention Daṇḍanāyaka, Parabala Mahāprachanḍa Daṇḍanāyaka and others as military Generals. There was a Council of Ministers with clearly defined duties. There were Pradhānas and Mahāpradhānas. The Chief Ministers were sometimes designated as 'Manthrichūḍamani', or 'Amātya Kēsari'. Sandhivigrahika was Minister of Foreign Affairs. There was specialisation of functions and the designation of officers like 'Kannada Sandhivigrahika,' 'Lāṭa Sandhivigrahika' and 'Tadēya Daṇḍanāyaka' indicates the nature of functions the officers were directed to perform.

Provincial administration was a replica of that of the Central Government. The Governors were almost invariably members of the royal household or princes or loyal feudatories. Occasionally, generals of conspicuous merit were elevated to that status. Queens and even princesses were sometimes associated with the administration of provinces. The queens of Vikramāditya acted as provincial Viceroys, like Akkāḍēvi who governed a group of 70 (villages) to which a few more were added later. She governed for some time a province of 12000 along with a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. The high official status of the wives of Governors, acting along with their husbands in the grant or renewal of charters, gifts of land to temples and construction or renovation of tanks, is seen in many of the inscriptions of the period.

Local administration had elaborate ramifications. There were Kampaṇas, or districts, of a smaller denomination. Sometimes towns were grouped together for purposes of administrative convenience. The smaller divisions were governed by Prabhus, Nāḍ-gāvunḍas and Daṇḍanāyakas. Sometimes Daṇḍanātha and Pradhāna exercised functions conjointly. During the closing years of the Chālukyan Empire, the designation of territory with numerical endings seems to have been superseded by the concepts of Nāḍu and Dēśa, perhaps to encompass the vastness of the growing empire, of its population and the complexity of its administration.

The occurrence of Grāma Mahattaras and Rāshṭra Mahattaras in inscriptions denotes the distinction between central and regional officers and the overall control exercised by the centre through their agents over regional officers. The head of the Department of Mahattaras, organized in a regular hierarchy, was Mahattara Sarvādhikari appointed directly by the Emperor. He gave expert advice and guidance to the town guilds and corporations headed by Paṭṭaṇaseṭṭi or Srēṇi. Some town assemblies had one thousand Mahājanas. The head officers were Ūr Oḍeya, Gāvunḍa, Sheriff and Peraggade (Steward)—the number of these officers varying according to the importance of the townships.

Several *śeṭṭis* and *gāuṇḍas* sometimes administered the affairs of a town, and functioned as an autonomous body unimpeded by central interference, on the basis of a statutory constitution guaranteed by royal charter. The local bodies, whenever they felt the need of autonomous administration, obtained from the local council of Minsters and Sheriff and Steward a renewal of corporate regulations which might have become defunct owing to insecurity of conditions and threat of invasions and war. These regulations were primarily concerned with taxes and penalties, the nature of payment and the amount determined on the basis of seasonal fluctuations.

The village elders were known as *Mahājanas*, if they were, Brahmins, and, if Vaishyas, as *Nakharas*. These were groups of families or adult members of the unit highly qualified by character and merit to determine the nature of taxes, conduct the function of banking and trade, organize educational institutions, administer temple charities and endowments and honour distinguished visitors and learned men.

Administration of justice was carried out by the *Mahājanas* and the village headmen in the village and justice was administered in strict conformity with *Dharma Śāstras* and local customs. Unnecessary litigation was avoided by mutual arbitration and, in cases of controversy and doubtful authenticity of evidence, ordeals of various kinds were prescribed to determine the innocence or otherwise of the guilty. Boundary disputes, ownership and titles to property and many other forms of litigation were resolved by the *Mahājanas* and the headman whose decision was final in the matter.

THE KALACHURIS OF KALYANA :

The administrative system and institutions of the Kalachuris were a continuation of the arrangements made by the *Chālukyas* of *Kalyāṇa*. Much information connected with, the administrative life of the Empire is furnished by *Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi* of *Sōmeśvara III* who ruled between 1126 and 1139 A. D. and by *Abhidāna Vastukōśa* written by *Nāgavarma* in Kannada.

Both the texts speak of the regalia and pomp with which the royal court was maintained. There is a vivid description of the royal assembly and its splendour and magnificence. The King supported by the queens and princesses, priests and preceptors and the *Danḍanāyaka* and feudatories on both sides of the throne, gave audience to the people who were regaled by amusements, music, jousts, wrestling and other sports.

The association of ladies in the work of administration, already noticed, is specially noteworthy. Kalachuri records, particularly of *Sōvidēva*, make mention of *Rājādhyakshya Revanṇaya* as the Chief Accountant of the Chief Queen *Sōvaladēvi*. The harem of the King had princesses drawn from Tamil-

nāḍ, latter Mahārāshṭra, Andhra, Gūjara and Kāmbhōja. Echchaladēvi, the Queen of Bijjaḷa, and his daughter Siriyadēvi were learned in arts and letters and occasionally made grants to temples and for the construction of tanks and places of worship. The King and Queen were assisted in the work of ruling the Empire by a band of great Ministers like Mailāra Gāmupa, Dāsimaṃṃa Daṇḍanāyaka, Kāsimaṃṃa, Bijjaḷanāyaka, Sōvidēva, Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍēśa, Daṇḍanātha Chandugidēva.

The Kingdom was divided into Maṇḍalas, Kottams, Nāḍus and Kurrams which were groups of villages. In addition to Governors and Daṇḍanayakas, royal inspectors were appointed by the Emperor to scrutinize and check the procedure and practices of provincial administration. This maintained the vitality of the social, economic, educational and cultural institutions of the country.

UNDER THE HOYSALAS :

The Hoysalas were largely indebted to the Chālukyas and the Gangas for their system of administration. The organization of the Provincial Government by means of Sandhivigrahi and Srikaṇṇādhikāri and other officers, the employment of Princes as Governors, the system of transfers within the kingdom and the system of tours undertaken by them with the object of stabilising their allegiance—these were some of the political practices which the Hoysalas seem to have borrowed from the Chālukyas.

The organisation of the Nāḍus and the details of their administration and the official hierarchy, comprising Nāḍagowḍa, Nāḍaprabhu, Nāḍasēnabōva, appear to have been the legacy of the Gangas. One feature stands out prominently in Hoysala administration, namely, the development of the Council of Ministers as a very powerful institution which acted as an effective check on kingly authority. The development of the Hoysala territorial power was due to the wisdom, sagacity and astuteness of the Panchapradhānas, who assisted the King in administration.

The King was the protector of faiths, and proceeded, in matters of religious disputes and disputations, with the greatest care and circumspection, for he was fully aware that any predilection to any particular faith, and the consequent royal favour would seriously undermine the very basis of society.

This accounts to a large extent for the religious toleration that obtained in the period. But the adoption of priests as spiritual gurus and listening to their advice, both in spiritual and temporal matters, was also a common practice, and every King, as in the time of the Gangas, resorted readily to his spiritual preceptors for consultation and advice. Priestly influence was considerable, as

can be gleaned from the inscriptions which speak eulogistically of Rudraśakti, Rājaguru of Sōmadēva and Narasimha II, and of Vāmaśaktidēva, well-versed in Vedānta, Logic and other sciences, the Rājaguru of Veeraballāḥa II.

The queens of Ballāḥa II were capable administrators and warriors. Umādēvi accompanied her lord on his expeditions to the north and actually took part in the raids organized against Mallidēvarasa of Belagutti who had rebelled after the death of his father Īśvaradēvarasa. She governed Dōrasamudra and carried on the administration while the King was out on an expedition. Abhinavakētaladēvi, Queen of Ballāḥa II, directed the Gowḍas and Seṭṭies of Kunda-vada to establish Wednesday fairs in that village. During the reign of Narasimha II, in the years 1224-27 A.D., when Umādēvi found that two temples could not pay taxes to the Government even from the funds allotted for the Amritapad, and had therefore suspended temple service, she organized the allotment, withdrew all the vrittis associated with the temple and granted it to other Brahmins who could pay Siddhyas (taxes) and two and a half paṇas per vritti to the temple.

The queens had their separate establishments with a Śrikarāṇa to assist them as seen in Padmala Mahaladēvi, Queen of Narasimha II, in 1206 A.D., having Pergaḍe Nayanṇṇa as Śrikarāṇa. The two other important officers associated with the harem were the Pasāyata or Mahāpasāyata, described variously as the 'Receiver', as the "Master of Robes", and Antahpasāyata, connected with the harem of the Palace. Duties governing certain parts of the country were sometimes associated with the office of Mahāpasāyata, revealing partly the great confidence which the King had in that officer and the influence which the queens occasionally brought to bear on their husbands. The disturbed state in a district, which required the strong and compelling hand of a trusted servant of the royal family, often led to Mahapasāyatas being associated with the governments of such districts. The selection to this important post was not confined to any particular caste, or exclusively to members of the noble family, for sometimes the Brahmins held the post as well as others, as seen in one Billa Mādayya, son of a barber Mūkagowda, being a Mahāpasāyata in 1195 A.D.

Among the other important officers of the palace was the Dvārapālaka, variously known as Padiyara, Hadihaya or Hadihara. He was the Superintendent of the guard at the gate of the palace, the selection to that post being again open to all classes. Sejjevalla was the Superintendent of the sleeping apartments. The betel-carrier, hiriyaḥaḍapada, was another important officer of the palace. Maneyamantri and Manetanādhikāri were other officers meant for the palace exclusively.

Śrikarāṇa Sarvādhikari and Bhaṇḍāri were two Ministers whose functions were fairly well defined in the Hoysala period. The Hiriyaḥaḍāri was expected to have a knowledge of the several items of the treasury, the goods

to be taken into the treasury, to be conversant with the accounts of expenditure and administration and to maintain a general superintendence over all the treasuries in the Kingdom. The reputation enjoyed by Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka and Hullayya and others signify the importance of this function. There were numerous treasury centres, Bhaṇḍāra Vada Durgal, besides the capitals like Arsikere, Halakuru and Likki. Each of these treasuries had a Bhaṇḍāri who was the head of the department at that place. There was also Śrīkaraṇādhikāri attached to it; and inspectors of jewels were separately appointed and placed in charge of jewels and precious stones and they were known as Māṇikyā Bhaṇḍāri. There was also a treasury for the army, where robes, sticks, medicines, and other things of practical utility for the army were kept, and the officer in charge of the Army Commissariat was known as Paṭṭīśa Bhaṇḍāri. There were, besides these officers, treasury inspectors or superintendents—Kōśadhyakshas and Māṇikyabhaṇḍārada Adhyakshas. Though a separate treasury was created and officers with an expert knowledge of accountancy and revenue matters were appointed, the general supervision of the treasury and strict invigilation over it were associated with the office of Rājādhyaksha Heggāḍes of the place, and as such they were known also as Bhaṇḍārada Adhipar. If the Hiriya Bhaṇḍāri was in charge of the treasury, the Superintendent of the Accounts Department was Śrīkaraṇa Sarvādhikāri, who had under him Śrīkaraṇa Heggāḍes with jurisdiction over districts and responsible to their immediate superior who was the Governor of the place. There were also accountant clerks called Gaṇakas, who could be promoted to the position of a Śrīkaraṇa, as reward for honesty and devoted service and even to the position of the Bhaṇḍāri of the local treasury.

There was a clear demarcation of the functions of the Hiriya Bhaṇḍāri and Śrīkaraṇa Sarvādhikāri; who were two important members of the Pradhāna Council. The divorce of control over revenue collection and taxes, customs and precious stones, from that of the Accounts Department, which was expected to maintain 'kaḍatas' with meticulous entries of revenue and expenditure, is a remarkable feature of the Hoysala period, for this made corruption and misappropriation of the State revenue for personal aggrandisement impossible. It is perhaps with the object of ensuring the integrity of public service that this policy was gradually developed. So great was the impress that the nobles and loyal subordinates left on the administration of the State that there gradually grew into vogue the custom of hereditary succession.

This was, however, never allowed to interfere with the appointments to the Panchapradhāna Council which was always a symbol of purity, justice, conspicuous service, and devotion. As the work of consolidation had to keep pace with the conquests made by the Hoysalas and as great wisdom and astute policy were required for such work, the offices of Bhaṇḍāri, Sandhivigrahi and Sarvādhikāri come to be invested with great power and importance. During the period of the later Hoysala kings when they ceaselessly launched upon a career of conquests,

military governors, Sēnādhipati and even Mahāpasāyata, superseded in importance the other members of the Council. This led to a certain amount of military aggrandisement.

The Ministers accompanied the King on all his tours and expeditions and even administered the Kingdom. There is reason to believe that in the first two or three generations of Hoysala rule, the Ministers constituted a powerful body and had the difficult task of reconciling the will of the King and the welfare of the people who held the Ministers responsible for any mismanagement in the State. The Panchapradhāna Council is mentioned as all-important in 1120 and 1139 A.D. and again in 1182 A.D., as settling a dispute about the delimitation of boundaries between Gangamaṇḍala and Noḷambavāḍi. But the beginning of the 13th century, which synchronised with the reign of Ballāḷa II and the unprecedented growth of kingly power, witnessed the gradual decline of ministerial authority, with the result that the inscriptions of a later period merely indicate that the Council existed only in name. Probably, in the dark days of the Hoysala period it came to be displaced by powerful Generals who constituted a sort of military dictatorship with the King as their head.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION :

In the time of Vishnuvardhana, the country was divided into several provinces of which Talakāḍ, Kongunāḍ, Nangali, Gangavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Halagere, Halasige, Kuntala, Tondernāḍ, Kanganāḍ, Punnaḍ, Yēlusāvira and Banavāsi were the most important.

Trading centres at the border were also constituted as provinces, where the foreigners met together for exchange of goods in fairs. Cattle raiding and the possibility of conflicts between the people of the country and their neighbours, compelled the constitution of even small districts into separate provinces and their being placed under the strong and protecting hand of a Governor.

According to the prevailing practice, the provinces were placed under the control of Governors who were either members of the old ruling family of the provinces conquered, or relations of the queens or relatives of the ruling family or recruited for conspicuous service and merit. The Crown Prince, and sometimes the queens, were in charge of provinces as noticed in Bommala, wife of Vishnuvardhana, ruling Asandi 500, Chōḷa Mahādēvi, wife of Ballāḷa II ruling Kumbala, and even granting a 'koḍige' to the family of kētamallanāyaka who died while putting down the rebellion at Bevure. Sometimes relatives of the Queen or the King were in charge of the province. Balleyanāyaka, nephew of Sāntalādēvi was Governor of Maligi (Kp. 68). Manchirasa, maternal uncle of Rājalādēvi, was governing Vishnusamudra. The governorships of provinces were conferred by the King, as distinguished from hereditary governorships and designated as Sāmantas, in recog-

nition of signal service to the State. The exigencies of a military campaign determined sometimes conferment of governorships as noticed in Ballāḷa II granting full status of Maṇḍalika on Balleyanāyaka, or Narasimha II conferring governorship of the east on Kumara Dhōla Bhūkere Daṇḍanāyaka.

The greatest work of reorganisation and conquest was done mostly by these hereditary governors or Sāmantas and governors of the King's choice. Most of them were Ganga chieftains who had chafed under Chōḷa domination and who made common cause at last with the Hoysalas in throwing off this domination and recovering independence. Hereditary governors always harboured designs of independence. They had sinister ambitions of building a small principality for themselves; frontier governors would make most of the opportunities of a political revolution or a dynastic change. All these had to be watched and kept strictly under control if the integrity of Hoysala power and continuance of the royal family at the head of the State were to be maintained.

Apprehension of danger from governors exercising semi-independent authority, made it necessary for the Hoysala kings to appoint a Superintendent to watch their activities. This was a very important post copied from the Chālukyas. Sandare Hariyaṇṇa in 1192, Todapalle Daṇḍanāyaka (for Danāyaka), in 1195, Kavanayya Danāyaka at Benugaḷḷi, were some of the Superintendents of the feudatories in the north, representatives of Ballāḷa II. With the growth of the Empire in the south and the Hoysala boundary abutting on the territory of the Pāṇḍyas and the Kāḍavas, the need for Superintendents for southern feudatories was recognized. And this led to the appointment of Ammaṇṇa, as representative of Narasimha II, and this being placed over the Sāmantas. He remained in power till 1253 A. D. The representatives of Sōmēśvara in different parts of the southern provinces, like Singaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka in Pudukōṭe Sōmayya in Tiruchirapālli, Kampayya in Tanjore, were ruling in the outlying southern parts of the Empire.

Political conditions also necessitated the creation of governors at the express pleasure of the King, or of their transfers from province to province, according to the King's pleasure. Promotions of Sarvādhikāris to the status of Governors, as in that of Hiriyaṃaneveggaḍe Gajasahani Bilimayya in 1158 A.D. to that of Sarvādhikāri from the governorships of Tumkur, and again, to the governorships of Kādur, and the transfers of Governors from comparatively unimportant provinces for proved military merit were a general feature. The transfers of Amātya Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Vamara, who was first at Hassan, to Bellary in 1236 A.D., Ammaṇṇa, Governor of Bellary in 1223 A.D. to the supervision over Chōḷa dominions of Chingleput in 1239 A.D., Valle Danāyaka, son of Dodda Pillai Danāyaka, Governor of Tiruchirapalli in 1235 A.D., to Chingleput in 1237 A. D., Bāchiyarasa of Nandagere, Governor of Yelahanka under Narasimha III, getting a transfer to border provinces—all these suggest that promotions and transfers were the order of the day. When the Empire was threatened by ag-

gressions from the Yādavas in the north, and a fratricidal struggle within leading to the disruption of the Empire, important Governors like Dāḍi Sōmayya Danāyaka, Singayya, and their sons in the south-east, Mādhava at Terakaṇāmbi, Aḷiyamāchayya and his sons at Penukonḍa, were never transferred, as their services to the dynasty were indispensable.

Just as the King had recourse to cities which he created and used at pleasure, so too every Provincial Governor had a capital city of his own, where he resided. Strategic considerations had resulted in the conversion of military camps, in close proximity to the field of operations, into royal cities. Sesevur first, and later on Dōrasamudra, were the early capitals of the Hoysalas. Uchchangi was made a royal city because of its impregnability by Vishnuvardhana in 1137 A.D., and he resided there to guard the country against his northern aggressors. He had besides Uchchangi, Dōrasamudra, Bēlūr, Vishṇusamudra and Tonnūr as his capitals, to which he occasionally shifted his residence. Ballāḷa I transferred his capital to Bēlūr which he fortified with huge fort walls and deep moats around. The Hanaya fort was called Vijayagiri by Ballāḷa II, while he resided at Vijayasamudra or Virūpākshapura. During the latter half of his reign, he first resided at Bogali, a treasury town, and during the campaigns against the Seuṇas in 1196 A.D. and 1197 A.D., he lived at Erambarage and at Kukkanur, Koppa and Huligere. Sōmēśvara resided at Kaṇṇanur or Vikramapur, north of Srīrangam, which he created for his pleasure and also to control the feudatories in Chōḷamaṇḍalam. The last of the great kings, Ballāḷa III, resided at Tonnūr in 1341 A.D., and eventually at Unnamallapatna to escape the raids of the Muslims.

It was incumbent upon the frontier Governors to protect the frontiers against cattle-raids and aggressions of enemies, and preservation of peace; and the strengthening of the frontier necessitated the maintenance of a permanent body of troops. The Governors at Vijayādityamangala and Talakāḍ maintained their own army, held their own court and behaved like sovereigns within their jurisdiction. As civil officers, they were responsible for the collection of taxes due to the Government and their remittance to the treasury as well as the administration of civil and criminal justice.

The provinces were divided into 'nāḍus', and the number varied according to their importance either for purposes of revenue or for military exigencies. Gangavāḍi was divided into fourteen 'nāḍus'. The officer under the direct charge of the Governor, was the Heggade, variously called 'Heggade Karaṇa,' 'Rājādhyakshara karaṇā,' 'Rājya Heggade', and, as the superior officer in the official hierarchy, was in charge of civil and military affairs, connected partly with collection of revenue, disbursement, administration of justice, and partly, with military undertakings for defences against the attack of enemies and, occasionally at the express command of the King or the Governor, undertaking raids into the enemies' territory. He had to obtain instructions

with regard to the imposition or remission of taxes from the Governor, as the latter depended, in his turn, for permission from the King. Śrikaraṇa Heggade, Sunkaveggade, Khanaveggade, Dhandayaveggade, with clearly defined duties and functions appeared to have worked along with the Nāḍa Heggade in the just and equitable administration of the Nāḍu and the Province. His associate was Sunkaveggade who collected taxes such as maggadere, āḍudere, balapaṇa, gāṇadere, okkaludere and such taxes due at fairs, as on arecanut, salt, black pepper, turmeric, horses, elephants, precious stones and sandalwood. But when villages were exempted from taxation by the King or were dedicated to local deities to meet the expenses included in the budget of the temples, the officers were strictly forbidden to collect taxes from such villages that enjoyed this immunity, and any violation or transgression of the King's order was seriously punished. Each of the Heggades, whether of civil, military or of judicial administration had a Sēnabōva under him. Just as in the military departments statesmanship dictated the needs of transfers of Governors from one province to another, to avoid corruption and misappropriation of funds, transfers were resorted to also in the department of Sunka (taxes.)

Other important officers of the province who were partly associated with the King and partly with the Governor were Dharmādhikaraṇa, a name mentioned in one of the inscriptions of the Sāntaras but with different appellations under the Hoysalas as Lōkōpakāraṇa, an officer for public benefactions. Tantrādhikari, or Tantrādhishtāyaka, is another important officer of the State, whose duties are clearly defined in some inscriptions as one associated with diplomacy and statecraft, 'Chaturvidhapraṇeeta Neeṭichāṇākya Tantrādhikāri'. Maneveggade was another trusted officer of the King who sometimes became Governor of important provinces.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION :

As in the case of the Gangas and other dynasties, the military organization, so far as one can glean from inscriptions, was feudal in character comprising the King's personal troops or body-guards and a contingent of troops supplied by the Governors in times of war and revolutions, and mercenaries who were raised from time to time for military expeditions or for defence.

The cavalry seems to have constituted an important unit in the military, used both for purposes of defence and aggression. It consisted, during the time of Vishnuvardhana, of horses imported particularly from Kāmbhōja. There were schools for purposes of training horses for marches, and military expeditions, and for endurance, fortitude and courage. Bommalādēvi, in 1140 A. D. had under her Anantapāla to superintend 'The Crown Riding School' as 'Aśva-sahini', or horse-trainer. The Masters of the horse, have been variously known

as Paḷḷikāra, and Aśvādhyaksha and Turagasahini. Sculptures on the wall of Kēdāreśvara Temple at Halebidu give us an idea of the armour and accoutrement of cavalry troops; of the infantry, as noticed earlier; Bēḍas constituted the most conspicuous unit, as they were expert archers. As they were very often given to raiding villages, dishonouring women and carrying away cows, the Hoysala kings recruited them in the army. For this reason they were reverentially referred to as the faithful agents of the Hoysala camp (Hoysala bīḍinaparama viśvāsigaḷappa).

The elephants formed a very important part of the military organization in ancient days, as seen earlier. There were separate centres for elephant training, and, during the reign of Ballāḷa II, the centre was Koligunḍa in Narsipur Taluk. Māvantas had hereditary occupation, and inscriptions mention some of them, as enormously wealthy, as illustrated in the case of Kētayamāvanta building a Śiva Temple in 1147 A.D. at great cost. Both māvantas and akkatiga (soldiers employed to guard the elephants during the battle 'āneya koliga purige) were given, the like Gajasahini, special training in management and efficient control of elephants on the eve of a battle or a stampede, for the most terrible fighting in a siege was with the elephant force. The instruments used by the māvantas were bows and arrows and long spears in the thick of the battle so as to reach the foot-soldiers.

Service in the military was not restricted to any particular caste, though there were caste contingents separately organized and placed under the command of the Brahmins. Some of the greatest Daṇḍanayākas were Brahmins. There were goldsmiths and barbers in the army. All the Sāmantas and Daṇḍanāyakas maintained their own standing armies consisting of the required number of horses, elephants, male servants, superior officers (enkaru) and hired soldiers; and high commands were sometimes entrusted even to hired soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle or in border raids in keeping back the aggressors. Sometimes, the villages or the nāḍus supplied soldiers, 'Nādāḷu' composed of Bēḍas, Kaḷḷas, and such other hill-tribes, trained in a perfunctory way by actual service in keeping off border-raids and stealing cattle. The Sāmantas were granted umbaḷi lands for the maintenance of the standing army. Separate taxes were levied for the purpose of maintaining the military, such as aneyasesse, kudureyasesse, veerasesse and, occasionally, kaṭakasesse and Daṇḍina Bhyāgate. There were military stations on the borders, 'daṇḍina śibira' or headquarters of Governors and Daṇāyakas and there were well-guarded so as to prevent raids, which were so frequently taking place at the slightest provocation.

The King gave grants to soldiers before the battle to ensure himself of loyal support, and partly to induce them to display their valour and gallantry, and he also made provision for the families of those heroes who died in the field of battle. The grant of lands was called 'balgalchu' or 'rakta koḍagi' for

individual distinction. Entrusting the command of the army at the critical hour of the battle to some veteran warrior and conferring it with the presentation of betel-leaves was an incidental ceremony in times of war. The King on such occasions conferred the title of 'Subhaṭa' and honoured them with 'tōḍas' (anklets) of gold to be worn on the left leg.

It was customary also for the King or Generals to make grants to a temple or pay homage to a favourite goddess before marching to battle. And it was said of Ballāḷa II that because of his devoted worship of his favourite god, Vijayanārāyaṇa, he acquired the empire of the south.

The Vijayanagar kings did not alter in any material respect the administrative system handed down to them by the Chālukya, Rāshtrakūṭa and Hoysala Emperors.

CHAPTER XII

MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF VIJAYANAGAR

With the passing of the Hoysala dynasty and the Muslim invasion of the south, we enter into a new epoch of Karnataka history, which may be termed the 'Mediaeval Period.' Political conditions underwent a revolutionary change during this period. The Hindu (and Jaina) kingdoms that had existed in the old days had a comparatively even tenor of peaceful existence despite occasional bickerings among them. Political alignments and realignments took place, sealed now and then by matrimonial alliances between royal families that had formerly ranged themselves against each other. But the Muslim invasion that took place at the beginning of the 14th century was altogether a new political phenomenon. It came like an avalanche carrying everything before it. Its first impact was so unexpected and catastrophic that the people as well as the local potentates had to bow before it and go under, watching helplessly the impetuous career of the ruthless invader right up to Ramēśvaram and back. There was no attempt, however, on the part of the invaders to capture or rule over the territories thus over-run by them.

The people and their rulers for the first time were rudely shaken out of their age-old complacency. Here was a new experience for them. Whatever was held sacred by them now suffered desecration. It was the assault of an alien and unfriendly culture. South India, which had lived in splendid isolation for centuries past, nursing her own culture and way of life, had to face an utterly new situation. The Jainas and Buddhists from the north, who had penetrated south more than 1500 years ago, though alien in faith, had settled down peacefully and been gradually amalgamated in the body politic. Their advent had produced no such cataclysmic effect. Not so the Muslim invaders. It is thus that we may look upon their invasion of the south as the culmination of the ancient period of Karnataka (and of South Indian) history.

When the effects of the initial shock were over, there was created in the minds of the people and of their political leaders a deep apprehension that

this new menace, if left unchecked. would altogether destroy their cherished values in life. This apprehension, which was universally felt, led to efforts to rally together such political forces as were available in South India and build up a kingdom which would be a bulwark against northern invaders.

This led to the founding of the Vijayanagar Empire.

We shall now turn our attention to the rise and growth of Vijayanagar.

The foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire in the fourteenth century is an epoch-making event not only in the history of Karnataka but also of India.

The infiltration of the Arab adventurers in the Sindh region in the seventh century and Mahmud Ghazni's devastating invasion in the eleventh paved the way for the Muslim conquest of India in the following century. After the decisive victory of Muhammad Ghorī in the second battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D., the Hindu opposition to the invader crumbled to pieces, and, within an amazingly brief period of two decades, Muslim supremacy over North India became more or less an established fact.

A similar fate awaited South India. Soon after the intrusion of Allāuddin Khilji in the Yādava dominions in 1296 A.D., the region south of the Narmada convulsed under the iconoclastic fury and onslaught of the aggressor. Within a narrow span of three decades, the entire peninsula from Dēvagiri to Ramēśvaram was virtually brought within the orbit of Muslim power.

But before long the ancient land of Karnataka became the scene of a unique event; for what could not be accomplished elsewhere was achieved by the heroic people of this province. It was the liberation of the country from foreign domination, through well-organized military resistance, and the establishment of a mighty, resourceful and a new sovereign State embodying national aspirations. This constituted the splendid Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar which flourished for more than two centuries.

Of the four kingdoms and one principality that became victims of Muslim invasions, the first to succumb was the Yādava Kingdom of Dēvagiri, which vanished from the political scene in 1318 A.D. The next to fall was Warangal, which was subjugated in 1323 A.D. The small principality of Kummaṭa, acting as a buffer state wedged in among the kingdoms of Dēvagiri, Dōrasamudra and Warangal, under the leadership of Kumāra Rāma whose noble character and amazing bravery are still a living memory in that region stubbornly withstood the impact of the overwhelming tide of the enemy for a time until its annihilation in 1327 A.D. The Pāṇḍyan territory further south was overrun, and a Muslim Governor was posted at Madura in 1330 A.D.

Though conquered more than once, the Hoysala Kingdom of Dōrasamudra was not crushed. Its redoubtable ruler Ballāḷa III (1292-1340 A.D.), with

remarkable courage and diplomatic moves, saved the country from abject surrender. He shifted his capital from Dōrasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the North Arcot District, and moved from place to place organizing effective resistance to the enemy. While he was engaged in military operations against the newly set up Muslim Sultanate of Madura, he was treacherously killed at Kaṇṇanur-Koppam near Tiruchirapalli in 1342 A.D., at the age of 80. After a brief and uneventful reign by his son Virūpāksha Ballāḷa IV, the Hoysala rule came to an end in 1346 A.D. By this time the new state of Vijayanagar had come into being.

The credit of the foundation of the Vijayanagar Kingdom goes to the lead taken by the five enterprising sons of Sangama, a petty chief of noble traditions, claiming descent in the Yādava lineage. They were Harihara, Bukka, Kampaṇa, Mārappa and Muddappa. On account of their conspicuous role, the first two are commonly associated with the actual foundation of the Empire.

Although the role of Harihara and Bukka as the founders of the new State has never been challenged or doubted, various controversial issues have been raised by scholars pertaining to their nationality, original home and early affiliations. No clear and full picture of the actual happenings being available through authentic contemporary sources like inscriptions, writers advocating different views are often misled by the accounts of Muslim historians and late Hindu literary works of the 16th century and the later period. It is needless to over-emphasise the value of contemporary indigenous evidence in historical studies, which, though scanty, is more trustworthy than the fuller testimony of alien or later sources which are distorted owing to the lapse of time after the actual events.

According to the Muslim historian Barauni, who wrote a few decades later the revolt at Warangal was led by Kanyanāyaka against Muhammad Tughlaq, which resulted in the flight of the Muslim Governor Mālik Makbul to Delhi. About the same time, a relation of Kanyanāyaka, whom the Delhi Sultan had sent to suppress the popular rising, apostasized from Islam and joined the rebels in the Kampili-Anegondi region. This rebellion succeeded in ending the tyrannical rule of the Delhi Sultan whose Governor of the area, Mālik Muhammed, was driven away.

The version of Ibn Batuta, who was a contemporary writer, differs in certain respects. After the destruction of Kampili, eleven sons of the King were taken to Delhi and converted to Islam. Two of them were later sent to govern the Kampili area as the Sultan's officers. Another contemporary chronicler, Ismay, relates the incidents on similar lines.

It is obvious that these Muslim authors attempt to narrate the events that culminated in the foundation of Vijayanagar and indicate the personages who were instrumental in bringing it about. But it must be remembered that

the writers belonged to an avowedly hostile camp and lay no claim to impartiality or proper perspective. Reliance on such garbled writings have led some scholars on a wrong track. One of them relates to the Telugu origin of the founders of Vijayanagar who are said to have hailed from the Warangal Kingdom. Another is that they had become converts to Islam and, being opportunists, reentered into the Hindu fold and founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Both these theories are historically unsound, for not an iota of evidence exists to trace the relationship of Harihara and Bukka with Kanyanāyaka of Warangal. It would be unsound to identify the two officers that are stated to have been deputed to rule over the Kampili area in Ibn Batuta's narrative with Harihara and Bukka who were sons of Sangama and were never among the eleven sons of the ruler of Kampili who, as averred by the Muslim writer, were captured and converted to Islam by the Sultan.

The theory of conversion is a gratuitous one and has absolutely no basis in facts, and it is no use citing evidence of Muslim authorities in support of this. Conversion was a favourite theme with the Muslim authors of those days, who took every opportunity to emphasize the superiority of their creed. It has to be noted, in this connection, that, apart from the tainted statements of alien historiographers, no impartial and unprejudiced testimony outside the Muslim circle can be adduced to substantiate the theory of the conversion of the founders of Vijayanagar.

The Telugu origin of the founders of Vijayanagara is described in detail in different versions, which may briefly be summed up as follows :

Harihara and Bukka were originally relatives and officers, one a Minister and the other a Treasurer, respectively, in the court of the Kākateya King, Pratāparudra at Warangal. When that Kingdom was subjugated by the Delhi Sultan, they went to the region of Kampili or Anegondi and were employed under its ruler. After the conquest of this territory they were taken to Delhi, where they served under the Sultan for some time. Next they were deputed as Governors of the Kampili-Anegondi province, but, abandoning their allegiance to the Delhi Sultan, they founded an independent kingdom, which was Vijayanagar.

This story occurs in the *Rājakālanirṇaya*, *Vidyāraṇya Kālaṇāna* and other literary works of the sixteenth century and of the later period, when Andhra influence predominated in the Vijayanagar court. Scholars competent to judge the relative merits of historical sources will be easily convinced that this account is more or less a legend, at best a floating tradition recorded in literature, for it is neither contemporary nor near-contemporary, and widely remote by centuries from the age of actual events. Had it been a fact, it would indeed be strange that among the large number of contemporary inscriptions on stone and Copper Plates of the Sangama dynasty discovered so far, there is not a single record

containing a passing reference, or even the faintest suggestion, to connect the founders of Vijayanagar with the Telugu country or the Kingdom of Warangal. If they really hailed from the Warangal region or had served in the court of Kācateya Pratāparudra, there was nothing derogatory in recording this fact. On the contrary, their connection with that distinguished royal family would certainly have enhanced their reputation. In all the epigraphic records of the Sangama dynasty right from the beginning down to the end, without a single exception, these rulers commence their genealogical account from their ancestor Sangama and speak of his Yādava lineage.

There are instances in history of enterprising chiefs migrating from one region and settling in another, recalling their original home, nationality or ancestry with due pride for a long time to come. Such were the Sēnas of Bengal and Karnatas of Mithila or Northern Bihar, who invariably mention in their official records the fact of their having belonged to the Kshatriya clan of Karnata. Similarly, if Harihara and Bukka were immigrants from Andhra, they would have, in one context or another, referred to that event in the records of their family. On the contrary, numerous passages can be cited from inscriptions that speak of the antagonism of the early Vijayanagar kings with Andhra rulers. All this mass of evidence totally disproves the Telugu origin of the founders of Vijayanagar.

On the other hand, we have enough evidence to establish the Karnataka origin and Kannada affinity of the founders of Vijayanagar. As noted earlier, the peoples and their leaders in all the regions of South India did not lie low for long under the heels of the alien conqueror. There were mass risings in Andhra, Tamil country and Karnataka within a few years of the subjugation of these areas by the Delhi Sultan. There is clear testimony that these revolts were not isolated events. Their leaders were in mutual communication and had a concerted plan of action.

The most prominent among those who organized a heroic opposition was Hoysala Ballāḷa III. The liberation movement received impetus at his hands and this was due to the position of vantage enjoyed by him. He was master virtually of the entire peninsula south of the Tungabhadra, and wielded power in the Karnataka and Tamil regions. He routed the enemy in many strategic enclaves in the southern parts, extending his sway as far as Rāmēśvara. He gained similar victories in the northern province also.

Adverting to Andhra, recent researches have revealed that a large number of Reddi chiefs rose up against the alien rule, and the leaders of the liberation movement were Prolayanāyaka and his cousin Kapayanāyaka of the Muslim historians. It is likely that these chiefs were in touch with Ballāḷa III, from whom they might have received encouragement and support. As a result of this revolt the coastal region of the Nellore District was freed from the clutches of the foreigner about 1331 A.D.

In the meanwhile, the feudal chiefs and the provincial officers of Ballāḷa III were busy strengthening their fortifications and holding the enemy at bay in the northern and western parts of his dominions. Conspicuous among them were Sangama's sons, Harihara and his brothers. Of particular interest are the activities of Harihara which, ranging over a decade from 1336 A.D., may be briefly enumerated here. In a record of 1339 A.D., he is stated to have been ruling from Gutti, assuming the title, "Lord of the Eastern and the Western Ocean". Next year another inscription, which introduces him with the same distinction, describes the construction of the fort of Bādāmi by his subordinate officer. This epigraph testifies to the fact that Harihara's authority was recognized even in the regions further north beyond the Tungabhadra. Another record of 1340 A.D., endows him with full imperial titles. In 1342 A.D., according to Ibn Batuta, Harihara's supremacy was unchallenged in the Konkaṇa tract, and the Muslim Governor of Honāvar paid homage to him. In an inscription of 1343 A.D., he figures again with full imperial titles. A record of the following year mentions his brother, Bukka, with sovereign titles as the Governor of a province.

Supremely important in this connection is an inscription of Srīngēri, dated March 1346. The contents of the epigraph reveal that Harihara, by this time, had succeeded in liberating the country from the foreign yoke and that, with a view to celebrating the festival of victory, he, along with all his four brothers, and other near relations, repaired to the holy place, Srīngēri, and made grants to the revered Pontiff, Bhārati Teertha.

Harihara, according to the universally accepted tradition, founded the Kingdom of Vijayanagar on April 18, 1336 A.D. Some scholars are inclined to discredit this date on the evidence of the Srīngēri epigraph. But this view lacks justification, as the testimony of tradition and the Srīngēri record are not mutually conflicting, and there is nothing unhistorical about the former. By 1336 A.D., Ballāḷa III was advanced in age and Hoysala supremacy was waning. Harihara, who was in charge of the northern territory of the extensive Hoysala Empire, might have realized the difficulty of the central power far in the south exercising its proper control over this area against the aggressive designs of the enemy. Hence, even as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, or provincial Governor, he might have thought, possibly with the concurrence of his suzerain, of carving out a new kingdom of his own which would serve both as a barrier against the invader and a source of strength to his overlord. This small beginning led to immense consequences. The above sketch of Harihara's activities shows that from 1336 A.D., he was growing from strength to strength. By 1342 A.D., he was master of the situation. This was the last year of Ballāḷa III; the Hoysala power collapsed soon after. It is noteworthy that inscriptions subsequent to 1343 A.D., contain no reference to Hoysala rule, though Ballāḷa IV was the formal King. The next three years must have been spent by Harihara in consolidating his power as the legitimate heir to Hoysala sovereignty, and clearing the country of alien occupa-

tion. The year 1346 A.D., as evidenced by the Srīngēri epigraph, thus marks the culmination of the endeavours of Harihara and his brothers in founding a new State, the Kingdom of Vijayanagar.

That Harihara and his brothers hailed from the Kannada region and were legitimate successors to Hoysala sovereignty by a natural process, is supported by an abundance of evidence. A few facts may be noted here. They became overlords of the entire dominions formerly ruled by the Hoysalas without clash or conflict for the transfer of power, as if by inheritance in the same family. In keeping with the old tradition, they implicitly followed the Hoysala frame-work in all political and administrative matters. The administrative divisions of the kingdom continued to remain the same, being governed by the self-same Hoysala officers. The gods, Virūpāksha of Hampi and Chennakēśava of Bēlūr, the tutelary deities of the Hoysala house, retained similar positions under the rulers of the Sangama dynasty. In their reverence towards the Srīngēri gurus they followed the footsteps of the Hoysalas. Bellapa Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Sōmaya Daṇḍanāyaka by a sister of Ballāḷa III, had married a daughter of Harihara. Thus the two houses of Sangama and Hoysala were matrimonially related. As a symbol of their allegiance to the Hoysala suzerains, Harihara and Bukka took pride in designating themselves by the feudatory titles, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and Oḍeya, even while they were reigning as independent sovereigns long after the Hoysala house ceased to exist. Thus there is not a single piece of evidence which would separate them from the Kannada country or its people.

It is commonly believed that Śrī Vidyāraṇya, an erudite scholar and great religious teacher, actively participated in the creation of Vidyānagar, a variant of Vijayanagar. This occurs in several records. This view, shared by many scholars, is based on hallowed traditions and assertions in literary works. But it lacks the support of reliable historical evidence such as contemporary epigraphical records. Leaving aside Vidyāraṇya, a good number of authentic inscriptions on stone show that the high Pontiffs of Srīngēri were held in reverence by the Vijayanagar rulers who made grants to the religious establishments of the place.

The new Kingdom came to be known after its capital Vijayanagar which was built in a secure tract amongst the hills on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. Within the orbit of the new capital and forming its outskirt lay the old town of Ānegondi, which had been strengthened with fortifications to resist the inroads of the enemy by Ballāḷa III. The new capital was hallowed by ancient traditions connecting it with the sacred place Pampa and Kishkindha, the capital of the Vānara King Vāli, described in the *Ramayana*. It is called Pampākshētra in a Copper Plate record of the seventh century; and its tutelary deity, Śrī Virūpāksha, is referred to as Māhākāla in an inscription of the tenth century. It figures in epigraphical records and literature of the subsequent

periods. This new city is mentioned in the early inscriptions under different names, such as Ānegondi, Virūpākshapura, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Hosa-Hampeyapaṭṭaṇa, Hastināvatī, Hampe-Hastināvatī and Vidyānagara, reminiscent of the historical background associated with each of them.

A study of the circumstances that necessitated the creation of Vijayanagar shows that its authors were inspired by patriotic ideals and a spirit of sacrifice. These ideals comprised the preservation and promotion of indigenous culture in all its aspects, including religion with its distinctive religious institutions, traditional learning, its literature and its arts. The history of the Empire as seen through the constructive activities of its rulers gives eloquent proof of the fact that these ideals were translated into action by the rulers to the best of their ability.

These ideals expressed themselves in a variety of ways. One was their sign-manual, 'Śrī-Virūpāksha,' inscribed in Kannada characters at the end of their Copper Plate documents. Whoever the ruler issuing the charter, it was made out in the name of this Guardian Deity of the Empire.

The Boar Crest, again, symbolized their achievement which consisted in the emergence of a stable and orderly government out of chaotic conditions, even as Vishnu in his Boar incarnation restored the earth from the demons. The title Hindurāya-suratrāṇa (the protecting god of the Hindu kings—but possibly the word 'suratrāṇa' was adopted as a variant on the word 'Sultān' used by Musiām rulers!) enjoyed by the Vijayanagar kings, explains their mission of safeguarding Hinduism. Vijayanagar thus stood for all that was best and noblest in Hindu national life and culture.

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

Three dynasties ruled at Vijayanagar in succession. The first was the Sangama dynasty founded by Harihara I, who, as seen above, established the new kingdom in collaboration with his brothers. He ruled from 1336 to 1335 A. D., having entrusted the charge of the different provinces to his brothers. Accordingly, Kampana governed the eastern tract in Andhra, called Udayagiri-rājya; Bukka, as Yuvarāja, administered the central region of Konkana from his headquarters at Chandragutti. The territory north of the Tungabhadra formed part of the Vijayanagar Empire at this time. Harihara is credited not only with the foundation of the new Kingdom, but also with setting up orderly government and ensuring the enjoyment of peace and security by his subjects.

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY (VIJAYANAGAR)

In the reign of Harihara and not long after the celebration of the festival of victory, a grave event took place, pregnant with consequences, which set a barrier to the northern expansion of the new kingdom. This was the foundation of the Bahamani Sultanate at Gulbarga on August 13, 1347 A.D., by Alauddin Hassan Shah, whose earlier name was Zafar Khan.

Bukka I succeeded Harihara I and reigned for twenty-two years (1356-77 A.D.) He was the right arm of his brother and had rendered invaluable service in the foundation of Vijayanagar. As co-regent he was closely associated with his brother and had sometimes issued royal charters under his own name. He applied himself to the task of consolidating and strengthening the Empire by eliminating unruly elements.

The first step in this direction was the southern campaign conducted about 1360 A.D. by Bukka's second son, Kampana Oḍeya, who was Governor of the southern territory. Of the two objectives of this expedition, one was the subduing of the refractory Chiefs of the Sambuvarāya family ruling in the North and South Arcot Districts. The other was the subversion of the Sultanate of Madura which, like a thorn in the side, had proved a source of endless annoyance. Both these objectives were achieved by the next year, as a result of which the entire peninsula to the south of the Tungabhadra came under the undisputed sway of Vijayanagar. After this victory Kampana established orderly government in the conquered provinces and revived religious ceremonies in the temples and other institutions. The holy idol of the God Ranganātha, which had been removed to Tirupati during the days of trouble, was brought back and reinstalled at Srirangam. This southern campaign is graphically described in her historical Sanskrit poem the *Madhurāvijayam* by Princess Gangā-dēvi, wife of Kampana Oḍeya.

Bukka's contemporary was the Bahamani ruler Muhammad (1358-77 A.D.), son and successor of Alauddin. This Sultan reformed internal administration, ensured security in the Kingdom and followed the policy of aggression against the neighbouring rulers of Telangana and Vijayanagar. Consequently, Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Kingdom were involved in wars.

Ferishta, the partisan court historian of Bijapur who wrote late in the 16th century, has given lengthy accounts of these wars, full of circumstantial details. But, as the intention of this chronicler was obviously to glorify his masters, the Sultans of Bijapur and their predecessors, the Bahamani Shahs, his narrative becomes untrustworthy, being often exaggerated and highly coloured. On the contrary, the Hindu sources are not explicit and furnish scanty information. Hence, while reconstructing these incidents a modern historian has to proceed cautiously judging from the net results and confining himself to probabilities in the midst of conflicting claims and questionable assumptions.

The expansionist activities of the Bahamani Sultans in the Andhra region and in the doab area to the south of the Krishna entangled them in a series of

wars with Vijayanagar, whose monarchs resisted and retaliated against all such moves. The latter, as is likely under the circumstances, might have met with reverses now and then ; but the versions of the Muslim historians describing them invariably as being each and every time in a position of disadvantage, vanquished and surrendering, are hardly credible. For the facts show that Vijayanagar throughout this period was growing as a mighty and resourceful State, and, even as Ferishta himself admits, the Vijayanagar kings were far superior in power, wealth and extent of territory to the Bahamani Sultans.

Soon after his accession Bukka made alliance with the Warangal ruler Vināyakadēva, son of Kāpayanāyaka, whose territory was invaded by Muhammad Shah in 1358 A.D. In the course of this chequered war, the Shah, though opposed and harassed by the Hindu forces for some time, succeeded in the end, securing the possession of Gōlkonḍa.

Bukka was involved in a protracted and sanguinary war with the Bahamani Kingdom from 1366 to 1375 A.D. with occasional intervals. It was a trial of strength between the two powers for the possession of the territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra which formed their normal boundaries. Muhammad Shah, and later, his successor Mujahid Shah, who took the offensive, made strenuous efforts to capture the strongholds of Mudgal and Adōni. The Bahamani forces more than once advanced as far as the Tungabhadra to invest the capital city, Vijayanagar. But ultimately they were defeated and beaten back. The loss of life in this war was very heavy, and Bukka, shocked by the massacre of the innocent subjects including women and children at the hands of the Bahamani soldiers, made a proposal to spare the non-combatants in future. This was agreed upon by both sides.

In the midst of these violent distractions Bukka was able to devote himself to constructive work. The capital city of Vijayanagar was extended on a vast scale with massive fortifications, and magnificent public and private buildings. By appointing princes of the royal family and trust-worthy officers to govern different parts of the Empire, he increased administrative efficiency. The Empire stretched over the entire southern peninsula from the Krishna to Rāmēśvaram, wherein reigned peace and prosperity. It could boast of the possession of the Goa harbour along with the western coastal region, well-fortified strongholds like Belgaum, and numerous populous towns and villages inhabited by loyal and contented subjects. The King of Ceylon and the Chiefs of the neighbouring States paid tributes and sent their envoys to the Vijayanagar court. It is recorded in the annals of the Ming dynasty of China that Bukka sent an embassy to that country in 1374 A.D.

An event of this reign, having outstanding significance in the socio-religious sphere, is the Jaina-Sri Vaishṇava conciliation. The dispute between the Jainas and the Rāmānujas (Sri Vaishṇavas) over the rights and privileges

pertaining to their religious performances assumed serious proportions at this time. The former, who were in a minority, appealed to the sovereign for justice. In the presence of the representatives of the two communities and the general public, who were assembled in his court, Bukka gave his verdict, known as the Jaina-Rāmānuja award. The award, constituting a charter of rights, safeguarded the interests of the minority from the encroachments of the majority, and helped to establish goodwill among the various groups and classes in the Empire. This far-sighted measure saved the body politic and the Empire from the forces of disruption to which the Hindu social organization was susceptible on account of its division into various castes and creeds. The Vijayanagar rulers, one and all, following the footsteps of Bukka, transcended their narrow loyalties and conferred equal rights and benefits on the other religionists also, such as the Muslims and the Christians.

Another achievement of the period stands to the credit of Bukka. This was the compilation of the commentaries on the entire Vedic texts. The project was launched (1360 A.D.) under the leadership of two eminent scholars Sāyanāchārya and his brother Mādhavāchārya, helped by others, and completed in the course of about two decades. On account of this monumental achievement in the field of Sanskrit learning, Bukka fittingly earned the title 'Vaidika-mārga-pravartaka' (Promoter of the Vedic path). Kannada literature also received impetus and it was enriched by Veeraśaiva, Jaina and other authors. Thus Bukka's reign inaugurated an era of national uplift and cultural regeneration in the fields of religion, literature, learning, art and architecture.

Bukka deserves a place of honour in the galaxy of great Indian monarchs. He was a consummate warrior, a far-sighted statesman, and a reformer. He was the master architect of the Vijayanagar Empire. The vigour and energy inspired by his unique personality sustained it for nearly two centuries, and conducted it on the onward march of progress and development.

The reign of Harihara II, son and successor of Bukka I, lasting for 27 years (1377-1404 A.D.) was generally characterized by internal security and peace and all-round prosperity. There were a few minor local disturbances, which were suppressed by his grown-up sons, Bukka, Virūpāksha and Dēvarāya, who governed the major provinces of the Empire. Virūpāksha led an expedition against Ceylon and made its King pay tribute to Vijayanagar. The Bahamani Sultans, Muhammad Shah II and his successor Firuz Shah, attacked the Vijayanāgar territory more than once. But these wars ended with minor losses and without substantial gains on either side.

Harihara II was ably assisted by competent Ministers, Generals and other officers of the State in promoting the administrative efficiency and constructive works for the welfare of the subjects. Among such officers was the Minister Mudra, who applied himself to the task of providing greater amenities and improving the

economic conditions by increased agricultural output and commercial development. Irrigational facilities were augmented, by digging canals and constructing tanks. Famous among these was the canal excavated from the Honnehole to Penugonda. It was executed by the hydraulic engineer, Singama Bhaṭṭa, under the direction of the Crown Prince, Bukka II.

Cultural activities continued to receive patronage and encouragement during this reign also. The undertaking on Vedic commentaries was completed by 1380 A.D., and for this achievement Harihara II earned the title 'Vaidika-marga-sthāpanāchārya' (Establisher of the Vedic path). Besides Sanskrit, Kannada literature fostered by writers of the Jaina, Veeraśaiva and other schools gained impetus. As a mark of his love for Kannada, Harihara was accorded the title 'Karnāṭaka-vidyāvilāsa' (He who took delight in Kannada learning).

After the demise of Harihara II, the succession to the throne was disputed among his sons, one of whom Prince Dēvarāya I ultimately emerged victorious in 1406 A.D. Dēvarāya was a strong and resourceful monarch who followed in the footsteps of his father.

Dēvarāya was involved in two wars with the Bahamani Sultan, Firuz Shah. In the first war, waged not long after his accession, about 1406 A. D., the Rāya took the offensive. His attempt to retain the fort of Mudgal captured by him failed. The Shah retaliated by penetrating into the Vijayanagar territory. He seized and annexed the strategic fort of Bankāpur. He was, however, thwarted in his expedition against Adōni. In the second war, which was a contest for supremacy in the Andhra region, lasting for four years from 1415 to 1419 A.D., the Bahamiani Sultan secured some initial advantages. But subsequently the Vijayanagar forces gained the upper hand. The strong fort of Pānagal was captured and the enemy pursued to the heart of his Kingdom. Shocked by these reverses the Shah died broken-hearted in 1422 A.D. As a result of this war the Krishna-Tungabhadra territory was brought under the sway of Vijayanagar.

Among the constructive activities of Dēvarāya may be mentioned the development of the capital city, which was strengthened by new fortifications and made beautiful by artistic buildings. He erected a huge dam across the Tungabhadra, and an aqueduct 15 miles long, which connected the city and the river. This canal besides augmenting the agricultural facilities, provided for a plentiful supply of water to the city. Another irrigational dam was constructed across the Haridra near Harihara.

When Dēvarāya died in 1422, his son Veera Vijayārāya, reigned for a short span of two years and was succeeded by his son Dēvarāya II (1424-1446 A.D.), He was familiarly known as Praṇḍhadēvarāya with his characteristic epithet Gajabēṇṭkāra (He who delighted in elephant hunt). This reign noted for its

military, political and cultural achievements, is reckoned among the glorious periods in Vijayanagar history.

Dēvarāya II, while he was Crown Prince, hurled back the invading Bahamani forces led by Ahmad Shah, who sought to avenge the discomfiture of his predecessor, Firuz Shah. At this juncture the capital of the Bahamani Kingdom was transferred from Gulbarga to the safer town of Bidar in the north.

With a view to withstand the incursions of the enemy, Dēvarāya II increased the efficiency of the army by military reforms. The soldiers were trained in the science of warfare on up-to-date lines and the contingent of archers and cavalry force was made more effective. For this purpose he employed Muslim officers and Turkish troopers in the army on attractive terms and imported horses of superior quality.

Dēvarāya II devoted his attention to the affairs in the Andhra region where the Reḍḍi potentates of Rājahmundry were overpowered by the growing might of the Gajapati rulers of Orissa. The Rāya repulsed the intrusion of Gajapati Kapilēśvara and restored the Reḍḍi Kingdom to its former position. The influence of Vijayanagar was thus reasserted over the Telugu country.

Dispute again arose concerning the mastery over the doab area, and the Bahamani Sultan, Ahmad Shah, crossed into the Vijayanagar territory. Dēvarāya retaliated by invading the Bahamani territory. The Vijayanagar army captured the fort of Mudgal, besieged Raichur and Bankāpur, and chased the aggressor as far as Sagar and Bijapur. Ferishta's version of this war is, as usual, exaggerated. An inscription of Dēvarāya at Mudgal dated 1436 A.D., shows that this area was under Vijayanagar.

A naval expedition under the command of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka was despatched against the island of Ceylon. The Vijayanagar army scored a success and the Ceylonese King was forced to pay tribute. The victorious General was decorated with the title 'Lord of the Southern Ocean', as a mark of his victory. This event is referred to in Sinhalese songs. Nuniz states that Dēvarāya exacted tributes from the rulers of Quilon, Pulicat, Pegu and Tenna-serim.

The achievements of Dēvarāya are separately dealt with in a section below.

Dēvarāya II was followed by his young and incompetent son, Mallikārjuna, whose reign (1446-1465 A.D.) proved disastrous to the Empire. In the beginning, the Bahamani Sultan, Alauddin II, made common cause with the Gajapati King, Kapilēśvara, against Vijayanagar. Subsequently, Kapilēśvara on his own initiative attacked Vijayanagar and vanquished its forces in a number of engage-

ments. He overran the northern areas of the coastal Andhra region and captured the strategic forts of Konḍaviḍu and Udayagiri. These incessant reverses diminished the vigour of the Empire which also became a victim of internal disturbances.

Taking advantage of this troubled condition, Virūpāksha, the cousin of Mallikārjuna, usurped the throne and commenced his rule (1465-1485 A.D.). Unable to govern and given to a life of pleasure and vice, this Prince precipitated the disruption of the Empire, which was undermined by the insubordination of the nobles and officers of the State on one side and by the inroads of external foes on the other. The Bahamani Sultan, Muhammad Shah, captured the forts of Chaul and Dabul along with Goa, which was a source of a profitable trade with the western world and a centre of traffic in horses essential for maintaining the military strength of Vijayanagar. These and other events brought the Empire to the verge of a collapse. The situation, however, was saved by the timely action of the ambitious chief Sāḷuva Narasimha who, consolidating his power, usurped the Kingdom of Vijayanagar by a diplomatic coup (1485 A.D.).

Thus ended the epoch-making rule of the Sangama dynasty which played a momentous role in the building of the Empire.

THE AGE OF DEVARAYA II

Before taking up for consideration the next dynasty, the Sāḷuva dynasty, which succeeded the Sangama dynasty, we shall interrupt the narrative and dwell for a while on the glorious period of the reign of Dēvarayā II, who ruled over a far-flung Empire, and was a great patron of art and letters. He shares, along with Krishnadēvarāya, who ruled a century later, the distinction of being one of the most successful and illustrious rulers in the annals of Vijayanagar history.

The reign of Dēvarāya II was the fore-runner of the vitality and cultural grandeur of Krishnadēvarāya's times. What Krishnadēvarāya was to the Empire in the sixteenth century, Dēvarāya II was in the fifteenth century. It may also be said, without exaggeration and with no injustice to Krishnadēvarāya, that the military conquests of Krishnadēvarāya, his aggressive policy against the Bahamani power in the north and his patronage of art and letters were only a re-enactment of the achievements of Dēvarāya II, though on a bigger scale.

Dēvarāya II was a great Emperor beloved of his subjects. Many inscriptions attribute to him qualities of a high imperial tradition. The Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada poets praised him in their compositions. An inscription dated 1448 A.D. states that one Prithiviśeṭṭi, the head of the Chandragutti 18 Kampaṇa, on hearing of the death of Dēvarāya II, went secretly to Koḍakaṇi and 'in the presence of the God Rama gained the feet of the gods', *i.e.*, died by self-immolation. Prithiviśeṭṭi was so devotedly attached to the King as to go to the extreme limit of killing himself on hearing the news of his death. That Dēvarāya II was a popular Emperor loved by his subjects is further proved by the Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa 328 (inscription), for instance, which calls him 'Matchless Devarāt' and laments his death in the poignant words translated by Dr. Kielhorn thus :

'In the evil year Kshaya in the wretched (month) second Vaiśākha, on a miserable Tuesday, in a fortnight which was the reverse of the bright, on the fourteenth day, the unequalled source of valour (pratāpa) Dēvarāya, alas! met with death.'

Dēvarāya II is described as having possessed a pleasing personality. He had great physical strength as pictured by the coins of the period, which bear, in most cases, the figure of the elephant and the King fighting it. He could fight against a wild tusker and bring it under his control. So the title borne by him 'Gajabēṇṭekāra' is significant. This physical strength coupled with an extraordinary self-confidence enabled Dēvarāya II to take command of battle armies under his personal direction.

The innumerable military campaigns conducted by Dēvarāya II and his victory in almost all of them and the achievement of honourable peace with the enemy, whenever the latter proved to be stronger than himself, go to prove his discretion and his calm disposition. His presence of mind is amply exhibited in the way in which he saved himself from the conspirators who had organized a plot to murder the King. Both according to his contemporary Abdur Razzak and Nuniz, who wrote in the sixteenth century, Dēvarāya II had to fight in a single combat against the leader of the conspirators, and in this he proved himself stronger than his opponent. That the people of the city killed the guilty prince who conspired goes to prove the immense popularity enjoyed by Dēvarāya. The following are the words of Abur Razzak: 'the consiprator (the King's brother) believing the King who fell at the back of his throne after some blows dead, standing on the steps of the hall of the Council, invited the multitude to recognize him as King. But when the King presented himself to the people, the whole crowd assembled together, threw themselves upon the guilty prince and put him to death.' According to Nuniz, the conspirator (the King's nephew and Minister) after killing Dēvarāya II's son went to the King's palace where he was at leisure amusing himself in the midst of his wives. On the presentation of a poisoned dagger there ensued a combat between the conspirator and the King in which the king cleverly evaded by twists of the

body the blows of his adversary and at last struck him down to the ground. Both the stories of Abdur Razzak and Nuniz go to prove the presence of mind of Dēvarāya II.

Dēvarāya II had at least two wedded queens. They were Ponnalādēvi and Bheemādēvi. The latter does not seem to have had any issue. It is from the Queen Ponnalādēvi that Dēvarāya II seems to have had a son called Mallikārjuna, who succeeded to the throne after his father's death. Dēvarāya II had a younger brother called Pratāpadēvarāya, who was Governor, in succession, of Mulbagal, Marakatanagara and Penukonḍā.

The cultural achievements of Dēvarāya II's reign are best mirrored in his patronage to arts and letters, his munificent endowments to temples, religious institutions, gifts to the learned Brahmins and other men of genius, and the keen interest evinced by him in interesting philosophical and theological discussions at his Court. The age of Dēvarāya II was a period of intense literary activity. His court was the meeting place of scholars, poets, philosophers and theologians who contended with one another to establish their superiority in art and scholarship. The Rāya presided over these discussions and adjudged the respective merits of the disputants. The most sensational dispute on record is the one in which the Telugu poet Srinātha overthrew Dēvarāya's poet-laureate, Gaṇḍa Diṇḍima. The King honoured the victorious Telugu poet by causing him to be bathed in a shower of golden 'ṭankas' in the famous Pearl Hall in the presence of all the scholars. Similarly, the King seems to have sat in judgment over the compositions of Kumāra Vyāsa and Chāmarasa and at last chosen to honour the latter in preference to the former. The King was himself a scholar of rare abilities and he is credited with the composition of two Sanskrit works of note : the *Mahānāṭaka Sudhānidhi* and a Vritti on *Bādarāyaṇa Brahma Sūtras*. Dēvarāya's patronage did not confine itself to any particular sect or language ; he recognised merit wherever it was found.

His generosity towards the people, his dependents and poets was immense. His readiness to inquire into the grievances of his subjects and the remission of taxes points to his generous disposition. He made the 'tulāpurushadāna'—weighing himself against gold and many valuables and giving them all by way of gifts to the Brahmins and many needy people. A curious gift made by Dēvarāya II is mentioned in a record dated 1430 A.D.. It is that of a golden cow adorned with jewels along with an agrahāra to Brahmins. On appropriate occasions he used to bestow presents on his Ministers and other officers. Similarly, he was extremely liberal in providing for the requirements of the Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak who visited his Court. At last, when the ambassador left the country, Dēvarāya II seems to have spoken in apologetic terms about the deficiency of facilities afforded to him as a result of the corruption of some of the subordinate officials. To him all religions were equally sacred, and hence we find a host of lithic and copper records mentioning grants by the royal

family and by himself to temples dedicated to gods of different sects. Like his ancestors, Dēvarāya II continued to pay homage to the Śringēri Maṭhā, founded by Śrī Śankarāchārya, with which the fortunes of the Sangama dynasty, especially during the early stages of the establishment of Vijayanagar, were closely connected. This policy of religious toleration was extended for the first time by Dēvarāya II to the Muslims. Whatever be the political significance in this policy, one cannot fail to see the King's respect for the religious sentiments of the Muslims in his order to place a copy of the Holy Koran near the throne, so that they might pay obeisance to the King without hurting their religious susceptibilities. That he ordered a Mosque to be built for them and his order that they should not be molested either by the officers or the populace in the practice of their religion go to show his liberality and catholicity of spirit.

The political and economic outlook of Dēvarāya II was influenced by the traditional maxims of Hindu writers on polity. In regard to revenue administration, Dēvarāya II made full use of the principles laid down by Hindu law-givers. The collection of taxes was fixed in conformity with the economic standards of the time, and instances of inability to pay on account of famine, floods or any such calamity were personally looked into by the King and remission of taxes ordered in certain cases.

The political significance of the reign of this illustrious King lies in the fact that the policy of consolidation and extension of the newly built bastion of Hinduism was fulfilled in his reign. Though the fall of the Bahamani Kingdom was brought about by internal dissensions and intrigues, it would not be a mistake to say that the policy of Dēvarāya in trying to isolate the Bahamani Kingdom from the Andhra kingdoms contributed in no small degree to the reduced strength of the Bahamanis against Vijayanagar. For the first time during the history of the Sangama dynasty, Dēvarāya II secured a safe frontier on the north-east by subjugating the small Reḍḍi kingdoms which had come into being after the death of the capable Pedda Kōmaṭi of Konḍaviḍu. A number of small and independent kingdoms like Virukonḍa, Vinukonḍa, Konḍaviḍu and Rajahmandri would have been a temptation to the ambitious neighbours like the Bahamanis and the Gajapatis; and the eastern frontier of Vijayanagar would have been a weak spot. It is to the credit of Dēvarāya II that he secured that frontier by bringing those kingdoms under the imperial sway of Vijayanagar by placing his Viceroys at Vinukonḍa and other centres. It was Dēvarāya II who extended his Empire in the south up to Ceylon's border with the help of Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka and actually subjugated Kēraḷa and exacted a tribute from the King of Quilon and the chiefs of Kēraḷa. His Empire was thus very extensive and brought under effective imperial consolidation. A powerful navy was maintained in the south. Dēvarāya II was thus the supreme monarch of the whole of South India and his dominions extended, in the language

of the contemporary Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak 'from the borders of Ceylon to those of Gulbarga and from Orissa to Malabar.'

In patronising art and literature, Devarāya II and Krishnadēvarāya resembled each other. But, it is interesting to note that, whereas the reign of Krishnadēvarāya seems to be the hey-day of Telugu literature, the period of Dēvarāya II witnessed the growth of Kannada literature in a degree unparalleled during any other period of Vijayanagar history. During his reign much was done to enrich architecture and fine arts like music and painting. The period of Dēvarāya's rule was comparatively more peaceful than that of Krishnadēvarāya. The Hazāra Rāma Temple (in which an inscription compares the King to King Bhōja) belongs to the period of Dēvarāya. The paintings on the ceilings of that Temple, those inside the Palace described by Nuniz and Paes, indicate the flourishing condition of the art in those days. Dēvarāya's achievements entitle him to a high place among the rulers of India.

THE SALUVA DYNASTY

The Sālūvas were an ancient and respectable family of local chiefs having a commendable record of military service under the Vijayanagar monarchs. The usurper Narasimha, brave and ambitious, started his political career as the Governor of the Chandragiri province (1456 A.D.). During the weak regimes of Mallikārajuna and Virūpāksha, the Vijayanagar Empire was considerably crippled by the inroads of the Bahamani and the Gajapati armies. This gave Narasimha a welcome opportunity to prove his ability as a military leader and an astute politician. He rescued the Empire from the perils of foreign invasions, which were successfully hurled back. His victories brought him popularity and enhanced his power and prestige in the State affairs. About 1477 A.D. he was overlord of the eastern and southern parts of the Empire. Manoeuvring tactfully, he secured the support of the nobles and officers of the State, who joined his ranks on account of disaffection by the misrule of Virūpāksha and the incompetence of his successor. Aided by such favourable conditions, Narasimha marched against the Capital and occupied the diamond throne of Vijayanagar with little opposition and bloodshed.

Though a political and a dynastic revolution, the Sālūva usurpation was benevolent and justified itself. It, however, showed the way for another revolution which followed in its wake within two decades. Narasimha's short reign of

six years (1485-1491 A.D.) was not as successful as contemplated, on account of the difficulties he encountered. He had to suppress the rebellions of feudatory chiefs. The Gajapati King, Purushōttama, invaded the Andhra coastal region and captured the Udayagiri fort. In the midst of preparations to retrieve the losses, his reign came to an end.

As Narasimha's two sons were minors, his Minister Narasanāyaka of the Tuḷu family, was appointed Regent and guardian of the princes. Placed in that commanding position, Narasanāyaka assumed dictatorial powers and ruled as the virtual sovereign. The elder of the two princes was assassinated and the younger, Immaḍi Narasimha, even after his formal accession, was treated with scant regard. After the death of Narasanāyaka in 1503 A.D., his son Veera Narasimha placed himself in his father's position as the Regent. When Immaḍi Narasimha was no more in 1505 A.D., Veera Narasimha ascended the imperial throne as the rightful sovereign. Thus ended the short rule of the Sāḷuva dynasty lasting for two decades.

THE TULU DYNASTY

Veera Narasimha thus became the first ruler of the new Tuḷu dynasty which now guided the destiny of Vijayanagar. This family sprang to eminence on account of Narasanāyaka's father Īśvaranāyaka who had distinguished himself as an able General of Sāḷuva Narasimha. (An account of the Sāḷuva family and its achievements has already been given in the last chapter).

Veera Narasimha's short reign of four years (1505-1509 A.D.) was beset with troubles due to the insubordination of the nobles and the encroachments of alien powers. In spite of his best efforts to introduce military reforms and administrative efficiency, he could hardly claim tangible results.

Krishnadēvarāya succeeded his half-brother Veera Narasimha after the latter's sudden death in 1509, and was crowned on Krishnajanmāshṭami day (8th August, 1509 A.D.) 'to convey the suggestion that he was an incarnation of the Lord.' He must have been a young man of about 25 years at the time of his coronation. Paes describes him as of medium height and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he had on his face signs of small-pox; 'he is the most feared and perfect King that could possibly be; cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly,

asking about all their affairs; he is a great ruler and a man of much justice.' A fine athlete, he maintained his physique in excellent condition by constant exercise. In the *Parijātāpaharaṇamu* he is described as equal to Nakula (of the Pāṇḍava brothers) for his skill in horse-riding.

The Empire to which Krishnadēvarāya succeeded was not, however, in a safe condition in spite of his predecessor Veera Narasimha's efforts to overcome its enemies, internal as well as external. Pratāparudra of Orissa was openly hostile, and had conquered Konḍaviḍu and Udayagiri, in addition to entering into an unholy alliance with the Muslim powers like Gōlkonḍa. The Bahamani Empire had been split up into five independent kingdoms no doubt; but there remained for them, as an incentive to make war on Vijayanagar, not only the prospect of plunder and loot but also the need for an annual 'jihad' against the kāfir neighbour, laid down as a matter of policy by Muhammad II in 1501. The immediately neighbouring kingdom to the north, Bijapur, was ruled by Yūsuf Adil Khan of the Adil Shahi dynasty, who made no secret of his aggressive designs on Vijayanagar. The Portuguese had entrenched themselves on the western coast and were seeking political contacts with the South Indian powers for expanding their trade. Vijayanagar would not allow them to have any alliance with her enemies. In the Empire itself some of the local chiefs were defying the imperial authority. The most prominent of these was Gangarāja of Ummattūr with the two strong island fortresses of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa and Sivasamudra in his hands.

War with the northern Muslims was apparently a matter of moral duty as much as an imperative political measure for Krishnadēvarāya. He remained in the Capital for about a year after his coronation 'learning the affairs of the Kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings.' While engaged in this work, he is said to have come across a testament of Sāḷuva Narasimha, who had enjoined on his successors the duty of conquering Raichur, Mudgal and Udayagiri. Whatever be the truth about this story, Krishnadēvarāya made a thorough study of the political situation of the Empire and formulated his plan of action with remarkable thoroughness. Without this preparation it would not have been possible for him to achieve the successes that he did.

In the meanwhile, the Muslim Sultans were active. Sultan Muhammad Shah II and Yusuf Adil Khan gathered a large army with an impressive array of Muslim nobles and marched southwards, in the confident hope that the new Emperor of Vijayanagar would be unable to withstand them. This army came near the frontier, but was met by the forces of Vijayanagar. A battle followed and the enemy suffered a crushing defeat, the Sultan himself being severely wounded. The Muslim soldiers fell back in confusion and the wounded Sultan returned to Bidar very much crestfallen. The Vijayanagar warriors pursued the retreating Muslims. They were again defeated at Kovilakonḍa, and Yusuf Adil Khan was himself killed. His death created political chaos in the infant State of Bijapur.

In this confusion Krishnadēvarāya saw his opportunity. He marched to the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab and captured Raichur (1512). Gulbarga fell next after a short siege. The Muslim army retreated towards Bidar. The Minister, Amir Barid, had imprisoned Sultan Muhammad II at Bidar. Krishnadēvarāya, like a consummate diplomat, liberated the Sultan from his confinement and restored him to the Bahamani throne. Thus he aimed to achieve the double purpose of gaining the gratitude of his adversary and, at the same time, keeping him under his thumb. This would further curb the refractory activities of the feudatory nobles and stimulate their internecine feuds. To mark this achievement he assumed the title *Yavanarājya-sthāpanāchārya* (Establisher of Muslim Kingship).

This policy of weakening the enemy could perhaps be gleaned from his attitude towards the Portuguese also. Albuquerque, the ambitious Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India (1509), offered to supply horses exclusively to Vijayanagar, if Krishnadēvarāya helped him to settle in the coastal towns. Krishnadēvarāya remained indifferent to this proposal. Goa, which was the proud possession of the Karnataka kings for centuries, had been conquered some time earlier by the Bahamani Sultan in whose dominions it was now included. Albuquerque who was shrewd enough to grasp the situation, stepped into the arena. He attacked and captured Goa from the hands of Bijapur, after many months of hard fighting, in 1510. Though eventually a loss to Vijayanagar, Krishnadēvarāya seems to have reconciled himself to it since it was a blow to the enemy.

Soon after the war against the Bahamani ruler, Krishnadēvarāya undertook the suppression of the rebellious Gangarāya of Ummattūr who defied the imperial authority. Penukonḍa was captured first and then Srīrangapaṭṭṇa and Sivasamudram fell. Gangarāja lost his life in the encounter. His possessions were formed into a new province with Srīrangapaṭṭṇa as the Capital.

Krishnadēvarāya next turned his attention to the Gajapati ruler of Orissa, Pratāparudradēva. Orissa, a country of strong forts and inaccessible fastnesses, was difficult to conquer. But the Emperor himself often commanded the operations in person. Udayagiri, Konḍaviḍu, Vijayavāḍa, Konḍapalli, and Rajamahēndri were the strongest among the numerous forts which he subjugated. The strategy and resourcefulness which the Emperor showed in capturing these, and the defeats he inflicted upon Pratāparudra repeatedly, reveal Krishnadēvarāya as an unsurpassed military genius which was Napoleonic in brilliance. Pratāparudra at last came to terms when the Vijayanagar army triumphantly marched upon Cuttack, the Capital. That territorial aggrandizement was not at all the objective of Krishnadēvarāya can be seen from the fact that he restored to the Orissa King all the conquered tracts north of the Krishna and established a strong bond of friendship by marrying Jaganmōhini, Pratā-

parudra's daughter. The war against Orissa, which covered six years from 1513 to 1518, was waged in five phases of planned strategy.

The defeat of Pratāparudra weakened the Orissa Kingdom, and Quli Qutub Shah of Gōlkonḍa invaded it and captured a number of places. Emboldened by these victories he threatened Vijayanagar also. Krishnadēvarāya sent an army under Sāḷuva Timma, who defeated and drove out the Gōlkonḍa troops. Timma reorganized the administration of the recovered territories on sound lines and returned to the Capital.

While Krishnadēvarāya was preoccupied with wars in Orissa and elsewhere, Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur captured Raichur. Incensed by this event, the Emperor marched upon Raichur and laid siege to it. An army led against him by the Sultan was defeated with heavy loss and Raichur also fell (May, 1520). Undeterred by this defeat, the Sultan had the temerity to send an ambassador to Krishnadēvarāya demanding the restoration of Raichur and other territories conquered by the latter. Krishnadēvarāya sent word in reply that he would do so if the Sultan came to a meeting at Mudgal and sat at his feet. The Sultan did not come to the meeting understandably enough, and Krishnadēvarāya marched upon Bijapur and the Sultan fled. Another embassy sent by the Sultan not only failed on account of the treachery of the ambassador but also led to a war in which the Bijapur army again suffered defeat. Bijapur was sacked. Gulbarga was next captured and one of the imprisoned Bahamani princes was installed as Sultan.

This ended the series of campaigns undertaken by Krishnadēvarāya. He had been uniformly victorious in one and all on account of his brilliant military strategy and efficiently organized army. His humane treatment of the vanquished enemy left no trail of bitterness. He endeared himself to the common people everywhere by his munificent gifts and his transparent piety. He won the loyalty of his soldiers by personally fighting at the head of his army, rewarding those who distinguished themselves in the fight, and giving personal attention to the wounded.

The administration of the Empire was carried on along the lines indicated in his *Amuktamālyada*. In Canto IV of that book he says that the income of a Government should be divided into four parts, one part should be spent for charitable purposes and pleasures, two parts for a powerful well-equipped army and the remaining part should be kept by as a reserve. The magnitude of the military force of the Rāya and the almost incredible wealth of the treasury are to be explained by this directive. His concern for the welfare of the people could be seen in his extensive tours all over the Empire, during which he studied everything first-hand, and set right any defects in the provincial administration. This was necessary because he had allowed his Viceroys wide powers. He based his administrative policy on the three cardinal principles of *Prabhu S'akti*, *Mantra S'akti*

and *Utsāha Śakti*. The strength derived respectively from the King, his wise counsellors, and the zeal of the rulers and the people. He would not undertake any important expedition without consulting his Ministers and advisers. Local institutions were allowed to function without limitations on their powers. Great irrigation works were undertaken for the development of agriculture, and trade was fostered. Prices were kept at the lowest level. The prosperity of the Empire, the splendours of the royal court, the efficiency of the army and evidences of peace and contentment, are vividly described by foreign visitors like Paes, Nuniz and others. Krishnadēvarāya maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese who had ousted the Arabs and Persians from the trade in horses, for he was badly in need of horses for his army.

Krishnadēvarāya was loyally served by Ministers of outstanding ability, prominent among whom was Sāḷuva Timmarasa or Appāji, as the Emperor and all others called him in affectionate regard. When Veeranarasimha had ordered Timma in 1509 to put out the eyes of Krishnadēvarāya to secure the throne to his eight-year old son, he had saved the prince by hiding him and showing Veeranarasimha the eyes of a she-goat. He served Krishnadēvarāya faithfully on the battlefield as well as in the administration; but towards the end of the reign he was found involved, along with his sons, in poisoning the only son of the Emperor. He was then blinded as a punishment along with his two sons.

Like Chandragupta, Vikramāditya of the Gupta age, Krishnadēvarāya's talents as well as his tastes were many-sided. A noted scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit it, he wrote *Amuktamālyada* and *Jambavati Kalyāṇa*, the former a treatise in Telugu replete with thoughts on state-craft based on 'Sukra's *Neetisāra* and *Manudharmaśāstra*, and the latter a literary work in Sanskrit. He is celebrated as Andhra Bhōja with eight poets (Ashṭa Diggajas) adorning his court. There were Telugu, Sanskrit and Kannada poets, all of them receiving his patronage. The most outstanding among the Telugu poets was Allasāni Peddana, who broke loose from the traditional rules of poetical composition and inaugurated an era of free and unrestricted way of literary expression. Rightly has Peddana earned the title of *Andhra Kavita Pitāmaha*. Timmaṇṇa Kavi wrote in Kannada the eight chapters (or *parvas*) of the *Bhārata*, left unwritten by Kumāra-vyāsa. This work is known as the *Karnātaka-Krishnarāya Bhārata-Kalhāmaṇjari*. Vyasarāya, the author of devotional songs in Kannada and of several great Sanskrit works, was revered as the Emperor's guru. It was Vyāsarāya who presided over the installation ceremony in Vijayanagar of an idol of Krishna which the Emperor brought from Udayagiri. There were Brahmin, Veeraśaiva and Jaina kannada poets in his court. He had the distinguished title 'Kannadarājyā-ramāramaṇa'.

Krishnadēvarāya was known for his piety. He gave profusely for the construction, renovation and maintenance of temples. To commemorate his

coronation he built an Assembly hall and a *gōpura* in the Virūpāksha Temple. He inaugurated the construction of the Krishnasvāmi and Vijayavittalasvāmi Temples also in the capital. In honour of Nāgalādēvi, his mother, he built Nāgalāpura (modern Hospet) near the Capital. under his patronage many more temples came into being in different parts of the Empire.

The twenty years of the reign of Krishnadēvarāya mark a memorable epoch in the history of South India and afford a shining example of a sovereign who set before himself the ideal of a king whose chief concern was the safety and welfare of his subjects and who strove unremittingly to promote them. He undertook wars only so far as they were necessary for the safety of the Empire and in the prosecution of those wars, he exhibited not only remarkable forethought, thoroughness of planning and efficiency of execution, but also the magnanimity of a large-hearted victor to whom war was only a necessary evil. He was, in addition, not only a writer of merit, but also a patron of arts and letters and a sound administrator. Vijayanagar attained the zenith of its glory under him.

Krishnadēvarāya passed away in 1529 after a brief illness before he could consolidate his conquests and leave for posterity an Empire which political vicissitudes could not break up. He nominated his half-brother Achyutarāya as his successor. A monarch 'so gallant and perfect in all things', according to Paes, is hard to find.

THE AGE OF KRISHNADEVARAYA

The Empire of Vijayanagar reached the zenith of its glory and prosperity in the days of Krishnadēvarāya, and with his passing away began the days of its decline. Before resuming the story of the political fortunes of Vijayanagar after Krishnadēvarāya, we may pause a while to form an estimate of the glory that was Vijayanagar in the days of Krishnadēvarāya, and of its administration.

The main sources of information about the age of Krishnadēvarāya are the King's own inscriptions scattered all over South India, his literary works in Sanskrit and Telugu (*Jāmbavati Kalyāṇam* and *Amuktamālyadā*), contemporary literary works of poets who flourished in his Kingdom, and the accounts of foreigners, the Portuguese chronicles of Nuniz, Barbosa, and Paes. Krishnadēvarāya lived up to the high ideals of kingship as reiterated from time to time in the Dharma Sāstras, the *Mahabharata*, *Arthaśāstra* and other works on polity.

The Empire was divided for purposes of administration into provinces, *rājya*, *maṇḍala*, *seema*, *sthala*, which were sub-divided into further sub-divisions. Paes mentions about 200 units under Nāyaks. H. Krishna Sastri says that there existed six Provinces. Each Province was under the rule of a Chieftain. The King coordinated the administration of the units and supervised the administration through the *Mahānāyakāchārya*. The provinces had other officers like Collectors of Customs and Military Commanders.

The village was the unit of local administration. The Village Assembly conducted village affairs. There were officers like *sēnabōva* (accountant), *talavāra* (watchman) etc. The villages were self-governing units which functioned efficiently.

The Land Revenue system was efficient and this revenue was the main source of the income of the State. It was entrusted to a Department called '*athavanē*'. The State's share was between one-third and one half. There were many taxes. But the Government redressed the grievances of people and looked after their welfare. The reign of Krishnadēvarāya fostered internal peace and won prestige from outside, in spite of occasional instances of local oppression by officers zealous to maintain the revenue collections at a high level.

The Department of Defence was under the care of the Kandāchāra Department and controlled by the Danḍanāyaka or Dannāyaka (Commander-in-chief). Nuniz describes the defence organisation of the Empire as including foot-soldiers, cavalry, elephants and artillery. Nearly 100,000 soldiers, 12,000 cavalry, and 500 elephants took part in the battle of Raichur. Besides these, Krishnadēvarāya had 6,000 palace guards, 20,000 spearmen and shield-bearers, 3,000 māhouts to manage the elephants, 1300 grooms to look after horses, 300 horse-trainers and 200 artificers, *viz.*, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, and washermen. He had trained his forces and equipped them well.

Although the King was the Supreme Judge, there were courts and judicial officers for the dispensation of justice. The Imperial Court was assisted by *Prādviveka* and two *sabhyas*. Governors and *Amātyas* also administered justice. Criminal justice was dispensed in a rough and ready manner. Justice was based on traditional regulations as set forth by the ancient law-givers. Trial by ordeal prevailed. Penalties to guilty persons were severe and deterrent in nature. Death or mutilation was the punishment for serious crimes. The King often settled complaints and redressed grievances in a peremptory way. Very few thieves could flourish in the country.

The Police system was admirable. Police officers like *talāri*, *kāvaligār*, *dēśakāvaligār* in districts and villages and Pālayagārs in the outlying territories assisted the Governor in maintaining law and order.

Edonardo Barbosa (1516) describes Vijayanagar as of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from

Pegu, the silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar.

Domingo Paes, who visited the country during the reign of Krishnadēvarāya, describes vividly the city, palace, festivals, and amusements. He refers to Krishnadēvarāya's enormous wealth and treasury. Krishnadēvarāya not merely maintained the treasure of the previous rulers of the Empire which were opened in times of need only, but also added to it. 'This King has made his treasury different from those of the previous reign and he puts in it every year ten million pardaos (or *varāhas*) without taking from them one pardao more than for the expenses of his house. How great the treasure that this King has amassed! 'says Paes. He also testifies to the fact that the Capital was at the height of its glory. The Kingdom extended from 'Bhaṭkal to Orissa', Ankōla, Margas, Honāvar, Bārakūr, Mangalore, Bhaṭkal being among the chief ports. The marchandise proceeding towards Bhaṭkal is carried by 5000 or 6000 pack oxen. 'The City is large and beautiful,' writes Paes, 'with streets and houses, where fairs were held and all sorts of rubies, diamonds, and emeralds, pearls and clothes and common horses, limes, palm, jack, mango and grapes are available' says Paes. He compares the City to Rome, as one in the midst of hills. 'What I saw thence seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight.' He refers to the countless people living there.

Nuniz, while describing the orderly administration of the camp of Krishnadēvarāya, also testifies to the highly magnificent style of living prevalent among the royalty in his time and the conveniences that were available in the City.

The Palace is pictured by Paes in very minute and glowing terms, its protecting walls, guards, door-keepers, the House of Victory and its decoration of seats with costly clothes and jewels for visitors and noblemen and paintings on the walls.

Krishnadēvarāya's reign was outstanding for its variety of festivals and amusements. Foreign trade brought prosperity and added to the luxury and magnificence of the Court. Paes describes the grand festival of Navaratri at the Capital. 'The spectacle of the grand Durbar held by the King in the Palace, the wrestlers' matches, the dancing of the women, the torch-light displays in the evenings, mock battles on horseback, the throwing up of rockets and other different sorts of fires, the march-past of triumphal cars belonging to the provincial Governors in the order of their status, the rear being brought up by the State Horse, of the young maids of the Palace quaintly dressed in gold, with vessels containing lamps in them, and of elephants trained to make their obeisance to the King.....all these should have added to the gaiety of the occasion'.....The close of the festival was marked by a grand military review by the King which was evidently the grandest spectacle of the season. (Paes repeatedly refers to the grandeur of the procession and the return journey of the King as well). He

continues, Truly I was so carried out of myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision' and that I was in a dream.' He also gives an elaborate account of the



Figure 12

throne over which Krishnadēvarāya used to sit during 'the Festival of Nine Days' (Navarātri).

In addition to the festival of Nine Days, there used to be dramatic shows, specially in the month of Chaitra, before God Virūpāksha, the presiding deity of the Empire.

The tradition of celebrating Navarātri for the safety of the State and the prosperity of its people passed later on to the rulers of Mysore who have been maintaining the pomp and sacred significance of the festival. Today this festival has become a national festival of great importance in Karnataka.

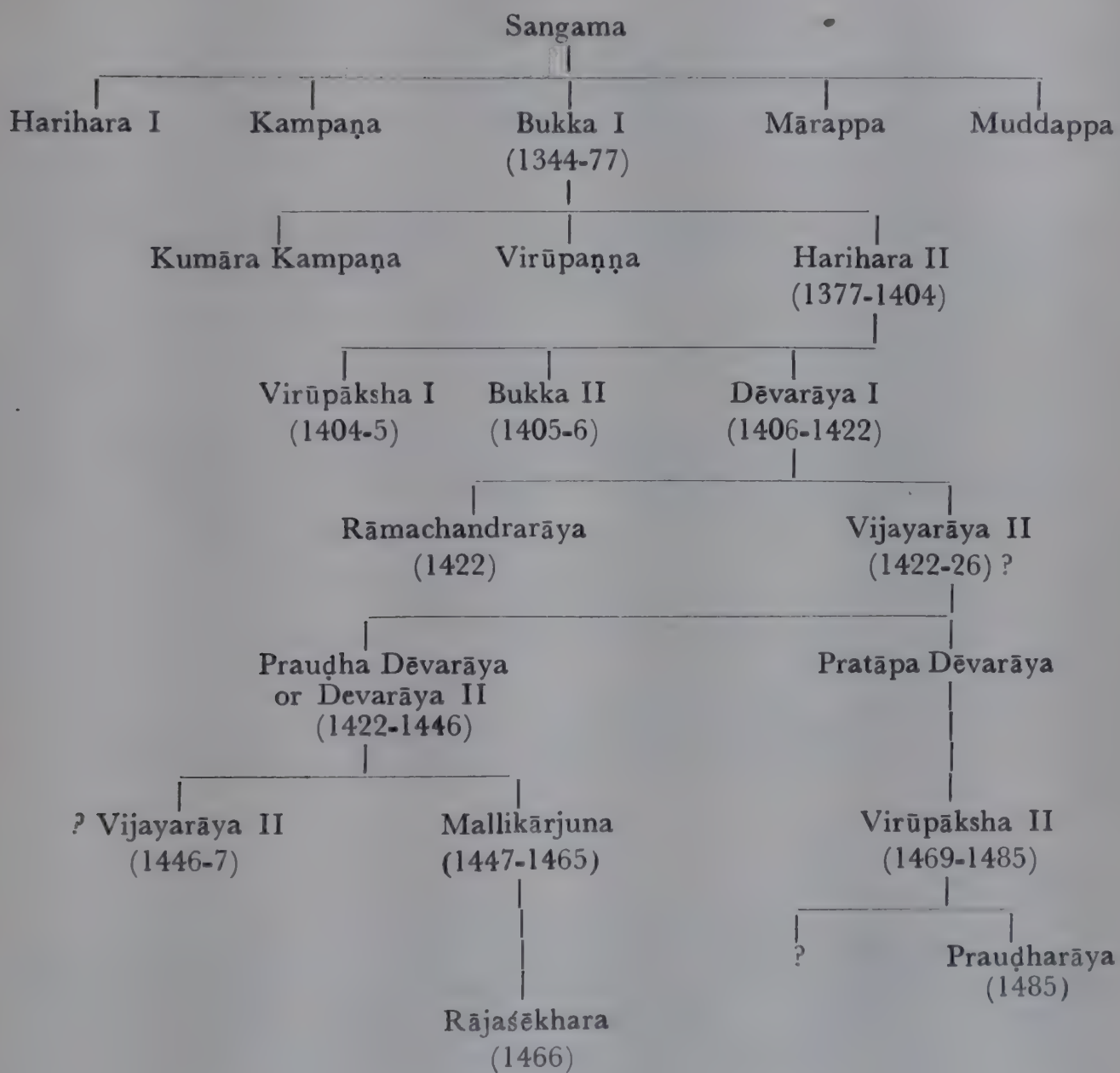
Paes testifies to the costly ornaments worn by almost all women. Many women, according to Peddana (the Telugu poet), excelled in learning and dancing. They were proficient in arms, wrestling, astrology, music and served as the King's cooks and body-guards. They occupied a high position in society, even taking up the posts of judges, bailiffs and watchmen. Nuniz refers to the practice of *Sati*. Prostitution and plurality of wives were common among the wealthy. Child-marriage was usual and dowries were heavy.

Animal sacrifices were common, as referred to by foreign travellers. During the festival of Nine Days, it is said that 250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were slaughtered.

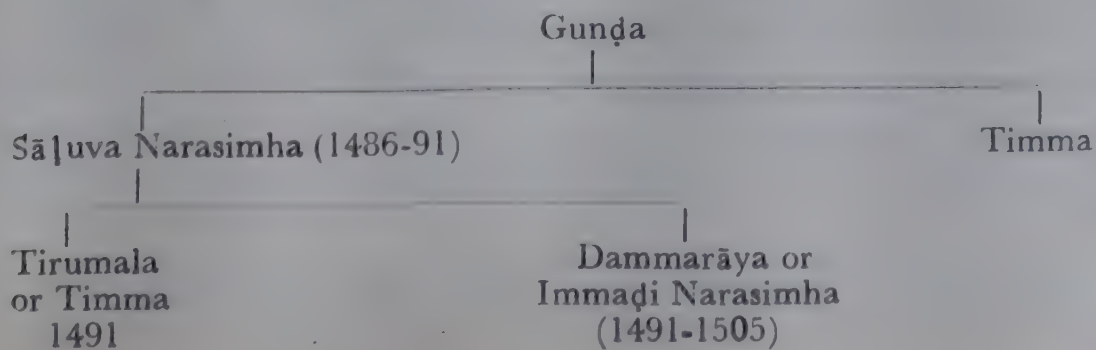
Epigraphic and literary sources testify that the rulers of Vijayanagar in general, and Krishnadēvarāya, in particular, were devoted to Dharma. Barbosa rightly observes, 'The King allows such freedom that every man may come and go, and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Hindu.' The greatest heritage which Krishnadēvarāya gave to the Empire was religious tolerance. Though Krishnadēvarāya followed Śrī Vaishnavism, he was no bigot. The Mādhva School was given a place of eminence and encouragement, as is proved by the royal patronage extended to the Śrī Vyāsarāya Maṭha. And the Srīngēri Maṭha had been patronised by all the rulers since the foundation of the Empire.

There was an atmosphere of goodwill and harmony among all the religious creeds. The conflict of Vijayanagar monarchs with the Muslims was political rather than religious. They tolerated Islam within their jurisdiction. They employed Muslims in their own service, and patronised them in several ways.

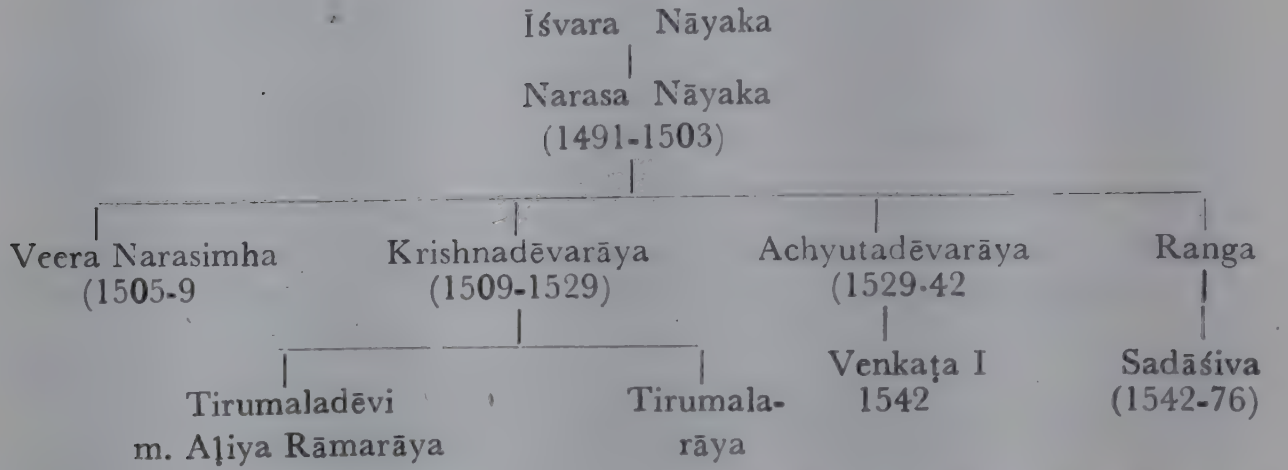
I. GENEALOGY OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY



II. GENEALOGY OF THE SĀLUVA DYNASTY



III. GENEALOGY OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY



1. Assassinated by his maternal uncle, Salakarāju Tirumala, whose rule for a few months intervened between the reigns of Venkaṭa I and Sadāśiva

THE DECLINE OF VIJAYANAGAR

ACHYUTARAYA 1530-1542:

With the death of Krishnadēvarāya, the glorious days of Vijayanagar came to an end. He left an infant son eighteen months old. But before he died, he had named his half-brother, Achyutarāya as his successor. While Achyutarāya crowned himself at Tirupati and at Kālahasti and marched north to throw back the invading Qutb Shah and the Gajapati, Minister Chellappa (Sāluva Veera Narasimha) guarded the throne against Aḷiya Rāmarāya (son-in-law of Krishnadēvarāya) who had declared himself Regent of Krishnadēvarāya's infant son. But Achyuta, who was a prisoner during Krishnadēvarāya's reign, was desirous of peace and associated Rāmarāya with himself in the administration. Chellappa resented this and headed a revolt that broke out in the south. Achyutarāya aided by his brother-in-law, Salakarāju Chinna Tirumala, triumphed over Chellappa and subdued Tenkasi, Kēraḷa and Ummattūr.

Unfortunately, Krishnadēvarāya's son died early. Rāmarāya now championed the claims of Sadāśivarāya, son of Ranga, the brother of

Achyutarāya. He appointed his own relations and favourites to several key-posts both civil and military, and consolidated his power.

This restricted Achyuta's freedom. But soon the rebellious south drew Rāmarāya from Vijayanagar. Achyuta re-established himself in the City.

A civil war in Bijapur, between Mallu and Ibrahim, following Ismail's death in 1534-35, helped Achyuta to recapture Raichur. Ibrahim finally prevailed and, with the support of Rāmarāya, attacked Vijayanagar. Just then Ahmadnagar invaded Bijapur and Ibrahim withdrew, leaving Achyuta master of the situation.

It was during Achyuta's reign the Nāyakships of Madura, Tanjore and Ikkēri, all of great significance to the future of the Empire, came into being. Nuniz, who lived for some time in the Court of Achyutarāya, says that Achyuta gave himself to vice and tyranny. 'The new King lacked honesty and courage. The people and the captains of the kingdom were much discontented with his evil life.' But Achyuta was not such a bad ruler if we take all facts into consideration. He had been specially chosen by Krishnadēvarāya to succeed him. The whole of Achyutarāya's reign was spent in a struggle against internal revolts, external aggressions and the intrigues and ambitions of Rāmarāya. Trade was hampered, and people suffered from the activities of bandits who infested the roads. Achyuta put up a brave fight against terrible odds and he does not deserve the harsh judgment of Nuniz. His Court-poet Rājanātha Dinḍima in his *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* has eulogised him. He was devout and generous, and had many estimable qualities. He had a well-filled treasury, and was known as 'Navakōṭi-Nārāyaṇa', (Lord of nine crores).

VENKATA I 1543 :

After Achyutarāya's death, his son, Venkaṭa, then a mere boy, succeeded him. His uncle, Salakarāju Timma, domineered over the boy-King. The Dowager Queen feared for Venkaṭa's safety and, at her request, Ibrahim, the Bijapur Sultan threatened to intervene. These developments offered a good pretext to Salakam to seize the Crown. Venkaṭa was strangled and the nobles loyal to him were persecuted.

This was Rāmarāya's opportunity. He effected Sadāśiva's escape from prison at Gutti, and in his name waged war against Salakarāju. The latter lost four grim battles and then his life. Rāmarāya proclaimed Sadāśiva King, but himself assumed all power.

SADASIVARAYA-RAMARAYA (1543-1571)

For the first seven or eight years after his coronation Sadāśiva was only a nominal king. The real power was always in the hands of Rāmarāya. As time went

on, Rāmarāya began to assume royal titles, and kept Sadāśiva under close guard. Yet, Rāmarāya and his brothers Tirumala and Venkaṭādri 'went on one day every year and prostrated themselves before their lawful sovereign in token of his rights over them'.

We may now briefly advert to the antecedents of Rāmarāya and of the Āraṇḍu family to which he belonged. Apart from the embellished accounts of a mythical character furnished by professional court-poets, the historical pedigree starts from Tāta Pinnama 'at whose sight the enemies were frightened.' His son was Sōmidēva who 'captured seven forts during the course of a single day.' Then comes Rāghavadēva 'brave and heroic,' who was the father of Pinnama, 'the lord of Āraṇḍipura'. Āraṇḍu has been identified with a village of that name 16 miles from Rāyachōṭi in the Cuddapah District (Andhra). From his time we see that the members of this family kept close contact with State affairs. Āraṇḍi Bukka, his son, who married Bālāmbika, is described as 'the establisher of the kingdom of Sāḷuva Narasimha,' the founder of the second dynasty. Bukka was both a Minister and General of Narasimha in 1486. Bukka's son, Rāmarāya, who married Lakkāmbika, is called 'a great warrior' and 'conqueror over Sapāda's (Sultan of Gōlkonḍa's) army.' By the aid of his brother Venkaṭapati and the two chiefs of the same family, Venkaṭādri and Tirumala, he subdued Gutti and Penukonḍa, and defeated the King of Gōlkonḍa. Rāmarāya had five sons among whom were Śrī Ranga, Channa Venkaṭapati and Tirumala. The first son, Śrī Ranga who was also a Minister of Krishnadēvarāya, had three sons, Rāma, Tirumala and Venkaṭādri. Rāma, also called Kōdanḍarāma, married Tirumalāmbika, the only daughter of Krishnadēvarāya by his Queen Tirumaladēvi. Hence the name 'Aḷiya', or 'son-in law', which stuck to him. Tirumala, the brother of Rāmarāya, married Vengalāmba, probably the sister of Sadāśiva, who was the son of Ranga-rāya, Achyutarāya's brother.

According to Ferishta, Rāmarāya destroyed many of the ancient nobility and raised his own family to the highest rank. The scions of Rāmarāya's family, the Telugu Chōḍas, Veḷugōṭis and others now held power. He admitted a large number of Muslims into the army, which gave them an intimate knowledge of the internal affairs of the State. He was fond of availing himself of every opportunity to interfere in the relations between the Muslim States of the Deccan and playing them off one against the other, hoping thus to keep them weak and to increase his own power. His main pre-occupation was to secure his hold on the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab (the forts of Mudgal and Raichur), and push back the Muslim powers north of the Krishna. The Muslim rulers soon saw through the game of Rāmarāya and closed their ranks for the time being. Rāmarāya's policy and miscalculations ultimately led to the disaster of Rakkasa-Tangaḍi, which broke up the glorious Empire, and converted the most prosperous City of the period into a heap of ruins.

Paravas were fisher-folk and pearl-fishers round about Cape Comorin. Clashes occurred between them and Muslim landlords who had bought rights

over the pearl-fisheries, and who tyrannized over the poor Paravas, which made the Hindu rulers of Madura, feudatories of Vijayanagar, to intervene. But the Portuguese, who were spreading down the west coast wanted to interfere, as they thought they had a 'divine right to the pillage, robbery and massacre of the natives of India.' They championed the cause of the Paravas, after first making them Christians and started plundering raids, desecration of temples and other atrocities. Rāmarāya's cousins, Aruku Chinna Timma and Viṭhalarāja, went south as far as Cape Comorin to quell these disturbances. The Portuguese were restrained and Viṭhalarāja was appointed the King's representative over Kēraḷa and Drāviḍa.

Rāmarāya's policy towards the Sultans of the Deccan is unjustly maligned. He was a shrewd diplomat of the modern type, and was no worse than his contemporaries.

Dissensions in Vijayanagar induced Bijapur, aligning itself with Ahmadnagar and Gōlkonḍa, to proceed against Vijayanagar. Venkaṭādri defeated the Muslim invaders thrice, but he himself had to sue for peace for the release of the members of his family who were captured by the enemy in a surprise attack.

Tirumala forced Bidar, and Hanḍe Hanumappa of Sholapur forced Ahmadnagar, to repudiate their Bijapur alliance. Through Burhan Nizam of Ahmadnagar, Rāmarāya befriended Gōlkonḍa. A three-pronged attack humbled and isolated the Bijapur Sultan in 1544, and Venkaṭādri seized Raichur.

Dealing separately both with Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar, the Bijapur troops lead by Asad Khan beat the Qutb all the way back to Gōlkonḍa. Ahmadnagar's diversionary attack, at Rāmarāya's instance, on Bijapur failed. In 1548 Asad Khan, the counsellor and army chief of Bijapur, died. Bidar allied itself with Bijapur and this angered Rāmarāya. So he induced the Sultan of Ahmadnagar to join him to take Kalyāṇa which had been taken by Bidar. Bijapur came to the rescue of Bidar. Rāmarāya sent an army under Ikkēri Sadāśivanāyaka, who chased the Bijapur troops away, and took Kalyāṇa.

Jamshed Qutb of Gōlkonḍa died in 1550. His brother, Ibrahim, a fugitive in Vijayanagar, ascended the throne, with Rāmarāya's help. Burhan of Ahmadnagar died later in 1553 and was succeeded by his son Hussain Nizam Shah. He made peace with Bijapur.

Rāmarāya's frequent attacks on Bijapur were made with the object of regaining Raichur and Mudgal. But Hussain Nizam Shah had an eye on Gulbarga which he wanted to take from Bijapur with the help of Qutb Shah of Gōlkonḍa. Rāmarāya interceded and weaned away Qutb Shah and earned the gratitude of Adil Shah of Bijapur. Adili's death a few months later and the young age of his successor, Ali, roused the avarice of Hussain Nizam. Ali fled to Vijayanagar. An angry Rāmarāya attacked Hussain. Half-heartedly Gōlkonḍa and Bidar first

joined him, but later left him. Hussain suffered heavily. His country was laid waste and he had to accept a humiliating treaty. Rāmarāya has been charged with atrocities against Muslims. Spoliations and vandalism were incidental to wars, and gave free rein to fanatical frenzy. Muslim armies invading Hindu territories generally behaved worse. And yet Rāmarāya was now championing Bijapur and was no enemy of Muslims as such. Gōlkonḍa and Bidar paid for their defection with forts and treasures.

Hussain waited, desperate and vengeful. He married his daughter to Ibrahim of Gōlkonḍa (1558) and another, Chand Bibi, to Adil of Bijapur. His eldest son Murtaza took Ali's sister to wife (1564). These marriage festivities with their spirit of jubilation brought about a unity of heart, albeit temporarily, and resulted in a common purpose to uphold the glory of Islam, and to fight their common foe. By January 1565, these allies declared war on Vijayanagar, as they were all exasperated by the over-bearing attitude of Rāmarāya.

The battle was fought on Tuesday, 23rd January, 1565. Rāmarāya and his two brothers took part. In spite of his age Rāmarāya commanded the centre facing the Ahmadnagar forces which were well provided with artillery. On his right was his brother Tirumala facing the Gōlkonḍa and Bidar forces; and on the left, the other brother, Venkaṭādri, facing the Bijapur forces. At first the Hindus had nearly won the battle. But the issue was decided by the desertion of two Muslim commanders of Rāmarāya's army, each in charge of 70 to 80 thousand men. Rāmarāya fell a prisoner into the hands of Nizam Shah who cut off Rāmarāya's head and raised it on a spear for the Hindu troops to see. Above 100,000, it is said, were slain. There was great confusion and the rout of the Hindu army was complete. The route to the great City lay open. Tirumala made good his escape with all the treasure of the Emperor loaded on to 1550 elephants to Chandragiri. He left Vijayanagar and its inhabitants to the tender mercies of the invaders and of nomadic tribes. He took with him only the captive Emperor Sadāśiva and the women of the royal family.

Thus ended the fateful battle of Rakkasa-Tangaḍi. Rāmarāya, quite old and nearly 80, fell fighting against chiefs who were like children before him even militarily, and the Empire collapsed.

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

Vijayanagar suffered the most cruel spoliation ever in history for six long months. When the Muslims retired, Tirumala tried, in vain, to rehabilitate the

City. He returned to Penukonḍa. Presumably, at his instance, his son Venkaṭa liquidated Saḍāśivarāya. With him ended the Tuḷuva dynasty.

So started the Āraviḍu dynasty in 1571 A.D. The mutual feuds of Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa left Tirumala free still to govern an extensive realm. He got himself accepted by the Amaranayākas, himself recognizing them as hereditary lords of the lands they held.

Tirumala divided his Empire into three, more or less, linguistic units. Śrī Ranga represented him in Penukonḍa (Andhra), Śrī Rāma in Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa (Kannada) and Venkaṭa in Chandragiri (Tamil). He is said to have ruled just for eleven troubled months and retired. He was succeeded in 1572 A. D., by Śrī Rangarāya.

ŚRĪ RANGARAYA I (1572-1585 A.D.)

Śrī Rangarāya had come to a difficult inheritance. Internecine wars among the feudatories rocked the land. The rulers of Gōlkonḍa extended their conquests to the south. By April 1580, Konḍaviḍu was captured by them. That very year, however, Ali Adil of Bijapur was assassinated, Chānd Bībi assuming regency for her minor son Ibrahim II. At Gōlkonḍa, Muhamad Quli succeeded Ibrahim Qutb, who formerly, in spite of his alliance with Śrī Rangārāya, had proceeded against him. This succession, therefore, gave some respite to Śrī Ranga. He defended Penukonḍa, the Capital, against successive invasions, with the help of his loyal officers like Savaram Channappa. But in his direst need his brothers did not come to his help. The Empire shrank every day and the hapless King breathed his last on November 29, 1585 A.D.

VENKATAPATIDEVARAYA II (1586-1614 A. D.)

Śrī Ranga left no son. Tirumala and Śrī Ranga Chikkarāya, sons of his late brother Śrī Rāma, were minors. The selfish chiefs would prefer a weakling for King. But the Muslim threat and the persuasive Jagadeva of Chennapaṭṭaṇa gave the Crown to Venkaṭapati, younger brother of Śrī Ranga on February 9, 1586 A.D.

Venkaṭa ruled from Penukonḍa, though he was often at Chandragiri and loved to stay there.

Qutb Shah of Gōlkonḍa, seized Nandyāl and Gaṇḍikōṭa, dominated Kurnool, Cuddapah and Anantapur, and besieged Penukonḍa. Surprised but determined, Venkaṭa talked about peace to the credulous Qutb, while reinforcements poured in under Jagadēva, Raghunātha of Tanjore, Matli Ananta, his great General, Veḷugōṭi Kastūri Rangappa and his son Yachama. The invaders

were taught a severe lesson. They were hotly pursued and defeated on the banks of the Pennar.

Venkaṭapati let Gōlkonḍa retain Konḍaviḍu, for an agreed frontier on the Krishna. Meantime there were insurrections within the Kingdom which had to be dealt with. Rebellions which broke out at Kolar and Nandyāl were put down. But the transference of those and other hereditary amarams (fiefs) to the royal partisans deeply disturbed the liege-lords of the King. Several of them joined under Lingama of Vellore to oppose the King (1601, May 31). The battle of Uttaramērūr was a measure of the prowess of the loyal Veḷugōṭi Yachama, who enjoyed the amaram of Perumbēḍu (Chingleput and Madurāntakam). Lingama was defeated by Venkaṭa, and Vellore became a third capital of the Empire, and occasionally the royal residence, from which circumstance it came to be known as 'Raya Vēḷūru'.

Foreign powers were by that time trying their fortunes in South India.

At the end of the year 1608 the Dutch obtained from Krishnappannāyaka of Gingee, permission to build a fort in Dēvanapaṭṇam near Cuddalore. Venkaṭa ordered the Nāyaka of Gingee to expel the Dutch from his territory. He did not desire to alienate the Portugese with whom he had profitable trade relations. Krishnappannāyaka did not obey at first because the large profit he was hoping to get from the new guests (the Dutch). Venkaṭa issued a third order, which the Nāyaka obeyed. The Dutch established themselves further north at Pulicat in 1609. The British East India Company made a vain attempt to establish themselves at the same place, but they later settled still further north at Masulipatam in 1611. Later, in the reign of Venkaṭa III, the English were allowed to build the Fort St. George, Madras in 1639.

Venkaṭapatidēvarāya II was the greatest ruler of the Āraviḍu dynasty. His rule was beneficent and marked by measures to improve the lot of his subjects, pious benefactions, and patronage to literature and art, which included Portuguese artists. During the twenty-eight years of his rule, the Kingdom regained much of its lost prestige, and reflected to some extent the glory of Vijayanagar under the days of Krishnadēvarāya.

SRI RANGA II (1614-19)

Venkaṭa had no children. Bāyamma, one of his six wives and sister of Gobbūri Jaggarāya, passed a Brahmin babe for her own. Venkaṭa feigned belief and, when the lad was fourteen, married him to Jagaraya's daughter. But when about to die, Venkaṭa passed on the Crown to his nephew, Sri Ranga Chikkarāya, who ruled as Sri Ranga II.

Young and inexperienced, Śrī Ranga II alienated the loyal nobles by his foolishness and greed and soon found himself and family prisoners of Jagarāya. Jagarāya's son-in-law was now preclaimed King, and the kingdom was embroiled in civil war among the nobles over the succession.

For all the loyal Yachama's efforts, Prince Rāmadēva, son of Śrī Ranga II alone was rescued from prison, but all the others of Śrī Ranga II's family were foully murdered.

Such cruelty cost Jagarāya many an ally, but he got Gingee and Madura to support him. Yachama won Raghunātha of Tanjore over to Rāmadēva's cause. The battle of Topur (1616) was decisive. Jagarāya was slain and his son-in-law captured.

RĀMADEVA (1619-29):

Rāmadēva became King but the fear of the ascendancy of Yachama-nāyaka held together his enemies headed by Gobbūri Yatirāja, younger brother of Jagarāya. To Yachama's chagrin, Yatirāja secured Rāmadēva as his son-in-law.

The land knew no peace. Gingee and Madura desired a weak king, rather than a friendly Gobbūri, and stood out against Rāmadēva. Yachama was on the war-path. His brother, Singappa, attacked Pulicat which belonged to Yatirāja-Timma, his relative, marched against San Thome; son Rangappa of Puducheri and Dāmerla Venkaṭapati of Kāḷahasti—all harassed the King. But Yatirāja, aided by his son and by Tiruvēngalanātha, proved more than their match.

The Bijapur Sultan took advantage of the civil war. Early in the reign, Ibrahim of Bijapur invaded Kurnool. Gopalarāja, on his own, negotiated Gōl-konḍa's help. Yet, in spite of the support of the Matlis, Haṇḍes and the Pemmasānis, he lost the fort and the region to the enemy. Kurnool passed into the hands of Bijapur.

VENKATAPATIDEVA III (1630-42):

On Rāma's death, three persons contended for the throne: 1. Rāma's nominee, Pedda Venkaṭapati, a grandson of Aḷiya Rāmarāya, 2. Timma, an uncle of Rāma and 3. Śrī Ranga, a nephew of Rāma and adopted son of Gopalarāja of Kandanavolu (Kurnool). Timma who continued to foment trouble was ultimately killed by the Nāyak of Gingee in 1635. Śrī Ranga, assisted by the Dutch and the Muslims disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Venkaṭapatidēva III, who was Rāma's nominee, succeeded to the throne.

Pedda Venkaṭa's reign was an endless tale of internecine war and external aggression. Ranadulla Khan of Bijapur attacked Veerabhadranāyaka of Ikkēri. Ikkēri and Bhuvanagiri fell; the Malnāḍ was overrun. Bangalore was taken from Kempegowḍa, and Shāhji was appointed its Governor. Srirangapaṭṭaṇa was attacked. Kanṭheerava Narasarāja forced Ranadulla to withdraw; but he returned with reinforcements with the help of Sri Ranga, Venkaṭa's nephew. Ranadulla seized and looted Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi, Baḷḷāpur and Kuṇigal. The Muslim forces marched towards Vellore, but help from the southern Nāyaks saved Vellore, which was the Capital of Pedda Venkaṭa.

In 1642, Gōlkonḍa emulated Bijapur taking fort after fort in spite of Pedda Venkaṭa's efforts. The King sought refuge in the forests of Chittoor, where he died on October 10, 1642. The Empire was crumbling, and both Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa got a foothold in the south, both in Mysore and the eastern coastal region.

SRI RANGARAYA III: (1642-1678)

Like most kings of his line, Pedda Venkaṭa had no issue. Sri Ranga, the erstwhile ally of Bijapur against Vijayanagar, assumed the Crown as her defender. Hindu morale may be said to have reached the lowest level about this period. Rulers and chieftains were more concerned with their own selfish interests than the welfare of the subjects or the larger interests of the country.

Gōlkonḍa armies were then investing Udayagiri. Sri Ranga's only possible ally, Bijapur, was busy in Malnāḍ. Sri Ranga lived at Vellore, though Penukonḍa and Chandragiri are also mentioned as capitals in the grants made by him. His past record as Bijapur's ally against his own people was against him. Dāmerla Venkaṭādri, Governor of Pulicat, solicited Gōlkonḍa's help against him. Of the Nāyaks of the south, the feudatories of Vijayanagar, Gingee and Madura were against him.

Bijapur now lent her armies to Sri Ranga for 15 lakhs in gold. The King recovered Udayagiri (1644) and subdued the recalcitrant nobles for a time. But what happened a century earlier was repeated again. Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa united to attack Vellore, and Sri Ranga fled and sought refuge with Sivappanāyaka of Keḷadi who gallantly rescued Vellore from Muslim invaders (1645). Bēlūr became Sri Ranga's Capital for a few years.

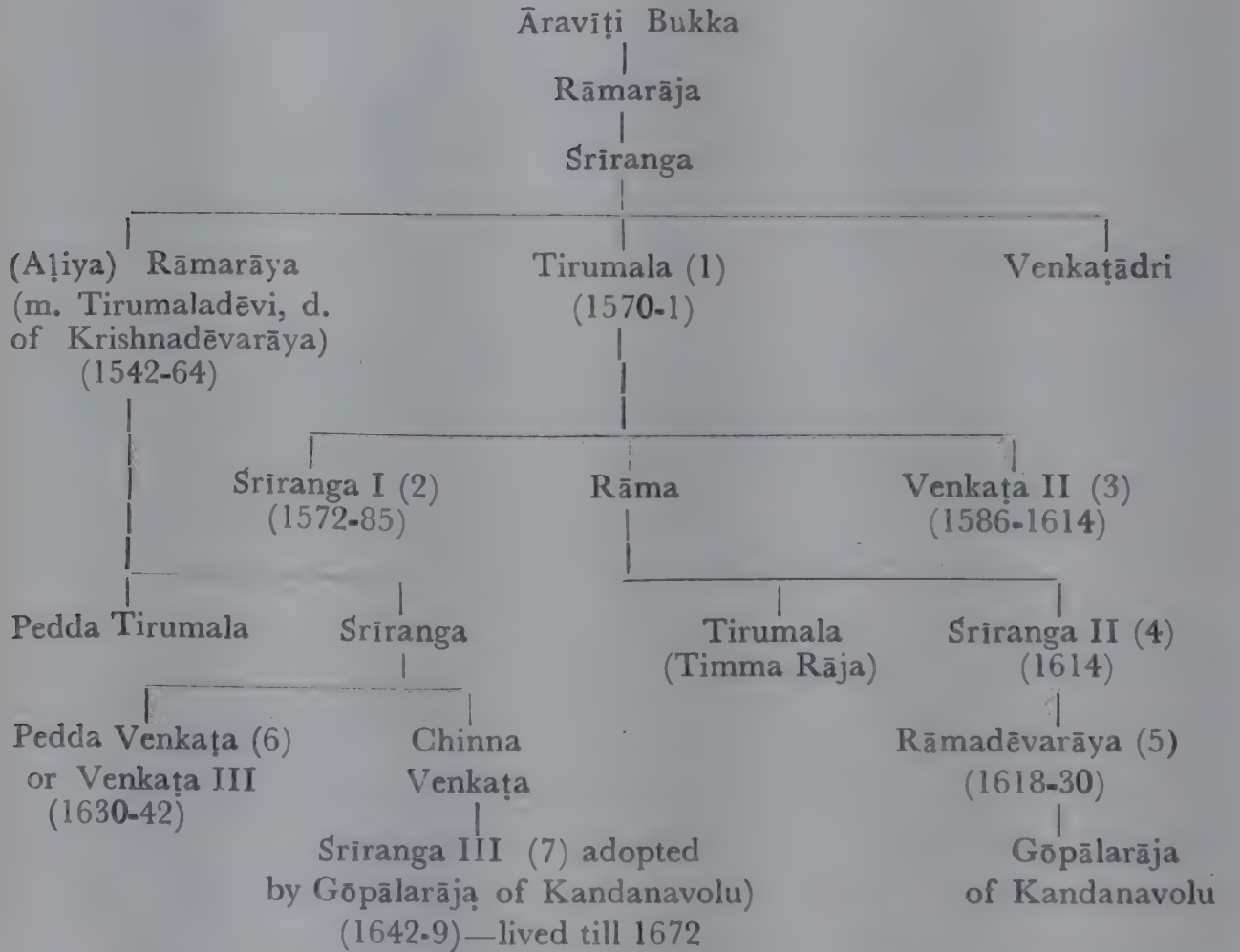
Even to hold his feudatories down, the Rāya depended on Muslim mercenaries who played fast and loose with their Hindu allies. The Empire soon became divided into two spheres of influence, those of Bijapur and of Gōlkonḍa. The Vijayanagar Generals, Chinnaṇṇachetty and Kōṇērichetty of Udayagiri joined the enemy.

Too late, the Nāyaks, except of Madura, endeavoured to assist the King. Men and money poured in; the ladies of Vellore divested themselves of their jewellery and the vast treasures of the Tirupati Temple were used for the war of liberation.

All this proved of no avail. The King became a fugitive in Tanjore and, later, in Mysore. Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar helped him. But the rivalries among the Nāyaks, the recalcitrance of Tirumalanāyaka of Madura, in particular, enabled the Muslim rulers to consolidate their position in the coastal country east of Mysore. The death of Kanṭheerava Narasarāja in 1659 and of Sivappanāyaka in 1660 blasted Śrī Ranga's hopes of rehabilitating the Vijayanagar Empire. He again sought refuge in Mysore and was in Bēlūr for some years. There are records of Śrī Ranga till 1678. And then he fades out and so does the flame of liberty lit at Vijayanagar, three centuries and a half earlier, in 1336 A.D. The Āraviḍu family of kings survived, shorn of power and glory, almost to modern times, represented by the chiefs of Ānegondi.

But before Śrī Ranga's passing away, Hindu nationalism had found a new champion in Śivāji who was crowned in 1674, to carry on the traditions for which Vijayanagar was founded.

IV ĀRAVIḌU DYNASTY



(N. B.—Arabic numerals enclosed within brackets by the side of names indicate the order of succession to the throne.)

THE BAHAMANI KINGDOM

We have so far followed the fortunes of the Vijayanagar Empire, its rise and growth, its days of glory and its decline and final disappearance. The history of the kings of this Empire has brought us almost to the end of the 17th century. Before proceeding further and following the thread of subsequent political events, we shall have to take up for consideration the rule of other contemporary kingdoms, which existed in other portions of Karnataka. We shall have, therefore, to retrace our steps to consider the story of the rise, growth and decline of the Bahamani and other Muslim kings who ruled over regions in north and north-east Karnataka for over three centuries. They were contemporaries of the rulers of Vijayanagar, subject to the fluctuating fortunes that were the lot of Indian kingdoms in mediaeval India. They left the impress of their rule on the art and culture of the regions ruled over by them. In the account of the Vijayanagar Empire numerous incidental references have already been made to many of these rulers, and of political relationships with them. It is necessary, however, to give a connected account of the Muslim kingdoms, as their rule extended over a considerable portion of Karnataka for a fairly long period.

We shall now take up for consideration the rise and growth of the Bahamani and other Muslim kingdoms.

The Deccan witnessed a series of revolts against the Delhi Sultanate during the closing years of Mahammad Tughlak (1315-51). The Muslim invasion of the south by Mālik Kāfur, which was more in the nature of a raid than a war of conquest, had only resulted in rousing the Hindu rulers in the south. Hindu nationalism began to assert itself. In 1344 Kanyanāyaka, the son of Kākatiya Pratāparudra II, organised a confederacy, with the active support of Hoysala Ballāḷa IV, the King of the then most powerful kingdom in South India. Warangal threw off Muslim rule. Dōrasamudra, which had been reduced to ruins by the Muslim armies was recovered. The little principality of Kampili, which, on account of its strategic position, had become the spear-head of the new Hindu upsurge, was also freed from Muslim rule. Prōlayanāyaka established the Konḍaviḍu kingdom. The eastern coast was cleared of Muslim invaders. And blessed by Vidyāraṇya, Harihara had been crowned King of the newly founded Vijayanagar Kingdom in 1336.

There was, besides, much discontent and suspicion among the foreign Amirs of the Deccan, the agents of Delhi. They rose in revolt and overthrew Imad-ul-mulk, the imperial General, and captured Daulatabad (Dēvagiri). The

Empire of Muhammad Tughlak, which once contained twenty-three provinces, broke up into pieces.

The leader of the foreign Amirs of the Deccan who successfully brought about the fall of Daulatabad was Ismail Makh, a man of retired habits, who chose to resign in favour of the dynamic Hasan. Hasan was chosen King in 1347 by his confederates. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, to quote his full name, made Gulbarga his Capital and the kingdom known to history as the Bahamani Kingdom was thus founded.

Ferishta's theory that Hasan was in the service of a Brahmin astrologer of Delhi, who, when Hasan became King, was elevated to the position of a Minister is nothing more than a myth. Modern research has exploded the Brahminical origin of the Bahamani Kingdom and has established that Hasan was a descendant of Bahman Shah of Persia.

The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir*, Nizim-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, Ahmad Amin Raz, the author of the *Haft-Iqlim* and *Haji-ud-Dabir*, the author of the famous Arabic history of Gujarat, all highly trustworthy authorities, make no mention of the Brahmin astrologer.

When Muhammad Tughlak died at Thatta in Sind in 1351, and was succeeded by Firuz, who had neither the capacity nor the inclination to reconquer the lost provinces, Alauddin was greatly relieved, and embarked on a career of conquest. The fort of Qandahar, Bidar, Mālkhed, Dābhōl, a small port-town on the Konkan in the Ratnagiri District of Bombay, and Goa were conquered and incorporated into the Sultanate, which was marked by Dābhōl in the west, Bhongir, a town in the Nizam's dominion, on the eastern frontier, and by the Penganga and the Krishna, respectively, on the north and south.

Hasan imitated the administrative methods which prevailed at the Court of Muhammad Tughlak. The author of the *Burhan-i-Masir* says that the following offices were established by the Sultan:

1. Sahib-i-Arz : one who reviews the army.
2. Naib Barbak : Deputy Usher.
3. Kur Beg-i-Macsaran : Commander of the left wing.
4. Dabir : Secretary.
5. Diwān : Minister.
6. Kur-Beg-i-Maimarah : Commander of the right wing.
7. Shahna-i-Phil : Keeper of elephants.
8. Dawat-Dar : Keeper of seals.
9. Saiyad-ul-Hujjab : Lord Chamberlain.
10. Hajib-ul-qasbah : Constable of the City.

11. Shahna-i-Bargah : Superintendent of the Durbar.
12. Salar Khwan or Chastnigir : Taster.
13. Sar-pardah-Dar : Officer in charge of the royal curtains.

Alauddin divided his Kingdom into four 'tarafs', or divisions, namely, (i) Ahsanabad-Gulbarga, comprising the territory right up to Dābhōl and including the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab; (ii) Daulatabad; (iii) Berar and (iv) Bidar including Qandahar, Indur and the occupied parts of Telingāṇa.

Each of the Amirs was granted a *jagir* on feudal tenure, and was required to keep a number of retainers to render military service whenever called for.

In 1358 when Hasan died, the Muslim chronicler passed the verdict, in right orthodox fashion, that his reign had done much for the propagation of the true faith.

His son, Muhammad Shah I, ascended the throne amidst great pomp and eclat. His reign was chiefly occupied by wars with Vijayanagar and Telingāṇa. The historian, Iswari Prasad, says that the war with Telingāṇa was occasioned by the barbarous execution of the Telingāṇa Prince, and the Rāja of Telingāṇa vainly appealed to Firuz Tughlak of Delhi, who was too busy with his own reformist activities to embark upon such a distant campaign. Having entrusted the Capital to his Minister, Saif Uddin Ghorī, the Sultan marched towards Telingāṇa, but the Hindus did not tamely submit, and he was detained for two years in that hostile region. Finally, peace was concluded and the Rāja agreed to surrender the Gōl-konḍa fort and to pay a huge war indemnity. The Rāja offered him the golden throne, which was ceremoniously installed at the Hall of Audience at Gulbarga.

The capture of Mudgal by the Rāja of Vijayanagar ushered in a bloody war, in which many innocent lives were lost.

At home his ruthless and vigorous rule witnessed the closure of public distilleries and the putting down of lawlessness. He set down a pattern of administration for the Bahamani Kingdom. He controlled the provinces by yearly royal tours. At the centre he had a group of eight Ministers. After a reign of 17 years and 7 months, he died in 1375.

His son and successor, Mujohid Shah, revived the war with Vijayanagar. Outside the walls of the City of Vijayanagar he suffered a crushing defeat. He was soon after murdered by Dāwud, his cousin, who usurped the throne in 1378.

Dāwud himself was murdered by a slave, and his brother, Muhammad Shah II, was elevated to the throne by the Amirs and officers in 1378. Muhammad Shah II was a man of peace. He devoted himself to the pursuit of literature and science. His munificence brought to his Court learned men from all

parts of Asia. Hafiz, the great Persian poet, started for India at his invitation but sea-sickness made him to abandon the idea. He, however, sent an ode to the Sultan which pleased him and earned for the author a handsome reward.

Simple and abstemious in habits, Muhammad Shah II had an exalted conception of the kingly office and enunciated the doctrine, which is quite modern, that kings are trustees of the people. He evinced keen interest in the welfare of his subjects, and once, when famine broke out, he employed ten thousand bullocks to bring grain from Mālava and Gujarat to mitigate its severity.

His two sons Ghiyasuddin and Shamsuddin ruled one after the other only for a brief period of six months in 1397.

Firuz (1397-1422), the grandson of Hasan Bahman Shah, usurped the throne in 1397. Though a typical Muslim monarch, Firuz drank hard, had a large harem and was fond of music. The Vijayanagar ruler, Harihara II, marched his army into the Raichur doab. But by a stratagem Harihara's son was killed and a patched up peace followed. But in 1406 hostilities once again flared up as Dēvarāya I attacked Mudgal to possess a goldsmith's ravishingly beautiful daughter Parthal. The war went against Vijayanagar and the Rāya had to accept a humiliating peace by which his daughter was to be given in marriage to Firūz with Bankāpur as dowry.

Firūz loved to erect buildings and the most notable one at Gulbarga is the great Mosque planned in imitation of the Mosque at Cordova in Spain. It is the only mosque in India which is completely roofed.

Ahmad Shah (1422-1436), the brother of Firūz, became the next Sultan with the help of Khalaf Hasan, a merchant of Basrah. Apart from the war with Vijayanagar, Telingāṇa, Mālava and Gujarat, the shifting of the Capital from the sultry Gulbarga to the salubrious Bidar was an important event which marked his reign. He built the great fort of Bidar, a huge quadrangle three-fourths of a mile long by half a mile wide. The Takht Mahal with its Iranian influence, as seen in the glazed tiles, which still glitter in the sun here and there, and the Sultan's tomb, where the Tughlak dome has yielded place to an oval dome resting on a huge drum, form other contemporary buildings.

Ahmad Shah's eldest son, Alauddin Ahmad, became the next Sultan (1439-1458). His reign saw the widening of the cleavage between the two factions, namely, the Deccanis and the foreigners, the bane of the Bahamani Kingdom. It was this jealousy that led to the perpetration of the Chakan affair. The Deccanis connived to get the consent of the Sultan to massacre 1200 Sayyids and 1000 others.

Ahmad II was succeeded by his eldest son, Humayun (1458-61). Most historians agree that he was a 'zalim' (tyrant). A versifier sang that his death

THE BAHAMANI KINGDOM

was a blessing to the world. His reign was remarkable for the discovery of Mahmud Gawan who became his Minister, and his Queen, Nargis Begum, one of the ablest women that the Bahamani Kingdom produced.

Ahmad III (1461-63), the eldest son of Humayun, ascended the throne at the age of eight. A Council of Regency, including Mahmud Gawan and the Dowager Queen, looked after the affairs of the State.

With the death of Ahmad III in 1463, his younger brother, Muhammad Shah III (1463-82), became the Sultan and elevated Mahmud Gawan to be the Chief Minister of the Kingdom.

Mahmud Gawan is a fascinating personality in the annals of mediaeval Karnataka. He arrived in India in 1453 from Gilan at the age of forty-two to trade in Delhi, but chance took him to Bidar where he rose to great eminence. No department escaped his attention. He organized the finances, improved the administration of justice, encouraged public education, and instituted a survey of village lands to make the State demand of revenue just and equitable. Corrupt practices were put down, and those guilty of peculation called to account. He organized the military department of the State, and entrusted its control and all the forces to the King with a view to curtail the jurisdiction and power of the nobles, who tended to be too powerful.

He loved scholarship and possessed a library of 3000 books, which he deposited in his famous college at Bidar.

Even at the height of his power, he led a simple life and did not neglect the interests of the poor. His was a character that was incorruptible and defied all temptation. He had a lofty conception of morality in an age when the grossest vices were condoned or connived at. His life was one of complete dedication to the interests of the State and of his master. Unfortunately, his versatility of mind would not rise above the narrow orthodoxy of his age. Still, it is refreshing, says the historian, Iswari Prasad, to turn from the scenes of violence and bloodshed and drunken revelry of the Bidar Court to the pure and austere life of this great Minister who subordinated all personal considerations to public interest.

The reforming zeal, success and influence of Mahmud Gawan roused the jealousy of the Deccani nobles. They bribed the keeper of his seals and induced him to affix them to a blank paper on which they wrote a letter of treasonable contents, purporting to have been written by Gawan to Purushōttam of Orissa. When the letter was laid before the Sultan, his rage knew no bounds. He at once ordered Gawan's execution. Thus fell by the ignoble hand of the assassin a veteran public servant at the age of 73. The besotted Sultan discovered soon that he had been tricked, and died struck with grief and remorse one year after the murder of his Minister, at the age of 29.

With the death of Gawan, departed the stability, cohesion and power of the Bahamani Kingdom. Misrule and anarchy raised their ugly heads and the State became a prey to disruptive forces.

Mahmud (1482-1518), the 12-year old son of Muhammad Shah III, was a weakling and all real power passed into the hands of the crafty and unscrupulous Turk, Qasim Barid. The provincial governors like Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur and Malik Ahmad, who founded the city of Ahmadnagar, broke away from the Empire. In Berar Imad-ul-mulk, and at Gōlkonda Qutb-ul-mulk declared their independence. The Bahamani Kingdom was now confined to Bidar and the adjoining territories. Ali Barid, the son of Qasim Barid, became the virtual ruler who, according to the historian Sherwani, granted to the Sultan the income of a village for his privy purse.

History knows four more names of the Bahamani kings who were nothing more than mere figure-heads. Mahmud Shah's son was Ahmad Shah IV (1518-20) who was so hard up that he had to break up the ancestral crown to provide himself with the means of ease and pleasure. On his death Ali Barid put the late King's son, Alauddin (1520-23), on the throne but deposed him when he wished to regain royal powers. Alauddin's successor was Waliyullah (1523-26), another son of Mahmud Shah, who was beheaded by the orders of Ali Barid. The last King of the Bahamani House was Kalimullah (1526-28), brother of Waliyullah. He wrote to Babar to help him to throw off the Barid yoke, offering Berar and Daulatabad (provinces which he no longer possessed). The news of this letter came to be talked about, and fearing for his life, he left for Ahmadnagar, where he probably died in 1538.

The five principalities that arose as a result of the dismemberment of the Bahamani Kingdom were :

1. Berar under the Imad Shahi dynasty.
2. Ahmadnagar under the Nizam Shahi dynasty.
3. Bijapur under the Adil Shahis.
4. Gōlkonda under the Qutb Shahis
5. Bidar under the Barid Shahi dynasty.

Historians are not agreed in their estimate of the Bahamani kings. Dr. V. A. Smith brands them as blood-thirsty tyrants comparable to Nero or Caligula. On the other hand, Meadows Taylor bestows upon them unqualified praise. The impartial student of history knows that Karnataka achieved considerable progress under the Bahamanis. Even during the fierce wars, the husbandman was not disturbed. Mahmud Gawan had improved the system of collection and the peasants had the option of paying the State revenue in cash or kind. Attempts were made to provide facilities of irrigation to the cultivators.

Nikitin, the Russian merchant who visited Bidar in 1470, says that the country was populous, the roads safe and the capital of the kingdom a magnificent city with parks and promenades. He, however, noted the inevitable factor of the Middle Ages—the great opulence and luxury of the nobles and the grovelling poverty of the poor.

The Bahamanis, even some of the most tyrannical of them, were patrons of art and letters. They encouraged education and embellished their capital, Bidar, with some of the most magnificent buildings.

Among the Sultanates, the one that concerns us further was the Adil Shāhi rule in Bijapur, situated in Karnataka, ceded to Sultan Murad, son of Akbar in 1596.

BIJAPUR:

Yusuf Adil Khan, the architect of the Bijapur Sultanate, a Georgian slave in his early years, was brought up by Mahmud Gawan. Ferishta, however, wrote that he was the son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey. Originally, Governor of Bijapur, he became independent in 1489.

Yusuf Adil Shah was one of the most outstanding rulers of the Deccan. He was singularly free from religious bigotry and treated his Hindu subjects with consideration, probably owing to the influence of his Maratha queen. He was a liberal patron of men of letters. Religion was no bar to public employment. Ferishta testifies that he was intimately acquainted with human nature, handsome, eloquent, well-read, and a skilled musician.

He retook Goa from Albuquerque in August 1510 but his death at the age of 74 weakened its defence and it changed hands. He lies buried at Gogi near the grave of a saint whom he venerated.

Ismail was only 9 at the time of his accession. The Regent, Kamal Khan, was assassinated by the order of the Queen-mother as he tried to usurp the throne with the help of Amir Barid. During the reign of Ismail, Vijayanagar lost the Raichur doab to Bijapur. The Shah of Persia sent an embassy to Bijapur, recognizing it as an independent State.

With Ismail's death in 1534, Ibrahim I took over as King in 1535, deposing Mallu, another son of Ismail. He befriended Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar, and embarked on a war with Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Gōlkonḍa aided by his great Minister, Asad Khan. After the wars, he took to a life of ease and pleasure and died in 1557.

The next ruler, Ali, son of Ibrahim I, met a storm of discontent by the restoration of the Shia faith. In 1558 he made an alliance with Rāmarāya and

invaded the territories of Ahmadnagar, and the joint forces ravaged the country mercilessly; and the barbarous excesses committed by Rāmarāya alienated his ally, Ali Adil Shah, who lent a ready ear to the advice that no single Muslim ruler was capable of contending with success against the wealth and power of the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. A quadruple alliance of the Muslim powers was formed to put down Vijayanagar. This was cemented by a double marriage: Chānd Bibi, the daughter of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, with Ali Adil, and Ali Adil's sister Bibi Hadiya Begum with Prince Murtaza, son of Hussain Nizam Shah. The combined armies fought Rāmarāya and destroyed him and the city of Vijayanagar in 1565. Ali Adil was assassinated in 1579.

During the reign of Ibrahim II, the next Sultan, a minor at the time of Ali's death, Chānd Bibi was in charge of the Government.

Ibrahim II died in 1626 in his 56th year, and Meadows Taylor says that he was the greatest of the Adil Shahs except the founder. He introduced Todar Mal's revenue system with local modifications in his kingdom.

He followed a friendly policy with reference to the Portuguese of Goa and conciliated the Hindus. Some of his chief civil and military officers, according to Meadows Taylor, were Hindus.

Ibrahim II was a great builder. The noble pile of buildings known as the Ibrahim Rauza, according to Cousens, constitutes the last word on decorative magnificence.

In 1626 Muhammad, the son of Ibrahim II, who became the next Sultan, had to face Mughal invasion under Shahjahan and agreed to pay tribute. At home he built the great Gol Gumbaz with its astounding dome and the whispering gallery. It is a building remarkable for its majesty and virility and is thus the antithesis of the Ibrahim Rauza.

Ali Adil Shah II (1656-1672), who succeeded to the throne, was a youth of 18. From 1661-1666 Ali II developed great capacity and an enterprising spirit. He curbed the power of Sivaji, forced the refractory Abyssinian officers of Kurnool back into submission, humbled the rebel Rāja of Bednūr, and finally rolled back the tide of Mughal invasion under the veteran soldier of Mughal India, Jaisingh. Thereafter he gave himself to the pleasures of the wine cup and the harem for the rest of his life, while his able Wazir carried on the administration with success.

With the death of Ali II in 1672 the glory of Bijapur departed. Sikandar, a boy of four, was placed on the throne and there was scramble for power among the regents and nobles. The history of Bijapur from 1672 to 1686, says the veteran historian Jadunath Sarkar, is really the history of its Wazirs. Such a kingdom where factions were rife was not likely to resist the Mughal invasion under Aurangzeb, and in 1686 Sikander gave himself up to Aurangzeb and was

lodged in the State prison of Daulatabad, where he sighed out many years of his life in the company of a brother in misery, Abul Hassan, the deposed Sultan of Gōlkonḍa.

He died in 1700 finally being moved from camp to camp by Aurangzeb. He was still under 32, out of which he had passed 14 years as an impotent puppet in the hands of his Ministers and another 14 as Aurangzeb's prisoner.

Bheem Sen, the historian, notes that with the fall of the independent dynasty at Bijapur, complete desolation set in on the city that was the queen of southern India for a century. It was the fountain-head of art and culture and patronized men of letters like Ferishta who flourished under Ibrahim II and produced encyclopaedic works like the *Najum-ul-ulum* (Star of the Sciences) with its 348 folios and 876 miniatures of the Deccan school of painting in 1570 A.D.

AHMADNAGAR :

The founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty, Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, the leader of the Deccani party was the arch enemy of Mahmud Gawan and had contrived his murder. He himself came to a violent end. In 1490 his son Malik Ahmad, Governor of Junnar, established himself as an independent king at Ahmadnagar. In 1499 he took Daulatabad and thus consolidated his dominion.

Burhan (1508-53), the son and successor of Ahmad Nizam Shah, allied himself with Vijayanagar and ravaged Bijapur. His successor Hussain Nizam Shah joined the confederacy which sacked Vijayanagar in 1565. The next Sultan, Murtaza, was a mere figure-head. The further history of Ahmadnagar is not of interest except for the gallant defence by Chānd Bibi when Akbar's son Murad besieged it. In 1596 Berar, however, had to be ceded to the Mughals. With the death of Chānd Bibi in 1600, Ahmadnagar fell. Though a Suba in Akbar's time, Ahmadnagar was not completely conquered by Akbar. That State was finally annexed by Shahjahan in 1637.

GOLKONDA :

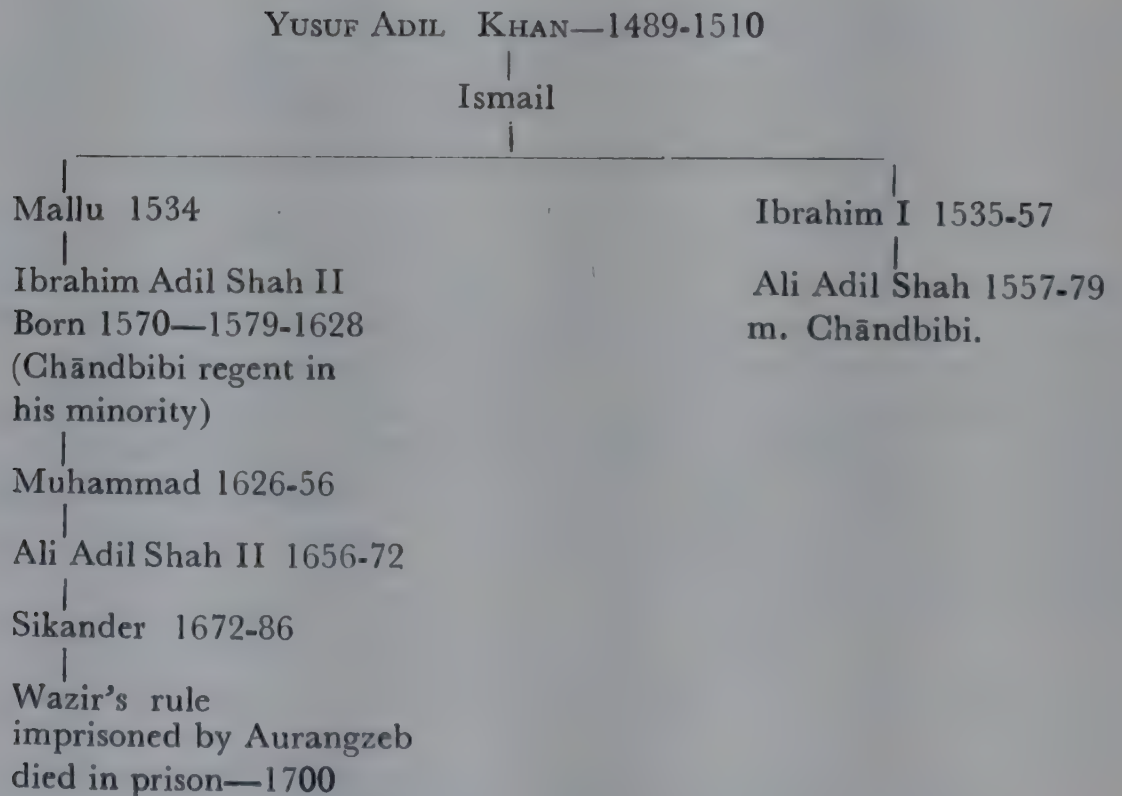
Gōlkonḍa's independent existence was brought about by Quli Qutb Shah, a Turki officer who rose to power as Governor of Telingāṇa during the period of Mahmud Gawan. He continued to be loyal to Mahmud Shah until 1518 and withdrew from the Bahamani Court, as it was controlled by the proud and insolent Qasim Barid. He had a long and prosperous reign and was murdered by his son in 1543, when he was 90. The murderer's brother, Ibrahim, who joined the confederacy against Vijayanagar ruled till 1580. In his administration the Hindus were treated well and some of them held high offices. His son, Muhammad Quli,

lived until 1611. Originally the capital was Gōlkonda, and Ibrahim had greatly developed this new city, but by 1589 it had become unhealthy and the Court was transferred to Bhagnagar (Hyderabad).

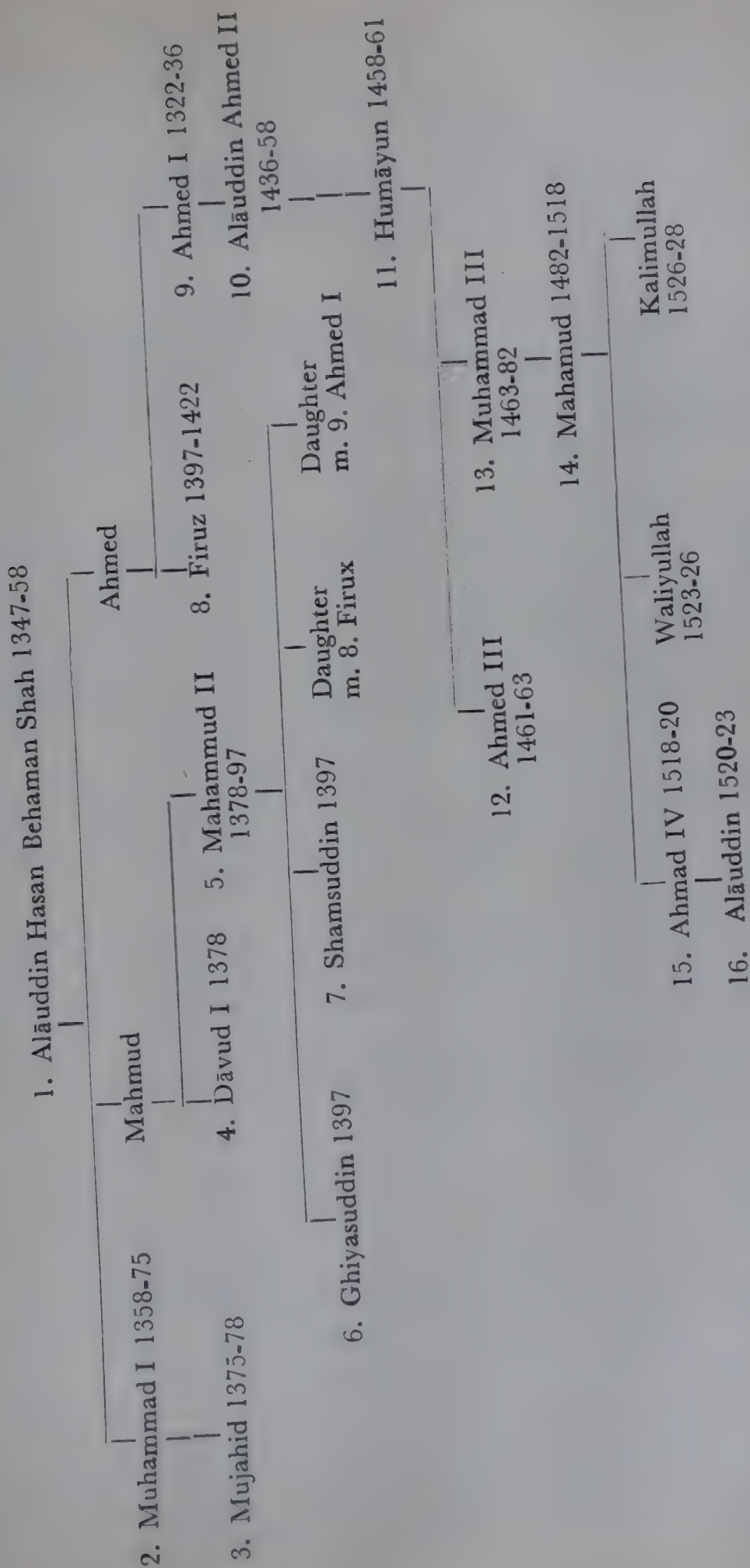
The reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672) was noted for its indolence and imbecility. Bernier informs us that the King had lost all mental energy.

Disorder and intrigue continued during the reign of Abul Hassan, the son-in-law of Abdullah. The elevation of Mādaṇṇa and Akkaṇṇa to power was disgusting to Aurangzeb, who, despite the assassination of this pair, intent on reforming the corrupt machinery of the State, besieged Gōlkonda fort in 1686, but it fell only by bribery in 1687 and was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE BIJAPUR SULTANS



THE GENEALOGY OF THE BAHAMANI KINGS



RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

(VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD)

The incursion of Muslim armies far into the south gave a rude shake up to the princes and the people there. They felt stunned for a time, but the recovery was quick and effective. The challenge provided by the rise of the Bahamani Kingdom north of the Tungabhadra had also to be met. It was time that the Hindus of the south gave up their old rivalries and united to save their freedom and culture from extinction. Not that they were no match for the Muslim invaders: Kumāra Rāma had shown by his heroic defence of Kummaṇṇadurga that they were capable of a heroism even superior to that of the invaders. What was needed for them in the present situation was the impulse for concerted action in defence of their hearths and homes, their religion and culture. And this was provided by that great saint and statesman—Vidyāraṇya, as tradition avers. The Empire of Vijayanagar came into being—a stronghold of Hindu defence against the onslaught of alien forces. The Vijayanagar Empire flourished for over two centuries and was the most powerful political power in the south during the period, guaranteeing peace and security. Even after the disaster of Rakkasa-tangadi, it continued to be an inspiring legend of Hindu might and the vitality of Hindu culture.

This was the real contribution of the Vijayanagar Empire. Mere political might could never have produced this inspiring effect. The resurgence was the result of the endeavour of the rulers to promote the revival of all that was great and noble in Hindu Dharma and Hindu tradition. An attempt is made in this chapter—though briefly—to give an account of this contribution of Vijayanagar in the field of cultural revival.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

ADVAITA

Among the great Advaita thinkers of Karnataka, between the 14th and 16th centuries, Vidyāraṇya shines brightly as a brilliant star in the philosophical firmament. His place in the history of Indian monism is very high. He has

popularised one important phase of Advaita tradition described as the 'Vivaraṇa sampradāya'. He lived in the 14th century and tradition credits him with inspiring the founders of Vijayanagar. He was the family Guru of Harihara I and Bukka, the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. He occupied the gādi of the Srīngēri Maṭha from 1377-1386 A.D. His popularity is second to none among the post Śankara thinkers.

There is some controversy about the identity of one Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya. Scholars have widely differed in their views about this identity problem. Certain scholars are of opinion that Vidyāraṇya is the same as Mādhava, the brother of Śāyana, the great Vedic commentator. He was also the pupil of Śankarānanda who has to his credit some works of minor importance on all the Upanishads.

The philosophy of Advaita has developed through centuries at the hands of the post-Śankara thinkers. Śankara's celebrated commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* is further commented on by Vāchaspati in his *Bhāmati*. Amalānanda (13th century) has commented on the *Bhāmati* in his *edānta VKalpataru*. This work, in its turn, is commented on by Appayya Dikshita (16th century) in *Parimaḷa* and also by Lakshmīnārasimha (17th century) in his *Ābhōga*. The entire group of these texts is described as the 'Bhāmatikāra's tradition'.

There was a second line of interpretation which went under the name of the Vivaraṇa school. Padmapāda, a direct disciple of Śankara, commented on his *Sūtra-Bhāṣya* in his *Panchapādika*. This, in its turn, is commented on by one Prakāśātman in his *Panchapādika-Vivaraṇa*, from which the 'Vivaraṇa' school takes its name. Vidyāraṇya summarises the contents of the 'Vivaraṇa' school in a masterly manner in his celebrated Advaita classic called *Vivaraṇa-Pramēya Sangraha*. Besides this work Vidyāraṇya has to his credit the most popular metrical manual of Advaita Vedānta, *Panchadaśī*. He is also the author of *Jīvan-Mukti-Vivēka*.

Vidyāraṇya's exposition of Advaita is neat, forcible and clear. Advaita tradition accepts the exposition as authentic and authoritative. Brahman is the central and only one real and ultimate philosophical category. Brahman is described as the homogeneous, non-composite consciousness. Sights are many, the seer is one. Brahman is not dead or inert matter. Advaita is not materialism; it is not Bhūtādvaita but is Ātmādvaita. Brahman is Spirit. Ultimate Reality is called Ātman in order to indicate that it cannot be denied, for it is the self of even the one who denies it. Brahman in Advaita is indeterminate. There is nothing real except Brahman. It is Reality; it is Perfection. It is not related to anything, for there is nothing else to relate it to. It is 'Suddha Chaitanya'. There is nothing like it. It is not a system, nor an organism nor a Personality. It is Spirit. It is self-caused, the root cause of all and not the product of any activity. It is an absolute contrast to and is fundamentally different from things that are present to our ordinary consciousness. It can only be expressed negatively in terms of what it is not. In his *Panchadaśī*, Vidyāraṇya argues that Brahman

is the light of consciousness is present in all the three states, the states of waking, of dream and of deep sleep. It is self-luminous like the Sun. It makes known to us all the other objects through its light, and also itself. It is the reality of Brahman which is responsible for our experience of bliss and of all cognition in life.

Though Brahman is described as indeterminate, he is not 'nissvarūpa'. The Upanishads describe Brahman negatively, in terms of what it is not. This is the famous 'nēti-nēti' viz., the negative method of the mystics. There are logical difficulties in describing Brahman as This or That. Such description limits His perfection. All determination is negation of perfection. Further description implies some other thing than the object to describe it with; such an object is not there for us to describe Brahman. It is further pointed out that the concept of relation, which is essential for any type of description, is logically indefensible and it involves contradiction. So Advaita does not describe Brahman.

The seer and the seen are two things which are mutually exclusive. The Seer is Brahman, the seen is Māya. This is the declaration of all Vedānta. Brahman, though He cannot be known directly is indicated by the Scriptures through the 'taṭastha lakṣhaṇa'. Brahman can be spiritually experienced and known indirectly from the Scriptures; the *Geeta* describes it as, "Of the Real there is no non-existence, and of the unreal no existence."

The central problem of all philosophy, as of Advaita, is the relation of the one Brahman and the manifestation, i.e., the world of matter and the world of souls. Sankara, for logical reasons, is not able to accept the Creationist hypothesis, i.e., the Ārambha vāda of the Nyāya school. Nor does he accept the Transformation doctrine (Pariṇāma vāda) of the Sāṅkhya system, for the simple reason that the concept of causation is logically unsustainable. He explains the relation between the world of souls in his unique theory called 'Vivarta.' Souls and the world of matter are the appearances of Brahman. Brahman is the Reality. If there is no Brahman, there is no world. The non-existence of the world will not affect it in any way. Vidyāraṇya clinches the issue: 'When we say that Brahman is non-different from the world, it does not mean we identify it, but only negate the otherness.' The *Chhāndōgya* puts it best: 'The multiplicity of creatures existing under name and form, when viewed as self-dependent, is not true; but when viewed as having the Real as its substratum, it is true.' When Sankara declares the world as 'māya', all that he means is that it cannot be characterized, either as *real*, or *unreal*, or a combination of the *real* and the *unreal*. It is indeterminable. The world of souls and the Universe are the appearance of Brahman. The world is not the creation of the soul. It is the creation of Īśvara, the personal God, who is no other than the conditioned Brahman. In the sixth chapter of the *Panchadaśī* entitled 'Chitradīpa', the analogy of painting is skilfully employed to explain the successive stages in the cosmic manifestation. The one non-dual Self becomes successively, Īśvara, Hiraṇyagarbha and Virāṭ, in relation to the three stages in the

evolution of the Universe, *viz.*, the causal, subtle, and gross. And this is compared to 1. the bleaching of the canvas and stiffening it with starch, 2. sketching the outlines of the figure on the canvas, and 3. filling the picture with paint. Īśvara is Brahman or Ātman as qualified by māya. He is the material-cum-efficient cause of the world. Just as the bleached canvas, stiffened with starch, serves as the basis and background of a painting, so is Īśvara the substratum of world-creation. The individual soul cannot neglect the personal God of Sankara. It is not by ignoring but by worshipping and transcending Him that one attains mōksha. Sankara is not an agnostic, nor a materialist, nor is he an atheist. He is a super-theist, for that is the reason why he criticises the Atomic theory of the Nyāya school and the Evolution theory of Sāṅkhya. The principle of māya is responsible for the appearance of all the three categories: (1) Personal God—Īśvara, (2) Souls—Jeevas, (3) the Universe—Jagat. Māya is positive, beginningless, and is destroyed at the time of Brahman realization. It veils the real through its power of āvaraṇa (covering) and projects in the place of the object which it veils an appearance through its vikshēpa śakti. Brahman reflected in māya is Īśvara. This is not polluted. Brahman reflected in avidya, *i.e.*, polluted māya, is jeeva *i.e.*, the soul.

Advaita adopts, in fact, three standpoints in its view of Reality. The absolute standpoint, *i.e.*, pāramārthika point of view, *i.e.*, Brahman alone is real. From the relative, or the empirical, standpoint, the world is real. That is the vyāvahārika point of view. “Unreal the world is, but illusory it is not,” says Radhakrishnan. The third level is the world of dream experience, *i.e.*, prātibhāsika point of view. This is a private world, the projection of each individual and only cognizable by him. It has no objective reality. The empirical world is not like the dream world, for it is public and it has a common reference and is not the creation of the individual soul. The world of waking experience is objective and has relative reality.

“This world is called *prapancha*, because it has five characteristics: (1) existence, *asti*, (2) manifestation, *bhāti*, (3) lovability, *priyam*, (4) name, *nāma* and (5) form, *rūpa*. Of these the last two vary from entity to entity. They are products of māya. It is the name and form that the ignorant regard as the world. The first three constitute the essential nature of Brahman. The wise one knows that.”

The *Panchadaśi* sums up the issue and states “that from the empirical standpoint, the world is real; from the standpoint of logical reasoning it is indeterminable; and from the standpoint of revealed Scripture it is unreal”.

The individual soul is in essence non-different from Brahman. It is the obscuration of māya and the projection of something else in its place that is responsible for the feeling of separation and pluralism. The One appears as the many. It is the result of *ajñāna*. The antidote to it is *advaya-jñāna* the non-dual consciousness of Brahman. Mōksha is the realization of this truth: the

empirical egos are many because of their conditioned nature. The transcendental Self is one. 'Ātmā sarvasya ātmā': 'Brahman is the soul of all. Creatureliness, finitude and ignorance, misery etc., are all one to māya and are not the permanent nature of man. They are adventitious and not native to the soul. Advaita asserts the con-substantiality of the soul of man and God. The memorable passage in *Chhāndōgya* declares : "That which is the subtle essence, this whole world has for itself. That is true; That is the self: that art thou, Oh, Svētakētu."

The advaitin's conception of mōksha is unique in Indian Philosophy and has no parallel in any other system in the world. It is a form of self-realization. There is nothing new achieved. It is making known what is already there. It is not a bringing into being something which is not already there. In the words of Vidyāraṇya, it is like the finding of the forgotten golden ornament which is all the time on our own person. It is not a gift from above, but is an inward realization. It is not a product; then it will be destroyed and will not be eternal. It is not an attainment to a state after death. It is realization which can be had here and now in the embodied state. It is a plenary experience resulting from our unitive knowledge of Brahman. Mōksha is a realization like the one the Prince of the Indian legend had. He was unaware of his princely birth and was brought up for decades among huntsmen. It was suddenly revealed to him that he was a Prince. That type of realization is the nature of mōksha. The realization of Brahman in the embodied existence is called jeevanmukti. Sankara hints at such an experience he had obliquely in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. The jeevanmuktas are the great exemplars of Advaita realization. The words of the jeevanmukta are wisdom; his work is worship; and his conduct is consecration.

Besides the concept of jeevanmukta, Advaita exhibits a catholicity not found in other systems in its doctrine of universal salvation. Mōksha is the birth-right of all. It is not the privilege of some alone. It is a question of time. Souls are not divided, as in some theologies, into two classes, the fallen and the elected. Salvation is not the gift of any one to us. It is the realization of our real nature which is overlaid with thick layers of ignorance and unreality. This doctrine is described as 'sarva-mukti'. This is a special feature of Advaita faith. Advaita lays great stress on the divinity and dignity of man. It is this universal aspect of Advaita that has made some describe Advaita as the most rational humanism.

Advaita is not a mere system of rational reflection; it is also a spiritual guide. It outlines a way of life that helps man to achieve spiritual realization. Though Advaita holds that mōksha can be realized through jñāna, it does not belittle the other forms of discipline. Ceremonial purity and ethical excellence have to be acquired for making the mind wholly clean. Karma may not directly lead to mōksha but it is an indirect aid. So is ethical life. The observance of ethical virtues and the cultivation of Svadharma are insisted on :

the round of rituals and a ceremonial life purify the mind. The different steps of spiritual discipline are outlined by Sankara. The good life is indispensable for spiritual realization, though it is not considered a direct aid to it. The preliminary discipline consists of the control of the mind and control of the senses (sama and dama). They stand for temperance of thought. Next, we have to show renunciation and fortitude in our actions (uparati and titeeksha). The fifth quality necessary is concentration. The last is faith (śraddhā).

The spiritual aspirant must learn the Vedantic teaching from an enlightened and illumined Master and not merely through self-study. 'He who has a guru knows.' To go to the guru is not a formal convention or a formality or an evasion of responsibility. Knowledge has to be had through the guru. Such learning is called 'śravaṇa'—listening. What we have learnt from the guru is to be debated within ourselves and reflected on. It must be made our own. This is the stage called 'manana'. Rational reflection and not blind acceptance is emphasized by Advaita.

The intellectual conviction which we arrive at is not mediate knowledge. It is not a direct experience of Reality. We have constantly to meditate on the truths learnt, till we have the transforming experience. The theory must become an experience (sākshātkāra) i.e., a direct realization. This process is called nidhidhyāsana. "It is that operation of the mind by which we fix our mind on the Self, drawing it away from all worldly concerns towards which it is attached by a beginningless habit". Spiritual realization is the ultimate fulfilment of man's life.

Vidyāraṇya answers the criticism against Advaita, that it is unethical, and indicates a state that is beyond good and evil. The answer is, no genuine human love is possible until you realize the fundamental oneness of Reality. From such an experience alone we can have the feeling of the fellowship of Faith. Vidyāraṇya's account of Advaita is complete and clear and brings out best the vigour and genius of Sankara's message.

VISHISHTADVAITA

We have seen that under the Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra Viśiṣṭādvaitic Vaishnavism, as expounded by Rāmānuja, flourished as philosophy and religion, and left behind in Karnataka a rich legacy of bhakti and prapatti which opened its gates wide for all earnest seekers irrespective of their caste and creed.

Viśiṣṭādvaitic Vaishnavism seems to have gained a fresh accession of strength during the period of the rise and growth of the Vijayanagar Empire, the age of Krishnadēvarāya and the reigns of Achyuta and Sadāśiva. This practically covers three centuries from the 14th to the 16th, during which the doctrine of Rāmānuja underwent interesting changes due to slightly varied interpretations made by later thinkers of that school.

One of the interesting changes which may be noted was about the importance to be given to the Āḷvārs, the Vaishnava saints of Tamilnāḍ, from whom Rāmānuja and a few of his predecessors are said to have derived their inspiration. The term *Ubhaya Vēdānta* (the two Vēdāntas) came into vogue, one the Sanskritic or Vedic, and the other the Tamil or the Prabandham. The influence of the Āḷvārs on the mind and heart of a great devotee like Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar, is testified by the Telugu kāvya, or poetic work ascribed to him called *Āmuktamālyada*, supposed to have been written in 1519 A.D. This is the story of the only woman Āḷvār, known as Āṇḍāl or Gōdadēvi. The sub-title of the book is *Vishnu Chittiyamu*, Vishnuchitta being the name of the foster-father of Āṇḍāl. The title of this work is a synonym of the Tamil descriptive title of Āṇḍāl, which is 'Sūḍi koḍutta Nāchiyar,' which means the same thing as 'Amuktamālyada'. Vishnuchitta offered Āṇḍāl, at her own wish, as bride to the Lord whom she chose as her Bridegroom. Āṇḍāl had intense love for God. 'Āmuktamālyada' literally means 'one who gave away the wreath of flowers she wore to God,' referring to an interesting incident in the story of Āṇḍāl. She would every day string the flowers culled by her father from his flower-garden into a wreath to offer it to God in the local shrine. Before she laid down the wreath, after stringing the blossoms together to be carried by her father to the temple, she would wear it in her hair and look at her image in a mirror. She would satisfy herself that it looked beautiful on her tresses and infer that it would look beautiful too when worn by the Lord, who was beauty incarnate. Her strange behaviour was discovered one day by her father, who looked upon it as a sacrilege of which his little innocent daughter unfortunately became guilty. But he was soon reassured by the Lord appearing to him in a dream that she did no wrong. The Lord enjoined on him to bring to His worship every day only those flowers previously worn by His dear devotee Āṇḍāl. She brooked no mortal man as her husband and was already wedded to the Lord in her heart. The spiritual marriage had only to be enacted as a normal wedding for all the world to see. It was done and the bridal procession wended its way to the shrine of the Lord. The bride Āṇḍāl was decked as a bride and with a garland in her hand was gently led by Vishnuchitta and all the people of the place to the *sanctum sanctorum*, where, with tears of joy in her eyes and with the song of love on her lips, she entered into the Holy of Holies and vanished bodily into the glorious recumbent Lord Ranganātha, who accepted her as His bride. Her famous songs *Tiruppāvai* and *Nāchiyar Tirumoli* speak of this great love of Āṇḍāl to God, an intense love, of which human affection is only a faint semblance.

The philosophic commentators on these poetic works hold that they exemplify Rāmānuja's favourite philosophical doctrine of *Bhaktirūpāpanna Jñāna*, that is, 'Knowledge of God ripening into love of Him'. In his Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy and religion, Rāmānuja gave to Indian theism a God who endeared Himself to His devotee as a God of goodness (*sauśeelya*) and beauty (*saundarya*) and grace (*lāvaṇya*), the abode of all excellences ever conceivable by the mind of man. No wonder that the Āḷvārs like Āṇḍāl felt transported by this charming Deity who appeared as Rama and Krishna. The Āḷvārs left a rich legacy of a transcendental ethical and aesthetic experience which became a source of illumination and delight to philosophers and poets of Śrī Vaishnavism.

Krishnadēvarāya who, by all accounts, was a staunch Vaishnava of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of thought, was, nevertheless, a monarch in whom we find a spirit of great religious tolerance. As a monarch he made no distinction between the adherents of different religions and philosophies. In this he reminds us of Aśōka. The same spirit was evinced by his predecessor, Bukka I. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar says, 'The Empire of Vijayanagar came into existence under circumstances which did not permit of sectarian rancour being given vent to' (*Early History of Vaishnavism in South India*, P. 96). It is worthy of note that this 'golden age of the Vijayanagar Empire' was an age of the harmonious co-existence of the schools of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita and of the important sects of Saivism and Vaishnavism, on the one hand, and of Jainism on the other. About the same time flourished Vedānta Dēśika, the powerful champion of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, known as 'Kavitārkika Simha', 'Lion of poets and logicians', by Appayya Dikshita, the great Advaitin, who wrote a commentary in Sanskrit on Vedānta Dēśika's *Yādavābhyudaya*. Later, there came Vyāsateertha, the great philosopher of the Dvaita school of philosophy; and the Haridāsas who belonged to this school like Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa. The kings of Vijayanagar went from strength to strength under the sage guidance of these philosophers.

Vidyāraṇya wrote a manual giving an account of all the philosophies of India, known as *Sarva Darśana Sangraha*, in which he devoted one chapter to what he called 'Rāmānuja Darśana'. He summed up the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja in the verse:

'Vāsudevah param Brahma kalyāṇa guṇa samyutah,
bhuvanānām upādānām kartā jeevā niyāmaka iti'.

"Vāsudēva is the highest Brahman, and is characterized by auspicious attributes; He is the material and the efficient cause of the worlds and the ordainer of souls."

He further mentions qualities like 'Parama kārūṇika' 'great compassionate Being', 'Bhakta vatsala' 'dear to His devotees'. He is the Highest personality

‘Parama purusha’, and, at the same time, easily accessible to the devotee, ‘sulabha’; takes incarnations for the sake of His devotee and even assumes inanimate forms like worshippable images known as ‘archa.’

Vēdānta Dēśika and Vidyāraṇya were the best of friends and their philosophic differences did not come in the way of their mutual admiration and intellectual fellowship. Having been away from Srīrangam for some time to escape Muslim vandalism, he returned to the place when he heard that Srīrangam was delivered from the hands of the Muslims by the Vijayanagar troops. The ‘utsava vigraha’, the idol taken round on festive days of Srī Ranganātha, was restored to the place, thanks to the efforts of Goppaṇārya, evidently one of the many governors under the Vijayanagar kings. Though they were friends, when Vidyāraṇya, who was distressed at the poverty of Vēdānta Dēśika, invited him to the Court as a scholar under the patronage of the Court, Vēdānta Dēśika gently rejected the proffered help. He was content with his poverty and regarded himself as passing rich with the Lord in his possession. Piḷḷai Lōkācharya, the Tēngalai Srī Vaishnava teacher, senior to him in age and a contemporary of his, loved him and admired him.

It is at this period that there was a schism in Viśiṣṭādvaita and Srī Vaishnavism. Two schools sprang up known as the Vēḍagalai and the Tēngalai schools. The Vēḍagalai school means the northern school and the Tēngalai school is the southern school. Possibly, these names must have originated from the fact that the Vēḍagalais stressed the primacy of Sanskrit Scriptures, while the Tēngalais stressed the value of the Tamil Prabandhams. The Tēngalai school was more inclined to relax caste rules, whereas the Vēḍagalai school did not like to relax the old rules that governed Varṇāśrama Dharma.

Many points of difference have been enumerated between these two schools. Vēdānta Dēśika was the protagonist of the Vēḍagalai school, whereas Piḷḷai, Lōkācharya and Manavāḷa Mahāmuni were the exponents of the Tēngalai school. One of the chief doctrinal differences related to the conception of divine grace. The Vēḍagalais maintained that personal effort was absolutely necessary to invoke God’s grace, whereas the Tēngalais maintained that it was of no value, as God’s grace was spontaneous and irresistible, ‘nirhētuka kripa’. The former idea is allegorised as the ‘markaṭa kiśōra nyāya’ and the latter as the ‘mārjāla kiśōra nyāya’. The former is the logic of the monkey and its young one. It means that just as the young one must put forth its own effort of clinging to the mother before the latter takes it round, so man must make his individual effort before God’s grace descends on him. The other analogy is that of the cat and its young one, indicating that the kitten does nothing of itself but is content to be picked up by its mother and the mother does all for the kitten. Similarly, God’s grace is spontaneous. He does all. The initiative comes from Him and His grace descends unsolicited and unforced like the gentle rain from heaven.

Other points of difference between the schools of thought are not of much philosophical significance. The mutual influence of Jainism and Vaishnavism

on each other is evidenced by the fact that both these religious sects are staunch adherents of Ahimsa.

The Śrī Vaishnava faith enjoyed royal favour in a special degree in the reign of Aḷiya Rāmarāya. Among the Śrī Vaishnava scholars whom he honoured were Tāḷḷapākkam Tiruvēngalanātha, from which family came Annamāchārya, the great musical composer whose songs in praise of God Venkaṭeśvara engraved on copper-plates are still preserved and have been published in recent times. Similarly, Sadāsivarāya honoured Achārayya, son of Anantarāya said to have been a learned expounder of Rāmānuja's *Śrī Bhāshya*. The members of the Tātāchārya family like Lakshmikumāra Tātāchārya and Kōṭi Kanyādānam Tātāchārya (the guru of Venkaṭa I) were recipients of royal honours during the reign of the later Vijayanagar kings. There appear to have been several other Śrī Vaishnava teachers of note who did much to popularize Rāmānuja's religion among the chiefs of the Telugu country. Śrī Vaishnavism may be said to have become the creed in South India amongst numerous classes within the half century that followed Rāmarāya's death (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Hayavadana Rao, Vol. II, Part III, P. 2101). With the shifting of the Capital to Chandragiri, Tirupati gained importance as a great Śrī Vaishnava centre and Lord Venkaṭeśvara became the guardian deity of the rulers.

DVAITA

The mission of Śrī Madhva was carried on vigorously during the succeeding centuries. Padmanābhateertha, Narahariteertha, Mādhavateertha and Akshōbhyaateertha, the four direct disciples of the Āchārya, spread his teachings in all directions. The most powerful protagonist of the Dvaita Siddhānta, who interpreted its doctrines by scientific analysis and explanations, was Śrī Jayateertha, the disciple of Akshōbhyaateertha, both of whom were contemporaries of Śrī Vidyāraṇya. Śrī Jayateertha's work *Nyāyasudhā* is a formidable work in which the six systems of philosophy have been critically surveyed and the truth of Dvaita Siddhānta established. He has also written commentaries on almost all the works of Śrī Madhva, and so he is fittingly called 'Teekāchārya'. It is recorded in the biographical sketch of Jayateertha that Vidyāraṇya, the most profound scholar of the age, was extremely pleased with Śrī Jayateertha's learned commentaries and showered on him royal honours. After the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar, the Sāluvas and Tuḷuvas succeeded to the Vijayanagar throne, during whose rule Dvaita Siddhānta spread far and wide even up to Uttar Pradesh and Bengal, under the great Pontiff-philosopher, Śrī Vyāsateertha (1447-1539). Śrī Vyāsateertha

was the Rājaguru (Royal preceptor) of the kings of both the families, viz., Sāḷuva Narasimha, Veera Narasimha, Krishnadēvarāya and Achyutadēvarāya; and during the long period from 1480 to 1539 A.D., he carried on the mission of Śrī Madhva by scholastic disputations, writing original works and imparting lessons in the Sāstras to pupils, of whom the most celebrated were Vijayēndra, Vādirāja, and Purandaradāsa. Vyāsateertha may be said to have been the venerable head of what was like a University at Hampi, or Vijayanagar, to which numerous students and learned men resorted from all parts of the country. His three works *Nyāyāmṛita*, *Tarkatāṇḍava* and *Tātparya-chandrika*, which cover the entire range of philosophical thought in Dvaita, stand to this day as monuments of his learning and scholarship. In the course of a keen discussion held in the Court of Krishnadēvarāya under the presidency of Vallabhāchārya, Sri Vyāsateertha is stated to have vindicated the excellence of Dvaita, summarising its tenets in the following verse:

Sriman Madhvamatē Harih-paratarah
Satyam Jagat-tattvatō
Bhedō-jivagaṇā Harēranucharāh
nichōchcha-bhāvam gatāh
Muktir-naija sukhānubhūtiramalā
bhaktiścha tatsādhanam
Hyakshādi tritayam pramāṇamakhilam-
nāyaika vēdyō Harih .

“In the glorious philosophy of Madhva, Hari is the highest God, the world is real in essence; differences are real. All souls are dependent upon Hari; they are found to be in innumerable gradations of higher and lower ; the freedom of the soul consists in the enjoyment of one’s inherent bliss: pure devotion to God Hari is the means to it. The source of valid knowledge is threefold, namely, Pratyaksha, (direct preception), Anumāna, (inference), and Āgama (word of the Vedas). Perfect knowledge of Hari is possible only through the Vedas”. This enumeration of topics incidentally suggests the nature of problems which a system of philosophy ought to discuss and interpret.

With this epistemological and exegetical equipment provided by Sri Madhvāchārya, which is a great asset of the Dvaita philosophy, later writers belonging to the school analysed and refuted the Māyāvāda and Pariṇāmavāda of Sankara, Bhāskara and Rāmānuja, and established that God Śrī Hari is the independent efficient cause (Svātāntṛa nimittakāraṇa) of the world of sentient and insentient categories, which are real and dependent upon God. Māya, or the veil of ignorance, (they said) cannot cover Brahman who is omniscient and self-evident and turn Him into jeevas full of ignorance and incapacities. Nor can this world be explained as caused by the contact of upādhi with Brahman and thus be ‘mithya’ or unreal, as in the case of the redness of marblestone in contact with the red flower japākusuma (japakusuma sannidhau lauhityamiva). The contact of upādhi-

with all-pervading Brahman is impossible. So, this world is real (satyam), as proved by the valid pramāṇas. The tattva (the object of right knowledge) is two-fold, viz., Independent (Svatantra) and dependent (asvatantra). The Independent is Bhagavān Vishnu and the dependent is everything else, including Mahālakshmi or Prakriti. The latter (asvatantra) is divided into innumerable groups under the categories of Bhāva (existent) and Abhāva (non-existent) ('satyam jagat-tattvatō-bhēdāh'). The jeevas are innumerable and are inseparably related with God, Sri Hari, as the reflection with its original (bimba-pratibimbabhāva), as stated in the *Brahma Sūtras*: "Aum ābhāsa ēvacha, Aum" (II, 3-50), 'Aum tadguṇa-śarattvāchat-hyupadēśah prāgnavat, Aum. (II, 3-29), "Aum, amsō nānā vyapadēśān, Aum" (II, 3-43) etc.

This relationship is difference as between the Lord and His servant (Īśa dāsabhāva), and abides in all phases of existence, including the mukti state. The jeevas are graded into higher and lower categories as also into sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa. The end of the gradation on the sāttvika side is God Vishnu or Hari as recorded in the *Bhagavad Geeta* :

Dvāvimau purushau lōkē ksharaschākhsara ēvacha
Uttamah Purushastvanyah Paramātmē tyudāhṛtah
Yōlōkatrayamāviśya bibhartavyaya Īśvarah (Ch. XV, 16).

"Kshara (the jeevas) and Akshara (Prakriti or Lakshmi) are the two Purushas. There is another higher Purusha (Uttama Purusha) who is called Paramātmā, who pervades the three worlds and supports them, remaining himself unaffected". (Sriman Madhvamatē Harih paratarah).

The difference between God, soul and matter which is mutual and respective is fivefold. (Panchabhēda: 'Tattvatō bhēdō jivagaṇāh Harēranucharāh nichōchchabhāvam gatāh').

By the will of God, the jeevas get suitable bodies and are born in this world, and after a long series of births and deaths, get their potential powers fully evolved through knowledge and devotion to God under the guidance of their respective teachers (gurus). Finally, they reach their full self-hood which is called mukti, casting off the unnatural accretions that had clouded their real nature (Muktir-hitvā-anyathārūpam svarūpēṇa vyavasthitih). In the mukti state, they enjoy their natural bliss unalloyed by sorrow. (Muktir naija sukhānubhūtih).

The means to attain this evolved state are described in the Sāadhanādhyāya of the *Brahma Sūtras*. The immediate cause is God's will or prasāda (grace). Without virakti, or detachment from the world, devotion cannot stand its ground. God is full of auspicious qualities, unlimited and unfathomable. Though He cannot be completely understood, one can know Him according to one's capacity through the study of the Vedas only under the guidance and instruction of a teacher (guru), ('akhilāmnāyaika vedyō Harih'). The study of the Vedas (śravaṇa),

meditation (*manana*), and concentration (*nidhidhyāsana*) on the greatness of Sri Hari with devoted service to Him lead to God vision (*aparōkshajnāna*). When all the karmas are exhausted, God is disposed to confer upon the jeeva, out of His mercy and compassion, (*atyartha prasāda*), his due blissful state. And of all methods, pure devotion to God is the best to reach Him. (*'amalābhaktischa tatsādhanam'*).

Thus, in the Dvaita Vedānta, human and superhuman powers are assigned their due place, faultless human experience gets an honoured place as the source of valid knowledge, God's greatness is fully recognized as the only independent category, or *svatantra tattva*, on whom the entire world depends for its existence and activities. Love and devotion coupled with dedicated service are commended as the sure means to obtain God's grace (*prasāda*), which leads to salvation and freedom from misery.

The Vijayanagar kings of the Sāḷuva, Tuḷuva and Āraṇḍu dynasties were staunch followers and liberal patrons of Vaishnava (Dvaita) and Sri Vaishnava (Viśiṣṭādvaita) faiths. In the same way as the followers of Sri Rāmānuja, fired by missionary zeal, carried the cult of Bhakti to North India, the followers of Sri Madhvāchārya and of Sri Vyāsateertha carried it to north-east India. Narahari Teertha, who had been a Minister in Orissa, became a disciple of Sri Madhva, and became a Pontiff of one of his important maṭhas. Akshōbhyateertha and Padmanabhateertha,* who also became disciples, and ruled as Pontiffs of Madhva maṭhas, were great dialecticians and engaged in disputations with rival schools of thought, and controverted particularly the Māyavāda of Advaita, and carried the message of Dvaita to regions beyond Karnataka.

It is said that Puri, the religious centre of Orissa, became a centre of Madhvaism owing to the influence of Narahariteertha. The faith spread later to Bengal and to Gaya, Banaras and Prayag (Allahabad). This was before Chaitanya (1485-1533). "Chaitanya's first initiator into the Bhakti cult was Īśvara Puri, the Madhva Guru at Gaya. The significance of this initiation, which occurred in 1508 A.D., will be readily imagined when it is stated that the worship of Krishna is to this day the predominant cult at Uḍupi, the centre of Madhva's cult. Chaitanya's principal assistant in spreading his religion was Nityānanda, another Madhva sanyasin. The teacher who in 1510 initiated

* The 'Vrindavanas (or Samadhis) of Narahari Teertha (d. 1333) and Padmanabha Teertha (d. 1324), it is interesting to notice, are close to Hampi, the former almost in the Tungabhadra river bed behind the Vijaya Vithala Temple, and the latter in 'Nava Vrindavana' in an island formed by the river near Anegondi, a cluster of nine vrindavanas of the eminent teachers of the Madhva school, including Vyasa Teertha's, Padmanabha Teertha's being the earliest. Both Narahari Teertha and Padmanabha Teertha seem to have been near Anegondi, about the time when Vijayanagar was founded. What part they took in the great effort, or if they did take any part, is yet obscure.

Chaitanya into sanyāsa was Kēśava Bhārati, who was also a Madhva Guru. Among the principal places visited by Chaitanya in his grand pilgrimage of India were Śrī Kūrmam, Simhāchalam, Srīrangam and Uḍupi.....all places specially sacred to Madhvas. Among the other places mentioned as having been visited by Chaitanya in his tour is Vidyānagar.....Like Ānandateertha, who was the first to stress the importance of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Chaitanya and his followers based their teaching on the *Bhagavata* (From the Introduction to “*Srikara Bhāshya*” Vol. I, edited by C. Hayavadana Rao, p. 183-4).

Another distinguished teacher who did a great deal to propagate Śrī Madhva's teachings all over the land, both by his writings in Sanskrit and songs in Kannada, was Vādirājateertha (1480-1600), a pupil of Śrī Vyāsateertha. His *Teertha Prabandha* in mellifluous Sanskrit verses is a travel account containing hymns of praise on the deities he worshipped at various places in India. It is interesting that among these places are included, Puri (Orissa), Ganga Sagar (Bengal), Gaya (Bihar), Banaras and Prayag (Uttara Pradesh). Vādirājateertha was the head of the Sōde Maṭha (one of the eight maṭhas founded by Śrī Madhvāchārya for worship at Śrī Krishna Temple at Uḍupi.) Vādirājateertha is credited with having organised this worship by rotation, each of the Svāmīs (and not professional priests) worshipping for two years at a time (known as ‘Paryāya’). This unique arrangement, by which vested interests in the Temple and its properties are not allowed to grow, continues to this day.

The period between 14th and 17th centuries may be said to be the heyday of Vaishnavism all over India.

SHAKTI VISISHTADVAITA

The principal tenets of Veeraśaivism, which developed in the 12th century owing to the efforts of saints and mystics like Basavēśvara, Allamaprabhu, have been dealt with in an earlier chapter. The missionary zeal of the śaraṇas resulted in spreading the movement all round in the surrounding provinces, to Maharashtra, Andhra and Tamilnāḍ. This process was accelerated because the homeland of the Veeraśaiva Movement, the Kalyāṇa region, was overrun by Muslim conquerors, and resulted in the establishment of the Bāhamani Kingdom in the 14th century. The Movement found a congenial home in Andhra. The founding of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the Hindu religious revival following in its wake, exerted its influence also on Veeraśaiva thinkers and scholars, who systematized the doctrine on the lines followed by the expounders of the other schools of Hindu thought. Veeraśaivism enjoyed considerable patronage during the reign of the Vijayanagar King, Dēvarāya II (1424-1446 A.D.),

himself the author of a *Brahma Sutra Vritti*. (Vide article by Dr. V. Raghavan in *Vijayanagar Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume*).

We shall now consider one such effort made by Sripati Paṇḍita,* who hailed from the Vijayawada region in Andhra, and who is assigned to about 1400 A.D.

Sakti Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy appeared in a logical form in Srikantha's commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*. Later, Sripati Paṇḍita wrote *S'rikara Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma Sūtras* on the basis of Vedic texts, Upanishads and Saivāgamas, and established the Sakti-Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy with Lingadhāraṇa (wearing of Linga on the body after the Deeksha, initiation ceremony), as a necessary adjunct to it. Sripati's ideas have been accepted as the fundamental basis of Veeraśaivism. •

The word Veeraśaiva occurs in many of the Āgamas and Purāṇas. It has been variously interpreted by scholars.

'Vi' means the knowledge that the individual subject (jeeva) and Siva are identical. The followers of Saivism who find delight in such knowledge are Veerāśaivas. (Vide *Siddhānta S'ikhāmaṇi*). 'Vi' means doubt, diverse perception, delusion (*vikalpa*): 'Ra' means without. Veeraśaiva means the Saiva faith and philosophy which is free from doubt, diverse perceptions and delusions (Vide *Kriyāsāra*).

The knowledge that one gets from the study of Vedānta is referred to by the letter 'Vi'. 'Veera' is one who finds peace of mind in it. (*Kriyāsāra*, 3.)

In the religious ceremony of Deeksha, the Guru (preceptor) instructs the disciple as follows: Resolve to keep the Linga (the symbol of God Siva) as if it were your very life. Do not part with it so long as you live. (*S'rikara Bhāṣya*, Vol II, 92.)

The meaning of this vow at the time of Deeksha is that the disciple should have firm faith and deep attachment to God Siva throughout his life. From the above it is clear that the person who follows the path of Veeraśaivism through the worship of Linga is called a Veeraśaiva.

CONCEPTION OF REALITY:

Brahma, or Reality, otherwise called Paraśiva, is pure Existence, Intelligence and Bliss. He is devoid of all forms. He possesses innumerable and

*An English edition of Srikara Bhashya edited by C. Hayavadana Rao, was published in 1936 in two volumes. The first volume contains an elaborate and learned introduction covering nearly 900 pages.

inexhaustible powers. He is free from all attributes (nirguṇa), though His powers are operative. He is the ultimate goal that is reached by the human soul when it gets freedom from bondage. He is related to the individual soul at the empirical level, as the soul is to the body, but remains unaffected by the qualities of things to which he is related. He is eternally free. The entire objective world, the sentient and insentient, is within Paraśiva, in the same way as all the leaves and fruits are within the seed from which they spring. He is both the efficient and material cause of the world. Just as a spider weaves out of itself the whole web, He creates out of Himself the whole world. Just as a yōgin withdraws vital air, etc., at the time of concentration (samādhi) and lets them off to function when he descends to the empirical level, so Paraśiva withdraws the world within at the time of dissolution and spreads it out at the time of creation. (*S'rikara Bhāshya*, Vol II, p. 29 and 59). The world is not an illusion. It is real, as it not only appears but serves all our purposes. The world has its potential being in the power of the Lord (śakti) even at the time of dissolution.

Paraśiva is free. He can rise above all forms, and assume all forms. The variety of pleasant and painful experiences at the time of creation is to be traced not to Him but to Karma, which constitutes a beginningless impurity of each soul. (*S'rikara Bhāshya*, Vol II, 202, 208). Reality, or Brahma, is termed Linga in Veeraśaiva philosophy, otherwise called 'Śakti-Viśishtādvaita'.

“Līyate gamyate yatra yēna sarvam charācharam
Tadētat tallingam ityukta Lingatattva parāyaṇaiḥ.

'That into which everything moving and unmoving merges, and in which everything moves, that verily is Lingam, so say the Seers who know the *Lingatattva*.' 'Li' means that in which the whole of this sentient and insentient world gets absorbed, and 'ga' means that from which the same emerges. Linga and Brahma are expressed in terms 'Asmi Prakāśa Nandāni', i.e., the Lord is conscious of His being, shining and enjoying bliss independently of anything else. His nature is twofold, immanent and transcendent. He is the substratum of everything. He is the ultimate goal. He is self-conscious (vimarśa). His power of will, knowledge and action may be said to be different aspects of this Vimarśa. 'Prakāśa' is His manifesting power. All objects and energies are in Him and are merely the modes or forms of His prakāśa. He is, therefore called, '*Prakāśa-Vimarśamaya*.'

BHEDABHEDA VADA :

The relation between God and the world is one of identity in difference. The world is different from God, since its nature and qualities are different from those of God. At the same time, it is not strictly different, since it cannot exist by itself and is absolutely dependent on God. So the ultimate Reality is unity in multiplicity. Both unity and multiplicity are equally real. Śrīpati, in expounding 'Śakti Viśishtādvaita,' ('Viśēshādvaita' is a term used by him to distinguish it

from Sakti Viśiṣṭādvaita of Śrīkantha) admits the reality of the objective world and definitely denies that it is a mere illusion. He believes in the theory of evolution and asserts that multiplicity is equally real and eternal, because it always exists potentially in the power of the Lord, much as the various parts of the tree exists in a seed. He is of the opinion that unity and multiplicity are the two states of the same Reality. Unity is the unevolved or unmanifested state, and multiplicity is the evolved state. The unevolved state, which is the state of unity, is not pure unity but the unity of the two, the Lord and His power, Śiva and Sakti. The one is the efficient cause and the other is the material cause. The relation between them is that of identity (tādātmya), similar to the one between the magnet and its power to draw iron or between fire and its power to burn.

There is difference between jeeva and Brahman, in so far as the former is the worshipper who possesses limited knowledge, and the latter is the object of worship, all-pervasive and omniscient. Śrīpati avers that the limitations of the soul are beginningless and natural (svābhāvika), that the soul gets freedom from those natural differences and limitations and becomes one with Brahman as does a river with the ocean into which it falls. He holds that even the beginningless qualities and limitations disappear, as the drop of rain water which gets into the mother-of-pearl becomes a pearl, by the grace of God.

SIVASAKTI :

Śiva is inseparably connected with Sakti (Energy). This Sakti in the form of His self-consciousness is a part and parcel of Himself. Śiva and Sakti are one indivisible whole. Sakti is Śiva's handmaid executing the commands of the Lord. It is in this sense that Śiva is characterised as 'Sakti-Viśiṣṭa'. 'Viśiṣṭa' stresses the nature of chit or prakāśa which connotes the power to work wonders. The essential identity of Śiva and Sakti is stressed and hence the term 'Sakti Viśiṣṭādvaita.'

Lingam Saivam idam sākshāt

Sivaśaktyubhayātmakam (*Sūkṣmāgama*, IV, 3)

This Linga is indeed of the essence of both Śiva and Sakti.

God Paraśiva is the ultimate cause of the world. He does not, however, suffer any change or diminution in the process of world creation. This is because creation takes place through Sakti, which is His inseparable attribute. Sakti of the Lord is called Parāśakti. It is 'aghaṭana ghaṭanāpaṭiyasi śaktih': It is unbounded extraordinary power. This Parāśakti has manifested itself in two forms: (1) Mahāmāya or Ūrdhvamāya and (2) Adhōmāya or Māya. It is Mahāmāya that evolves itself into the phenomenal universe. Ūrdhvamāya does not produce any illusion in the substratum or abode of consciousness in the first five principles (tattvas) on which it stands (svāśrayā mōha kāriṇī: "Relying on itself, it causes delusion". It is the lower Māya that hides the true nature of the

self and limits the five powers of the Lord in the lower order of creation which consists of thirty principles or tattvas. It may be noted here that the world consists of thirty-six tattvas according to Śaiva philosophy. The Lord's Self-consciousness—the power of will, knowledge and action—may be said to be different aspects of vimarśa. Prakāśa is His manifesting power. All objects and energies are in Him and are merely the modes or forms of His Prakāśa. So Siva is Prakāśa-Vimarśa Māya. The word Māya used here is not to be mistaken for mithyā or illusion as Advaitins have characterized it. It may be taken as an intermediary agency of the Lord for the creation of the world and the plurality of souls.

Siva remaining unchanged in Himself appears in two forms—Linga (pure consciousness) and Anga (individual soul or jeeva). As Sthaṭa (the Supreme Lord) is bifurcated as Brahma and Jeeva, so His Sakti (Power) is also bifurcated into two. Sakti is intermediate and is called Māheśvari. One part of it may be regarded as associated with Linga, the Brahman, and the other with Anga, the Jeeva. In reality Sakti and Bhakti are the same, the two modes in different spheres of activity (Śakti bhaktyēr na bhēdōsti). When energy moves forward for creation it is Śakti as pravritti and it is Bhakti when it moves towards cessation (nivritti). The two-fold functions of Śakti as the upper and the lower, show themselves in the fact that the upper one tends to manifest the world and the lower one appearing as Bhakti tends to return to God. 'Śaktyā prapancha sriṣṭiḥ syau bhaktyā tadvilayōmataḥ (*Anubhava Sūtra*). (Mundane existence is brought about by Śakti: it is destroyed by Bhakti.)

In these twofold forms, the same Śakti is called Māya and Bhakti. The Śakti in the Linga appears as Bhakti in the Anga, and the unity of Linga and Anga is the identity of Siva and Jeeva.

THIRTY-SIX CATEGORIES OF THE WORLD PROCESS:

Veeraśaiva teachers have understood the Universe as consisting of thirty-six categories. According to them Paraśiva is the metaphysically highest, and the world and the individual soul are manifestations of God, the Absolute. They consist of thirty-six categories or tattvas. The first five tattvas, Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva, Īśvara, Śuddhavidyā are pure metaphysical categories. These are not subject to logical reasoning but based on the authority of Śaiva Āgamas. Paraśiva desiring to create the Universe out of Himself first descends gradually into these five categories, assuming certain subtle limitations of His endless powers to suit the creation of this lower universe. These are all in the nature of pure consciousness (chidrūpa). There is no impurity in them. As divinity is in full play, these five categories are called 'Śuddha Vidyā Tattvas'.

The next seven are Māya, Kāla (time), Niyati (ordering of things), Kālā (action), Vidyā (limited knowledge), Rāga (attachment) and Puruṣa. These

are pure-cum-impure categories (chid-achidrūpa) and are called 'Suddha-aśuddha tattvas'. These are philosophical categories. According to this system of philosophy, Jeeva, or the individual soul, is not different from God but is conditioned by several limitations of powers and of bondage. In this connection Māya, as an intermediary category, is the source of the entire lower creation. Through its association the individual soul is conditioned by limitations. The immediate productions of Māya are Kāla, Niyati, Kalā, Rāga and Vidyā, as, enumerated above. The remaining twenty-four tattvas are impure (aśuddha). These generally follow the categories of the Sāṅkhya system. (*Siddhānta Sikhāmaṇi* I,3, *Śivādvaita Manjari*.)

The philosophy of the Shaṭ-sthala of the Veeraśaivas is as follows: Shaṭ-sthala are the six poises of the divine on the double manifestation as Linga and Anga.

Sri M. P. Pandit of Sri Aurobindo Āśrama has neatly summarized this philosophy in the following words in the course of a book-review.

"Here the Paratattva, Supreme Reality, is conceived as both with form and without form. This Ultimate is the sthala (stha-'source' and la-'goal'), the Divine who is at the head of creation and is called Siva. Inherent in Him there is a conscious force, a vimarśa śakti, self-involution and a state of self-expansion. In the former condition, the Supreme is unmanifest; in the other He is manifest. That is to say, the Paraśiva remains formless or becomes formful according to the mood of His Śakti. That is His Leela. Siva who is sthala becomes, in His Divine play, two: Linga and anga, Siva and jeeva. The Śakti that is inalienable is Kalā as related to Linga, and Bhakti as related to anga. (Bhakti here means a spirit of self-surrender and worship).

The Linga (i.e., Siva as Linga), Siva with Form, is Isṭalinga attainable by the soul in the waking state, in the gross form, the ṭyagāṅga. The Isṭalinga further modifies itself into two: the āchāralinga, the concrete, in which the tyāgāṅga develops faith (*bhakti*), and becomes bhakta-sthala; the gurulinga, the preceptive, in which the tyāgāṅga has strong faith and becomes mahēśa-sthala.

Siva with and without form, sakala and nishkala, is prāṇalinga, attainable by the soul in the dream state in the subtle form, bhōgāṅga. The prāṇalinga also modifies itself into two: the śivalinga, auspicious, in which the bhōgāṅga focuses exclusive concentration and becomes thereby prāsādi-sthala; the charalinga, the active, with which, when the bhōgāṅga gets identified in experience, it becomes the prāṇalingasthala.

Siva without form, nishkala, is bhāvalinga attainable by the soul in the state of deep sleep, in the causal form, yogāṅga. The bhāvalinga too modifies itself into two: the prāsādalinga, the gracious, by meditation on which the yogāṅga

gets established in a joyous śaraṇasthala; and the mahālinga, the great, by identification with which the yōgāṅga attains a state of identity, aikya-sthala.

“Thus the Divine Reality admits of both the states of form and no form. The evolution of the Universe proceeds by a manifestation of thirty-six tattvas, or principles: Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva, Īśvara, Sadvidya, Māyā, five Kanchukas (of Kāla, niyati, rāga, vidyā, kalā), Purusha, Prakriti, Mahat, Ahankāra, five tanmātras, manas, five organs of perception, five of action and the five elements. When His śakti blossoms, Śiva manifests in these thirty-six all-pervading tattvas. He extends Himself into all this, yet all the while never ceasing to be what He has been always and ever will be in His utter existence. In a word, this creation is a self-formulation of the Reality that is Divine. At every grade of the manifestation there is, in principle, an identity between the Creator and the created, the Linga and the anga; and it is the object of this discipline to realize their union at each status so as to achieve a complete harmony in oneness between the Śiva and the jeeva”.

ŚIVAYOGA :

Sivayōga is the Yōgic process of attaining at-one-ment with Śiva, the Supreme Reality. Internal or mental worship of the Lord by contemplation, is the real worship, but it grows and develops out of external worship performed by physical acts. This is why *Sivayōga Pradeepika* says a “Muktyabhyantara pūjā sācha bāhyārchanōditā” (The internal worship performed in a state of liberation, if expressed outwardly, becomes ritualistic worship, and enjoins worship by physical acts (kriyāmārga), which proceeds developing into internal worship (or sanmārga).

The worship and meditation of Śiva necessitates the wearing of Linga, the symbol of Śiva, on the body. An aspirant has to undergo the deeksha ceremony for wearing the Linga on the body. This important ceremony is intended to provide the aspirant with an instrument to remove the bonds that imprison the soul in the body. Deeksha, the initiation ceremony, for consecration is of three kinds: Vēdha, Kriyā and Manu. These three kinds go with Tyāgāṅga, Bhāvalinga and Yōgāṅga respectively. Deeksha is a means of psychic discipline and culture, i.e., a means of destroying the three impurities, Āṇava, Māyika and Karma malas.

The characteristics of these three Lingas have been clearly elucidated by Nijaguṇa Sivayōgi as follows :

Ishtalinga is a phenomenal Linga representing bindu, nāda and kalā in the Salunka Pinḍi and Gōmukha of the Linga. It is regarded as the seed, the root and the branches of the tree of existence. This is the ritualistic exposition.

The philosophical explanation is as follows: The Linga is 'Bōdhamātra'. It is identical with pure consciousness. The Linga is the support of itself (' Tanage tñādhāra vāgirpa'—in Kannada) Linga is 'substance', which means that it does not depend upon anything else for its existence and that it can be conceived by itself.

Prāṇalinga is a mystical Linga. It is to be identified with supreme Nāda or Anāhatanāda. It pervades all the different chakras and is pervasive of the whole body ('Dēhakarṇikāra mukha doḷu'—in Kannada). It shines through the pores of the body. It is luminous. It has harmony inside. It is full of colours.

Bhāvalinga is 'Mūlakāraṇa', the original cause, *i.e.*, the cause, the effect and the process. Kāraṇa, 'kārya' and 'karma' are merely the manifestations of this 'Parama Kāraṇa'. This is the nature of causality. It is 'Akhila sākshikamāda'—in Kannada, the All-spectator or Witness of all existence. It is pure bliss without parallel (saṭidōrada tṛipuṭimayamāda). It is *causa sui*; it is the spectator and, finally, it is beautification.

The five elements of Sivayōga—the yōgic process – are Sivajnāna (knowledge of Siva), Sivabhakti (devotion to Siva), Sivadhyāna (contemplation of Siva), Sivavrata (performing Saiva rites meant for spiritual elevation), and Sivārchana (worship of Siva). The last is the essential portion in which the other four are contained. In the performance of Sivapūja, Mantrayōga, Layayōga, Bhaktiyōga, Karmayōga and Jñānayōga are involved.

Jñānam Sivamayam bhaktih Saivi dhyānam Sivātmakam.
Sivavratam Sivārchēti Sivayōgi panchadhā.

LIBERATION :

The individual soul in bondage is called paśu. He has three beginningless impurities, Āṇava, Māyika and Karma. Liberation consists in everlasting freedom from these bondages and subsequent union with Siva. The way to liberation is exactly the reverse of the way of manifestation. The knowledge which liberates is not mere intellectual awareness, but it is a spiritual intuition of the fundamental unity. This can be accomplished when God is worshipped in twofold forms, the physical and the spiritual. This necessitates the worship of Linga, the emblem of God. The path of devotion leads the devotee to the attainment of similarity in respect of the attributes with the object of devotion. Similarly, the path of knowledge leads to union with Paraśiva, similar to that of a river with the ocean. The individual soul may purge himself of all impurities by the fulfilment of the law of Karma. The soul that attains the final union with Paraśiva is characterized by the total absence of the consciousness of all objectivity. The soul that attains liberation is all light. It is nothing but consciousness of Brahman.

Sripati Paṇḍita points out that by the performance of religious duties and surrendering the fruits thereof to God, the mind becomes purified and that by devotion to God one will receive grace, which alone is capable of bringing about salvation. (*Srikara Bhāshya*, Vol. II, 138 and 202).

JAINISM

The principal tenets of Jainism and the patronage extended to the faith by numerous ruling families in the earlier centuries have been already dealt with. Jainism had a long and glorious history in Karnataka before Vijayanagar came into existence in 1336 A.D. The Empire was a manifestation of the ancient spirit of the land in its will to conserve all that was precious in the national heritage, even while it relentlessly resisted whatever was inimical to its best interests. The fortunes of Jainism during the period of Vijayanagar ascendancy constitute but one illustrative strand in the rich tapestry which was the result of its religious tolerance.

A survey and scrutiny of the available evidence enforces the conviction that this generous spirit of 'live and let live' was no mere political make-believe or expedient but was rooted in the culture of the age and country. '*Yathā Rājā tathā prajā*.' Princes and people alike were permeated with a spirit of toleration that went deeper than appearances. It was an active cordiality that made for harmonious social relations. Some well-authenticated concrete instances may be cited here for corroboration. An epigraph of Bukka I (1368 A.D.), is instructive. It states: 'During the time of Srī Veera Bukkarāya, a dispute arose between the Bhavyas (Jainas) and Bhaktas (Srī Vaishṇavas)..... The blessed people of all the regions made a petition to Bukkarāya about the injustice done by the Bhaktas. The King took the hand of the Jainas and placed it in the hand of the Srī Vaishnavas of the 18 nāḍus (regions) including Āchāryas of the places..... He declared that there was no difference between the Vaishnava Darśana and the Jainā Darśana. And then decreed.....'

There is enough evidence to indicate that this spirit of peaceful settlement was but one phase of the patronage to the Jainas under Vijayanagar. The chief Jaina poets during the Vijayanagar period were Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, Madhura, Nēmichandra and Vidyānanda. The feudatories of Vijayanagar, namely, Bhairarasas of Kārkala, Ajilas and Chautas, were patrons of Jainism. Other aspects included the building of basadis and Jaina temples, endowments for their up-keep, grants of lands, honouring the yatis (wandering monks), and promotion of learning, arts, etc.

There were Queens of the royal household and Ministers and Generals in the State service who displayed identical liberalism in action.

Bheemādēvi (Queen of Dēvarāja I) was a disciple of Abhinava Chārukeerti Paṇḍitāchārya. She installed an image of Sāntinātha in the Mangāyi Basadi at Sravaṇabelagoḷa. (*E.C.*, II, SB. 337). Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka (under Harihara II) erected and endowed Jaina temples in the Capital city. He also composed the Jaina lexicon *Nānārtha Ratnamāla*. (Hultzsch, *S.I.I.*, I, pp. 156 ff.).

There were similar patrons and promoters of Jainism in the outlying provinces as well. For example, under Dēvarāja II, an inscription at Mūdabidri, S. Kanara, (XII K. Sahitya Sammelan Report, 1927 p. 152) refers to the gifts of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Nāgamangala in Manalūrurājya (1430 A.D.). Another epigraph mentions that under Virūpāksha (son of Dēvarāja II) when Viṭṭarasa of Bārakūrurājya was ruling, eight Seṭṭigars made a grant to the Jaina temple at Bidre. (*Ibid.*, p. 157).

This last reference to the Seṭṭigars is only one of several such to patrons among the trading classes. There are instances of merchants from distant Mārwar (Rājāsthān) having installed images, built or endowed Jaina temples in Srāvaṇabelagoḷa (*E.C.*, II, p. 192, 203).

The practice of some vital aspects of the Jaina faith during this period may be alluded to here. Sallēkhana or Pandita-maraṇa was practised by Jaina yatis right from antiquity. There are also not a few instances on record of Srāvakas who died in this traditional manner. The case of a lay disciple of Siddhāntadēva (c. 1366 A.D.) committing sallēkhana and gaining Svarga may be cited in this connection (*E.C.*, VIII, SB 102). As a corollary we might also refer to a Jaina sati who performed sahaḡamana in 1354 A.D. (*E.C.*, VIII, SB. 104).

The cases cited above are only illustrative. As Dr. B.A. Saletore has observed: "From that date (1366 A.D.) to about fifty-five years, this orthodox manner of renouncing life seems to have been very popular with the Gauḡas of Avalināḡ". (*Med. Jainism*, p. 832).

Lastly of Ahimsa. It has been the sheet-anchor of Jainism from its very inception. Its influence has been felt down to the days of Mahatma Gandhi and after. But the antinomy between the Ideal and the Practical in this respect has remained unresolved still. An inscription in Mysore (*E.C.*, VIII, SB. 152) states that the Jaina warrior, Baichapa, "having sent many of the Konkaṇigas to destruction, gained the heavenly world and attained the feet of Jina."

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

(VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD)

THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR :

Any account of the social and economic life of the Vijayanagar Empire may well begin with an account of its capital, the City of Vijayanagar, the hub of its life. The Capital stood as a symbol of the strength and the greatness of the Empire. Between 1336 A. D., when it was founded according to tradition, and 1565 A. D., when it was destroyed, it was one of the greatest cities of the times. Travellers from Russia, Persia, Italy and Portugal who visited it in the 15th and 16th centuries, were surprised at its extent, population, trade and wealth. The largest city at that time in Europe was Rome. Paes ¹, a Portuguese, who must have known Rome, said that Vijayanagar seemed to him to be larger than Rome. Conti ², an Italian says that it was 60 miles in circumference. Abdur Razzak ³, a Persian, exclaims that the eye had not seen nor the ear heard anything like it.

As regards its population, Paes ⁴ said that the people in Vijayanagar were countless in number, 'so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear that it should be thought fabulous, but I declare that no troops, horse or foot should break through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people'...⁵ He also gives one reason why Vijayanagar attracted so many people. 'In this City you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds'. In another place, he says that there were 100,000 houses in Vijayanagar; and at the rate of five persons per house on an average, the population of the Capital in the beginning of the 16th century, would have been 500,000.

As regards its splendour, Gangādēvi in her work *Mathurāvijayam* ⁷ (1360-71 A.D.) compared Vijayanagar with Amarāvati, the celestial capital. The gateways, according to this poetess, were like the Mēru mountain; its gardens were (always) like resorts in spring. Its hillocks were full of sport; its lakes and its clean bungalows were a feast for the eyes; it was the home of all wealth, a garland of all good things and a boundary for the ocean of merit.

In its hey-day, it extended from Ānegundi in the north to Hospet in the south, and from Hampi in the west to Kāmalāpuram in the east. Within this area were its different suburbs, each a self-contained unit, with its principal temple, a bazaar in front, and its own system of water supply. Round about the Virūpākṣa Temple and the bazaar in its front, there was (and is) Hampi or

Pampānagari. Proceeding from thence along the south bank of the Tungabhadra towards the east we come to Achyutapuram, built by Achyutarāya, with what is known as the Achyutarāya Temple, but really the Tiruvēngalanātha Temple, as its nucleus. The bazaar, in ruins near this temple, is called in an inscription⁸ as Achyutarayapēṭa and its boundaries are described accurately as follows: west—Matanga Parvata or Hill, east—Tiparaja garden, north—Seeta-Kunḍa (a part of) the Tungabhadra, and south—Bhūpati Tank. In Longhurst's *Hampi Ruins*⁹ this Bazaar is called Sooḷai Bazaar or Prostitute's Street. There were such streets in Vijayanagar. But this does not appear to be one of them. Proceeding east from this suburb along the south bank of the Tungabhadra we come to Tirumalapuram named after Krishnadēvarāya's son Tirumala.¹⁰ The chief temple here was the magnificent Viṭhala Shrine.

To the south of Hampi and the hillock Hēmakūṭa was another suburb called Krishnapuram, the work of Krishnadēvarāya. The remains of the bazaar here are still to be seen in the midst of cultivated fields. There is a reference to the grain-shops in the bazaar in a record.¹¹ The centre of the suburb was the Krishna Temple and the source of water for this part was (and is) the channel called in the records as Hiriya (or Big) Channel.¹² At a distance of five to six miles to the south we have the modern town of Hospet, which contained two suburbs, both built by Krishnadēvarāya, one in honour of his wife called Tirumaladēviyarapaṭṭaṇa¹³ and another in honour of his mother called Nāgalāpura.¹⁴ The latter was a favourite resort of the King, according to Paes.¹⁵ In Kāmalāpuram, there was a suburb known as Varadarājammanapaṭṭaṇa, probably constructed by Achyutarāya in honour of his wife, Varadādēvi.¹⁶

Curiously enough, we have little information in the inscriptions about the heart of the City, the palace, the administrative office and the House of Victory, etc., A Rājabidi, or King's Street, is referred to in an inscription of 1557 A.D.¹⁷ A piece of land adjacent to this street was given to God Santinātha of Chikkadēvarabasadi. Then there was a locality called Anjanagiri where there was a temple of Tiruvēngalanātha and Tirumaladēvi donated land to it. It had the following boundaries; east—Hiriya Kumbhāra Kēri, or Big Potter's Street; north—Akkipēṭe, or Rice Bazaar; west—Mīnavanagunḍi; and south—the Fort.¹⁸

Then there was a Rāmapuram,¹⁹ which may have been near the Hazāra Rāma Temple. There is also a reference to a temple of Rāmānuja or Bhāshyakāra, which cannot be located.²⁰

The main entrance to the City was from the south, where there was a tank known as Rāyarakere, i.e., Krishnarāya's Tank (the chief source of water for the suburb Tirumaladēvipaṭṭaṇa).²¹ The entrance from the east was from Kampili, which was a kind of an outpost to the Capital and it had a part known as Vijaya Virūpapura.²²

The water supply to the different parts of the City was by means of canals from the Tungabhadra and these are still in use. They were supplemented by wells and tanks.

The *Mōhanatarangiṇi* of Kanakadasa²³ contains an account of Dwāraka of Deśādhīpa Krishnarāya. The poet may have had before him the Vijayanagar of Krishnarāya when he wrote it. He says that the wealth of the merchants who traded with foreign countries in ships was such that they could lend money to Kubēra. They sat with their heaps of gold and money in their shops.

The administration of the different suburbs was in the hands of Mayors called 'Seṭṭipaṭṭaṇasvāmis,'²⁴ who were assisted by Talavārs²⁵ or police officers.

The other important towns in the Empire were Ankōla, Mirjan, Honāvar, Bhāṭkal, Baindūr, Bārakur, Basrūr, Mangalore and Kumbbla²⁶ on the west coast and Raichūr, Ādavāni, Penukonḍa, Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa, Dōrasamudra, Ikkēri and Bankāpur,²⁷ in the central part of the Empire.

CASTES AND COMMUNITIES :

According to Barbosa,²⁸ 'all the villages and hamlets (of the Empire) are inhabited by Heathens (Hindus) among whom dwell a few Moors (Muslims). Some of the latter were on the west coast where they were in charge of the foreign trade. Some were in the army of Vijayanagar. Among the Hindus, Barbosa mentions these communities with their characteristics, the King's community or the Kshatriyas, the Brahmins and the Veeraśaivas.²⁹ The Kshatriyas were lords or administrators and fighting men. They were polygamous and their women observed sati. The Brahmins were priests and were in charge of the temples. They were vegetarian, monogamous and received alms from others. About the Veeraśaivas, Barbosa says that they wear the symbol of their god round their neck. He says that they were much regarded and held in respect. 'Many of them are merchants and trade as well.' They were vegetarian and monogamous and they buried their dead.³⁰ There were other castes like the Vaiśyas and communities like the Jainas who figure in inscriptions and literature, and there were untouchables who are mentioned in the works of Purandaradāsa.³¹

CONDITION OF WOMEN :

Marriage and family life were the main careers for women. However, there are examples of women being accomplished in various ways. Barbosa³² says, 'they teach their women from childhood to sing, play and dance and turn about and take many light steps'. Even the wives of the King were well-versed in music.³³

Paes and Nuniz say that within the palace women did all the work of men. They could handle sword and shield, and wrestle. They kept all the accounts of expenses incurred inside the palace gates and they kept an account of the affairs, and compared them with similar accounts kept outside.³⁴ There are inscrip-tional references to these accomplished women within the palace. Prauḍhadēva-rāya (1458 A. D.) had one Honnamma as a reader in his palace,³⁵ and the lady who occupied a corresponding position in Achyutarāya's time was Tiru-malamma. She was a poetess in Sanskrit, and when Achyutarāya made a gift, she recited a śloka, or poem, evidently composed by herself.³⁶

Then there were women in business. Kanakadāsa says that they were an ornament to the shops. He describes their hair-knot getting loosened, faces covered with sweat, breasts heaving, etc.,³⁷ They also took part in dramas. Purandaradāsa compares a pretentious person to an actress in a drama.³⁸ It may be said that an actress's part can be performed by a man also. But we have a specific mention of an actress called Patri, daughter of an actor called Timmayya, and the drama in which she took part was 'Tāyikundanāṭaka'.³⁹

'So far the picture has been bright; but.....there were develop-ments which it is as unpleasant to dwell upon as dishonest to ignore'.⁴⁰ We refer to the customs of prostitution, dēvadāsi and sati, which are described by Abdur Razzak⁴¹ and Barbosa.⁴²

STANDARD OF LIVING :

Food: Communities like those of the Brahmins, Jaina, Vaiśyas and Veeraśaivas were vegetarians, but the rest ate meat. Kumāravayāsa⁴³ describes some non-vegetarian dishes. The vegetarian dishes described in *Āmuktamālyada*⁴⁴ are all to be seen today. The food of the masses then as now consisted of unleavened bread (roṭi), curry and chillies.

Dress: In Purandaradāsa⁴⁵ we have the description of the dress of a merchant. In addition to his dhoti, he wore a shirt and a turban and had an upper cloth on his body and shoes for his feet. The dress of the poorest was a loin-cloth. The women's dress was as ever the saree. Barbosa⁴⁶ describes very accurately the way it was worn.

Houses: About their houses Longhurst⁴⁷ says that, 'although temples, palaces, and civil buildings were built on such a lavish scale, the domestic dwellings and private houses must have been of the poorest description, as no trace of them other than the ruined car streets survives. The dwellings of the humbler classes were even more squalid and ill-arranged than they are in any big city in India at the present day.' But there is no basis for this gloomy view. The contemporary travellers, who had seen the houses of the humbler classes, wrote differently, for Barbosa⁴⁸ says that the dwellings of the common people were

thatched, but none-the-less were well-built and arranged according to occupations in long streets with many open spaces.⁴⁹ Paes supports Barbosa. He says of the Hampi Bazaar that it was a very beautiful street of very decent houses with balconies and arcades. The houses in Nāgalāpura were all one-storeyed and flat-roofed. They had open verandahs where they could accommodate their guests. And they looked like houses belonging to the King.⁵⁰

AGRICULTURE :

The peasant was recognized to be the backbone of the State.⁵¹ Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz give an account of the fertility, crops and cattle of the different parts of the Empire visited by them. The Kanara coast was fertile and contained many farm-steads.⁵² Much rice was grown there and exported to Malabar and Ormuz.⁵³ The lands near Goa produced wheat, grains, gingelly and cotton.⁵⁴ Paes describes the route from Bhaṭkal to Vijayanagar, *viz.*, central Karnataka, as well cultivated and very fertile.⁵⁵ There was plenty of cotton and wheat. Nuniz says that the region round Bankāpur (Dharwar District) was very rich in seed plots and cattle-breeding farms.⁵⁶

IRRIGATION :

Sir Thomas Munro⁵⁷ said about the possibilities for irrigational works in the Rāyalasima or the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, etc., thus: 'To attempt the construction of new tanks is perhaps a more hopeless experiment than the repair of those which have been filled up, for there is scarcely any place where a tank can be made that has not been applied to this purpose by the inhabitants.' This result was mainly due to the irrigation policy followed by the Vijayanagar Emperors. And this has been best enunciated by Krishnadēvarāya⁵⁸ thus: 'The State should create irrigational facilities by the construction of tanks and canals; the land should be given on a favourable rate of assessment to poor peasants for cultivation, which would, of course, bring in plenty of money to the treasury.'

INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS :

Land and overseas commerce was a prominent feature of Vijayanagar economic life. The chief port was Calicut. According to Abdur Razzak: "The Empire possessed 300 sea ports. It had trade relations with the islands of the Indian Ocean, Malaya, Burma, China, Arabia, Persia, South Africa, Abyssinia, and Portugal. The imports were horses, elephants, pearls, copper, coral, mercury, China silks and velvet. Inland transport was cheap by means of *kāvaḍis* (a long stick taking loads hung from either end carried on the shoulder), head-loads, pack-horses, pack-bullocks, carts and asses. Ships were used for coastal trade." According to Barbosa, South India got its ships built in the Maldiv Islands.

Inscriptions say that Vijayanagara rulers maintained fleets and the people were acquainted with the art of ship-building earlier than the Portuguese. The main industries of the Empire were textiles, mining, metallurgy and, above all, perfumery.

Kan-pa-mai, about 167 miles from Calicut (which is identified with Coimbatore), was a great centre of cotton and silk manufacture.⁶⁹ Very fine cloth was made near Goa.⁶⁰ Vijayanagar was the centre for trade in diamonds. Much of this diamond came from Vajrakerūr near Gutti (Gooty in the Anantapur District). The Governor of this place was to give all the diamonds to the King.⁶¹ Much of the wealth of the monarchs and the merchants of Vijayanagar came from the trade in diamonds. In Vijayanagar City both wrought and unwrought metals were found.⁶² Loads of iron ore were exported from Bhaṭkal.⁶³

The foreign trade of South India in the 15th and 16th centuries was mostly through Calicut and the Kanara ports. Ships from Pegu and Malacca on their way to the Red Sea halted at these ports and took Indian goods for distribution in various directions. The whole of this carrying trade was in the hands of the Arabs, who had settled on the west coast. In the 16th century the Portuguese displaced them as the carriers of Indian trade.⁶⁴

The articles of export were cloth, rice, iron, salt-petre sugar and spices.⁶⁵ The Portuguese bought cloth from the Vijayanagar merchants either at Ankōla or at Honāvar.⁶⁶ Rice was exported from Basrūr, Bārakūr and Mangalore to Malabar, the Maldive Islands, Aden and Ormuz.⁶⁷ Among the imports the most important were horses.⁶⁸

Vijayanagar was the centre of the road system in South India. One road ran from Vijayanagar to Goa *via* Bankāpur.⁶⁹ Another connected Bankāpur with Honāvar and Bhaṭkal.⁷⁰ There was another road from Bhaṭkal to Vijayanagar which may have been *via* Harihar.⁷¹ There was a road from Vijayanagar to Mailāpūr (Madras) passing through Penukonḍa, Tirupati, Chandragiri and Pulicat. This was the route followed by Conti.⁷²

COINAGE OF VIJAYANAGAR :

The Vijayanagar Empire represented the traditions of all the ancient empires of the Deccan. Though the State emblem of the Vijayanagar emperors was the Varāha, we find the lānchhanas of Hanumān, Garuḍa and Elephant on the coins. Harihara I issued coins with Hanumān and Garuḍa figures, with the inscriptions 'Śrī Veera Harihara' in Kannada or Dēvanāgarī. The coins of Bukka I have the legend, 'Śrī Veera Bukkaparāya,' Śrī Veerabhūpa (kalpa) tirāya." The half gold Varāhas of Harihara II are 26.4 grains in weight. The obverse contains the figures of Śiva-Parvati, Lakshmi-Narāyaṇa, Sarasvati-Brahma, and Lakshmi-Narasimha. The obverse contains the legend 'Śrī Pratāpa-Harihara' in Nāgarī

characters. One-eighth Varāha of copper is six grains in weight, with the figures of Nandi, Spear and the Nāgari legend 'Pratāpa Harihara'. The copper coins of Bukka II or Vijayadēvarāya have the figures of Nandi, Sun, Moon and the legend, '(Vi) Jaya Bukarāya' in Nāgari. The gold Varāhas of Dēvarāya I are 52.3 grains in weight. They have the figures of Śiva-Pārvati, Vishnu-Lakshmi, and the legend 'Śrī Pratāpa Dēvarāya'. Probably, his copper coins have Nandi, Conch, Sun, Moon and the legends in Kannada 'Dē' 'Śrī Dēvarāya' 'Śrī Nilakanṭha,' and in Nāgari 'Śrī Pratāpa Dēvarāya'.

Abdur Razzak, who travelled during the time of Dēvarāya II, has described the Varāhas (Pagōḍas, and Star Jitals). The one-fourth Varāha of Dēvarāya II was the gold coin of 13.2 grains. As he was a 'Gajabentegāra (elephant-hunter), we have the figure of the elephant. The Star was the silver coin with the elephant and the legend in Dēvanāgari 'Śrī Dēvarāya.' The various copper coins have the figures of the elephant, Sun, and the King hunting the elephant, on the obverse. On the reverse we have the legends in Kannada and Nāgari 'Śrī Dēvarāya,' 'Śrī Pratāpa Devarāya,' 'Śrī Dēvarāya gajavētegāra,' Rāya gajagandā bhērunda'.

Even Lakkaṇṇa Danḍanāyaka issued coins with the Elephant and 'La (kh) maṇa Dannāyaka' in Kannada.

The coins of the Sālūvas are not known. Krishnadēvarāya issued gold Varāhas of 52 grains with the figures of Nandi, Durga, Varāha, Conch and the Discus, with the legend in Nāgari 'Śrī Pratāpa Krishnarāya'. His half and quarter Varāhas have the figures of Bālakrishna. The Varāhas of Achyuta have the figure Gaṇḍa-bhērunda holding the Elephant with the legend in Nāgari 'Śrī Pratāpa Achyutarāya'.

Emperor Sadāśiva issued coins with the figures of Śiva-Pārvati, Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, with 'Śrī Sadāśivarāyaru' in Nāgari. The Āravīḍu kings put the figures of Lord Venkatēśa with the legend 'Śrī Venkaṭapatirāya.'

FOOT NOTES

Abbreviation : F.E. stands for "Forgotten Empire".

1. R. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, Publications Division, New Delhi, 1962, p. 247.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

7. Quoted in *Sanskrita Kaviyatriyaru* by K. T. Pandurangi, pp. 37-38.
8. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX (ii), No. 564.
9. A. H. Longhurst: *Hampi Ruins*, p. 102.
10. V. Rangacharya: *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, Bellary, No. 327.
11. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 262.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 265.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 263.
14. *F.E.*, p. 345. 'This King (Krishnaraya) built a city in honour of this woman, for the love he bore her and called its name Nagallapor'. Here there is a confusion between the two suburbs built by Krishnaraya, one in honour of his wife Tirumaladevi and another in honour of his mother Nagaladevi—both near one another where we now have the modern town of Hospet. See also *S.I.I.*, IX (ii), No. 504 for Nagaladevipur constructed in Krishna's time and close to or in Hospet.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
16. *S.I.I.*, XI (ii), No. 595.
17. *Ibid.*, IV, No. 247.
18. *Ibid.*, XI (ii), No. 510.
19. *V.R.*, I, No. 369.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 347.
21. *F.E.*, p. 351.
22. *S.I.I.*, XI (ii), No. 530.
23. Katti Seshachar: *Kavi Kanakadasa*, pp. 62-3.
24. *S.I.I.*, XI (ii), No. 573.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 536.
26. The Book of Durte Barbosa; I, pp. 182-197.
27. For Raichur, see *F.E.*, p. 319. For Advani, see *V.R.*, I, No. 4.
For Srirangapattana and Ikkeri see *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Ed. by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, p. 111.
For Bankapur, see *F.E.*, p. 119; f.n. for the remaining towns see *E.C.*, V, Bl. 75.
28. Barbosa, I, p. 200.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-220.
30. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 213-220.
31. *Purandaradasara Padagalu*, Ed. by Pavanje Guru Rao, II, p. 99.
32. Barbosa, I, p. 208.
33. Nuniz, *F.E.*, p. 363.
34. Paes, *F.E.*, pp. 204-41 and Nuniz, *F.E.*, pp. 362-63.
35. *S.I.I.*, IX (ii) No. 458.
36. *Ibid.*, No. 557.
37. *Kanakadasa*, p. 192.
38. *Purandaradasa*, II, p. 15.
39. *S.I.I.*, IX (ii), No. 498.
40. *Legacy of Rome*, p. 227.
41. Major: *India in the 15th century*, pp. 29-30.
42. Barbosa, I, p. 222 (Devadasi) and p. 213 (Sati).
43. *Virataparva*, vv. 35-36.
44. *Amuktamalyada*, I, vv. 80-83.
45. *Ibid.*, II, p. 8.
46. Barbosa, I, pp. 205-8.
47. *Hampi Ruins*, pp. 105-7.

48. Barbosa, I, p. 202.
49. Paes, *F.E.*, p. 251.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
51. *Sarvajna*, A. R. Krishna Sastri, p. 39.
52. Barbosa, I, p. 184.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 183 and 188.
54. Nuniz, *F.E.*, p. 367.
55. Paes, *F.E.*, p. 230.
56. Nuniz, *F.E.*, p. 230.
57. Quoted in Gibb's *History of Deccan*, I, p. 188.
58. *Amuktamalyada*, IV, v. 26.
59. Mahaun, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 345.
60. Nuniz, *F.E.*, 367.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 368.
62. Barbosa, I, p. 203.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
64. Barbosa, I, p. 203.
65. H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty*, pp. 62-3 and Barbosa: I, p. 189-198.
66. Heras, pp. 62-63.
67. Barbosa, I, pp. 189-198.
68. Heras, p. 59.
69. *F.E.*, p. 119. F.n.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 119. F.n.
71. Paes, *F.E.*, pp. 224-30.
72. Major, p. 7.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCES:

The Vijayanagar rulers encouraged learning and spread education, because they themselves were educated. Bukka I was a disciple both of Bhāratīteertha and Vidyāraṇya, two of the literary giants of the age.¹ Rājaguru Kriyāśakti was the teacher of Bukka, Harihara and Dēvarāya I.² Harihara □ 'acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by the kings, by the grace of Vidyāraṇya'.³ He is spoken of as 'Karnatakavidyāvilāsa', or cultivator of Karnataka learning.⁴ Dēvarāya I was well-versed in music and literature.⁵ His successor Vijayarāya is said (in 1426 A.D.) 'to have wiped out the tears of Sarasvati caused by the death of Bhōja'.⁶

This tradition of the cultivation of learning by the princes was continued by the successors of the Vijayanagar rulers. Sometimes the King himself instructed his successor, as was done by the Kēḷadi King Chikka Sankaṇṇanāyaka in the case of Venkaṭappanāyaka, his successor, who was taught the rudiments of polity (saptāṅga).⁷ Venkaṭappanāyaka got many works on poetry, drama and Dharmaśāstra written by scholars and wrote some himself.⁸ When Queen Channammāji of Kēḷadi chose Basavappa as the future heir, she gave him both literary and physical education and trained him specially in those aspects of education which would be helpful to him as a King. How well he was trained is apparent by the glorious events of his reign and by his patronage of writers for which he was known as 'Sūrinikara-Kalpadruma'. His efforts in the compilation of an Encyclopaedia called *Sivatattvaratnākara* are well-known.⁹

In *Chikadēvarāya Vamśāvali*, we have a very detailed account of the education of Chikadēvarāya of Mysore (1672-1704 A.D.) He had teachers to teach him different subjects. The teacher of poetry taught him pronunciation and reading and the course was known as 'Lipigrahaṇa'. A second teacher taught him a course known as 'Padavākyapramāṇa' or Grammar. A third teacher taught him the Purāṇas which, among other things, contained history and geography. The Prince also learnt instrumental music and became proficient in playing on the veeṇa, and finally he underwent a course in physical education, which was similar to the one which has come down to modern times in the Indian gymnasiums.¹⁰ That this was a regular feature of the education of the princes is made known to us by the well-known account of Krishnadēvarāya by Paes.¹¹

PRIMARY EDUCATION :

Primary education was known as 'Bālabōdhe'.¹² In *Mōhanatarangiṇi* of Kanakadāsa, we have a pen-picture of teachers of primary schools with their canes and shirts with strings, instead of buttons, who were experts in composing verses in four lines (chaupadigavite) and children's books with illustrations in colour.¹³ The children learnt to write, on dust or sand, alphabets and combinations of consonants with vowels and figures up to 100, then multiplication tables and multiples of fractional parts by integers, and, lastly, tables of money, weights and measures. All this was known as 'dhūḷākshara' or dust-writing.¹⁴ Pietro Della Valle, who visited India in 1623 A.D., describes this stage in a village school of Karnataka. He saw some boys who ".....having taken the lesson from the master, in order to get the same by heart and repeat likewise the former lessons and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone (which hath the force of making a deep impression on the memory) recited part of the lesson; as for example, 'one by itself makes one'¹⁵ and the boys wrote the figures on the sand strewn before them as they repeated the words. So the lesson went on". Pietro Della Valle was full of appreciation for this simple way of

learning. "They learnt to read and write without spoiling the paper, pens or ink" which certainly is a pretty easier and securer way of learning".¹⁶ In Pietro Della Valle, we have the first account by a westerner of the monitor system an intelligent student assisting the teacher in teaching. This system is one of India's contributions to western pedagogy.¹⁷

From dust-writing (dhūḷākshara) they proceeded to write on paper, and to reading and to arithmetic. In arithmetic they proceeded from addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, to simple interest and the rule of three.¹⁸

In the later stages, the books which were studied were *Jaimini Bhārata*, *Vidura Neeti*, *Amarakōśa*, *Panchatantra* and *Sōmēśvara Śataka*. Some of the scholars were also taught the names of the years and stars, of the different points of the compass and a variety of songs and verses celebrating the deeds of gods.¹⁹

But it was not only the three R's which were taught at the early stages. Even at the earliest stage, Lakshmidhara, Minister of Devaraya I, learnt as *Bālabōdhe* (primary instruction) that he was to build tanks, wells and temples and to give shelter to the refugees, to help friends and dependents and students. It appears that all these moral lessons were 'poured into him along with his mother's milk'.²⁰

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING :

In a previous chapter on Education, we have noticed that the institution of higher learning in ancient and mediaeval Karnataka were the agrahāras, maṭhas, temples, brahmapuris, and ghaṭikas. Of these the ghaṭika is very rarely mentioned during this period.²¹ Brahmapuris and temples continued to perform the task of spreading education as before, and, therefore, nothing more need be said about them. *Agrahāras*: During the hey-day of Vijayanagar, the agrahāras and maṭhas carried on their educational activities as before. But after the downfall of Vijayanagar, various developments took place, which diminished their value as educational centres. Some of the agrahāras went to ruin, and when they were restored, they were converted into 'satras' for feeding Brahmins.²² Or, when fresh agrahāras were established, their educational activity was not emphasized, as before, by the donors.²³ One of the few agrahāras which was established in this period, which was of the mediaeval type, that is, an agrahāra which was intended to be and was a centre of education and learning, was the Daḷavāyi or Rāmachandrapura Agrahāra founded in 1748 A.D.²⁴ It was planned on a lavish scale. The Daḷavāyi, Dēvarāja, had spacious houses built, furnished them handsomely with beds, bed-sheets, pillows and costly seats and carpets, with articles for the worship of gods and for household use, etc. He selected 120 Brahmins, "who were possessed of the knowledge of Vedas and Vedāngas, who were learned in all the sciences".²⁵ Unfortunately this institution begun under such good auspices came to an end in 1807 A. D., when its lands

were included in the Yelandūr estate given to Dewan Purnaiya. *Maṭhas*: We have seen that in mediaeval times the maṭha stood for an educational institution. Such was the Kōḍiyamaṭha in Baḷḷigāme. In this period, as in the case of the agrahāras, its educational activities were less prominent, though they were not completely forgotten. The feature which became most prominent now was that it became the pontifical seat of a religious teacher of a community. Round this teacher the maṭhas developed various activities. Some had a library.²⁶ Most were choultries or satras both for pilgrims as well as students.²⁷ Some also taught the six darśanas or schools of philosophy.²⁸ Since they became influential as centres of religion and, to a lesser extent, of learning, the kings claimed a right to fix succession in them. It was laid down by one of the Keḷadi kings that any one appointed to the headship 'must be of one mind with the King'. In the Ikkēri Kingdom there were different kinds of maṭhas: Vaśikrita-maṭha,²⁹ Mahattumaṭha,³⁰ and Viraktamaṭha.³¹ Earlier there was an evening maṭha.³²

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION :

Subjects of Study: Sōmēśvara Sataka says that a King's Court would shine only if it contained poets, musicians, paurāṇikas, comedians, historians, astrologers, clever speakers and those well-versed in the military science.³³ We may suppose that there were facilities for the study of these subjects. Sōmēśvara, in another place prescribing the qualifications for Ministers, says that a Minister should know many scripts.³² At least one Minister had this qualification. Konḍamarasa, a Minister of Krishnadēvarāya, was an expert in reading various scripts.³² In a work written about 1420 A. D., the subjects of study mentioned are the Vedas, Mimāṃsa, Nyāya, Grammar, Purāṇa, Dharmasāstra, Music, Medicine and Military Science.³² *Methods of Study*: The Sōmēśvara Sataka says that one can learn things in the following ways: (1) From those who know the subject. (2) From the Sāstras or learned works. (3) By observing those who do things. (4) By one's own intelligence, and finally (5) by keeping the company of good people, and concludes: 'just as many streams go to make an ocean, so many ways make a man learned'.³⁷

There were no examinations at the end of the period of study as at present. But if a learned man wanted the support of Government, he was sometimes examined in a public assembly. In 1447 A. D. Ādityārya, the author of *Bhashyabhūsha*, was examined in a learned assembly in all the branches of study and all the learned men were pleased with him. The King then granted him the Nallangi Village.³⁸ In an earlier example, a Kadamba King himself examined the learned candidates for the membership of an agrahāra.³⁹ Krishnadēvarāya tested the candidates who wanted rewards from him. These tests consisted in carrying out intellectual feats in which he heartily joined and took

a prominent part. A favourite method of his was to set down a half-finished verse and to ask the poet to finish it in a particular manner.⁴⁰

TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP :

Sōmēśvara thought that there was no better kinsman than education or learning, and no fitter objects to serve than the teacher. He regarded a person as teacher even if he had taught only one letter.⁴¹ Purandaradāsa said that it was the duty of those who were learned to teach, and he considered as out-castes those who had learnt but did not teach.⁴² Sarvajna emphasized the need for getting a good teacher and serving him well and learning from him. "Be with a Guru or teacher like an ox or servant, a plant in the backyard or shoe on his feet."⁴³ Purandaradāsa said that unless one became a slave of his teacher, there was no salvation for him.⁴⁴ But according to Sarvajna he must be a good teacher before he deserved this kind of adoration. He said that a teacher who did not know his ground and a disciple who did not understand, and teaching which was unaware of its purpose were like a blind man entering water.⁴⁵

POPULAR EDUCATION :

It was not possible for all people to get the kind of education described so far. For them what was feasible was to acquire a kind of popular education, for spreading which this age became famous. It was from the latter half of the 12th century that the Veeraśaiva movement sought to bring about the moral upliftment of the common people and this it did in the language of the people.

In the 13th century this movement appears to have slackened. There was a revival again in the 14th century. The centres of this movement in this century were Vijayanagar and Eḍeyūru. Vachanas came to be composed as in the earlier times and writers like Nijaguṇa Sivayōgi and Sarvajna and a host of others made significant contributions to general education.

Brahmin writers, who so far had fought shy of writing in the language of the people, "rushed forward to throw open all the knowledge contained in their sacred writings for the betterment of all people irrespective of caste and creed."⁴⁶ This was the Haridāsa movement and its foremost exponent was Purandaradāsa. But there were hundreds of others who went about the country with the message of liberation and singing psalms of wisdom and religious experience.⁴⁷ This group which laid emphasis on meaning rather than on language existed along with the orthodox section which still clung to the old ways.⁴⁸

Apart from the vachanas of the Veeraśaivas and the songs of the Haridāsas, the Keertana which combined music, discourse and humour became a

powerful agency of general education probably during the Vijayanagar period. The 18 century witnessed the rise of a popular kind of literature-Yakshagāna or folk plays.⁴⁹ They have a rigid technique of their own, combining music, dance and dialogue. In addition, there used to be Jātigāras or Vēshagāras, who dramatized with great skill scenes from common life as they went from house to house.⁵⁰

Within the palace of the Vijayanagara kings, accomplished women performed various services. The reading of sacred works was one of the means of educating the ladies in the palace and an honourable occupation open to some women in the period. In addition, there were paintings on the walls which not only adorned the interior of the palace, but also were meant to educate the inmates. Paes saw such a hall and wrote that in it "were designed in a painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and beggars."⁵¹

An essential preliminary to good dancing is suppleness of the body. To achieve this, women had to perform various exercises, and, in the palace in Vijayanagar, there was a gymnasium for this purpose in the dancing saloon. "At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple in order to make their dancing more graceful."⁵² There were similar dancing saloons outside Vijayanagar also.⁵³

MUSLIM EDUCATION :

The Bahamani monarchs made good arrangements for the education of their subjects. Traces of their work can still be seen in the dominions over which they ruled. The agencies which imparted education were the maktabas and madarassas which were attached to most of the mosques.⁵⁴ Even outside the Bahamani dominions on the west coast, a similar system prevailed. Ibn Batuta who toured this region in about 1343 A.D. saw in the Mosque of Hili a number of students who learnt the sciences with the help of scholarships provided by the funds of the Mosque. The same traveller saw in Hināwer, or modern Honāvar (North Kanara District), thirteen schools for girls and twenty-three for boys, the like of which he had not seen elsewhere. He complimented the Muslim women of Honāvar on knowing the great Quran by heart.⁵⁵

To revert to the Bahamani Kingdom, the first king to make satisfactory arrangements for the spread of education was Muhammad II, the fifth king of the line. He himself was educated by his father Allauddin I. He founded for orphans a madarassā in 1378 A.D., where they received free education and were given free lodging and boarding. The teachers in the institution were learned.

Schools were also established by him at Gulbarga, Bidar and other places. As in the orphanage, in these schools also, education, lodging were free for the scholars.⁵⁶ Muhammad II was also a very good soldier and was interested in military education. He started military schools where children belonging to the nobility learnt soldiery.⁵⁷

But the best patron of education under the Bahamanis was Mahmud Gawan who, as Minister under the later kings, guided the destinies of the dynasty from 1458 to 1481 A.D. His most famous monument was the College at Bidar which he established in 1472 A.D. with his own money. It was planned on the same magnificent scale as similar institutions in Khurāsān and other Islamic countries. He not only appointed eminent philosophers and scientists to teach there, but he himself taught in it. Besides, he endowed it with a library of 3,000 valuable manuscripts. His private library contained 1,000 manuscripts.⁵⁸

In the College of Mahmud Gawan, the apartments for students served them well in all the seasons. There were 36 suites of these rooms in all the three storeys of the building and, at the rate of three students per suite, it could accommodate 108 students. The Professors were accommodated in six different suites which would have lodged twelve of them. Students received free lodging and boarding.⁵⁹ "Mahmud Gawan's College stands today like a resplendent gem recalling the erstwhile greatness of the city (Bidar), The three-storeyed building, its frontage decorated by patterned tiles of a myriad hues, its staff of learned men from India and overseas must have made Bidar the rendezvous of all who wished to drink at the fountain of knowledge provided by the great Minister".⁶⁰

The Adilshahis succeeded the Bahamanis and ruled in northern Karnataka for nearly 150 years with their Capital at Bijapur. Though we do not know the exact measures which they took for the promotion of education in their dominions, there are grounds for believing that they must have done quite a lot for general as well as technical education. Many of the rulers of this dynasty were highly cultured and versatile and they patronized men of learning. Under their patronage, the Bijapur Court became the venue of men of letters in the Arabic and Persian languages. Further, the Adilshahis made Bijapur not only a centre of learning but also one of the most beautiful cities in India in their time. The builders patronized by them were known for their 'engineering experience and scientific knowlede.' And finally, the Adishahis, though they came from outside, very quickly identified themselves with the local people, and it is for this reason that they are still remembered with gratitude by the people of Bijapur.⁶¹

SCIENCES—MEDICINE :

The earliest work on medicine in the Vijayanagar period is *Ayurvēda Sudhānidhi* of Ēkāmbaranātha who wrote it on being asked to do so by Sāyaṇa⁶²

His grandson Sriśailanātha also wrote a medical work called *Prasṇōttararatnamāle*.⁶³ Lakshmaṇa Pandita wrote a treatise on Āyurvēda known as *Vaidyarājavallabham*. The next writer was Sridharadēva (c. 1500 A.D.) whose work is known as *Vaidyāmṛita*,⁶⁴ which includes among the methods of treatment, mantras or incantations. His successor was Sālva (c. 1550) who gives recipes for some human ailments.⁶⁵ In about 1570 A.D., one Narasimha Śāstri wrote a book called *Vaidyasārasamgraha*. Under Chikadēvarāya, a Jaina scholar composed *Vaidyanighanṭusāra*,⁶⁶ or a lexicon on Medicine.⁶⁷ A work which concerns itself exclusively with the diseases of women is the *Strivāidya* of Timarājagaṇḍa written in about 1750 A.D.⁶⁸ The encyclopaedic *Sivatattvaratnākara* composed under the patronage of Basavarāja I of Keḷadi (1619-1637 A.D.), deals at length with the works of Dhanvantari, Aświni and Charaka, who were 'living and unerring fountains of information' for the author.⁶⁹ After tracing the origin of Āyurvēda it describes its eight component parts (ashtāṅga) and four kinds of treatment. Then it goes on to deal with the qualities of a physician. The next subject treated is digestion. Then it analyses the six kinds of tastes, their nature and their effects. After dealing with diagnosis (rōgaparīkṣhe) it concerns itself with anatomy. Then it describes the different kinds of pulse-beats and their working in different diseases. Windiness (vātaprakōpa) and biliousness (pittōdrēka) and their causes are then treated. Then follows an account of varieties of fevers and their effects. The last subjects to be treated are drugs and the effects they produce in the body, and also the seasons suitable for various kinds of medicines.⁷⁰

Though a number of works on Medicine were composed in the period under review, references to the practice of medicine are few. Lakshmaṇapandita, mentioned above, as the author of *Vaidyarājavallabham* was the Court-physician of Bukka II.⁷¹ Singēyabhaṭṭa was a famous doctor. A record dated 1388 A.D. says that in medical treatment with mercury (or rasavaidya) he had no equal. He was also a hydraulic engineer (jalasūtra) who brought the Hennē river to Penugonda.⁷² In the fifteenth century, in the time of Dēvarāya II, there was a famous and learned family of doctors known as Sālagrāme.⁷³

VETERINARY SCIENCE :

In veterinary science, there are works mostly on elephants and horses, because they were useful for warfare. In about 1500 A.D. Bācharasa wrote *Aśvavaidya*.⁷⁴ The next work, *Aśvaśāstra*, was written by Rāmachandra in about 1625 A. D.⁷⁵ It is a translation of Sālihotra's work of the same name and it deals with the diseases and treatment, taming and training of horses.⁷⁶ Padmaṇḍapandita in about 1627 A.D. wrote an independent work called *Hayasārasamuchchaya*.⁷⁷ Under the Keḷadi king, Venkaṭappanāyaka, one expert on horses wrote an exhaustive work known as *Mānapriya*.⁷⁸ Another equally exhaustive treatment of the subject is to be found in *Sivatattvaratnākara*, which describes the qualities of

horses of the different countries and the methods of controlling and training them.⁷⁹ The same work gives importance to the study of elephants.⁸⁰

ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICS :

Vidyā Mādhavasūri, an astronomer, was the author of *Muhūrtadarśana* or *Vidyāmādhaviya*. His son Vishnusūri commented on this work in *Muhūrtadeepika*. He was a contemporary of Mallappa Oḍeyar, the son of Bukka.⁸¹ *Sivatattvaratnākara* deals with both astronomy and astrology. The same work contains a few observations on meteorology.⁸² In mathematics, Bhaskara wrote *Bēhara Gaṇita* in about 1650 A. D. He says that he wrote this to exhibit his expertness in both poetry and mathematics.⁸³ In about 1715 A. D., a writer who calls himself 'Bālavaidyada Cheluva' wrote *Leelavati* in Kannada. In this he deals with Kshētragaṇita or Geometry.⁸⁴

CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS :

Much information which would now be included under Chemistry is to be found in *Sivatattvaratnākara*. In a section known as *Rasavidya*, treatment by mercurial preparations is dealt with.⁸⁵ Then there are accounts of the origin, nature, qualities, colour and uses of metals, mica, pyrites, blue vitriol, realgar, red chalk, red lead, arsenic, antimony, tawny, etc.⁸⁶ There is a separate chapter on rasa or mercury, its purification, uses and effects, followed by an account of alchemy dealing with various methods for conversion of baser metals into silver and gold. Finally, there is a section on a Chemical Laboratory (Rasa Śāla) and how to arrange articles in it and the apparatus and machinery with which it is to be equipped.⁸⁷

Material which would be classified under Physics is treated under precious stones like diamonds, pearls, rubies, bluestones, emeralds, quartz, and topaz.⁸⁸ The author who is referred to under Mathematics as 'Bālavaidyada Cheluva' wrote a work called *Ratnaśāstra* in c. 1715 A. D., which deals with diamonds or the navaratnas.⁸⁹

HORTICULTURE :

The *Sivatattvaratnākara* deals in detail with gardening under the following headings : (1) Necessity for a garden. (2) Trees to be planted. (3) Plan of a garden. (4) Soil. (5) How to grow plants. (6) Manures. (7) Proper time for planting and watering ; Plant diseases and their treatment (9) How to beautify a garden.⁹⁰

MISCELLANEOUS :

The *Sivatattvaratnākara* has much material on science and technology which is of a miscellaneous character, such as the manufacture of swords,⁹¹ materials required in painting, such as brushes and pens and colour,⁹² of musical instruments like drums and cookery in all its details⁹³ treatment for different kinds of poisons,⁹⁴ palmistry,⁹⁵ the chief principles of Yōgasāstra,⁹⁶ the principles of Prāṇāyāma or breathing exercises,⁹⁷ and, finally, magic and mesmerism.

FOOT NOTES

1. *M.A.R.*, 1916, pp. 56-59.
2. *E.C.*, VII, SK., 28 ; *E.C.*, V. Cn, 256 and *E.C.*, XI, Dg, 23.
3. *M.A.R.*, 1916, p. 58.
4. *E.C.*, VI, Koppa, 34.
5. *S.I.I.*, IX, No. 433.
6. *Mys. Gaz.*, II, (iii), pp. 1559-60.
7. *Sivatattvaratnākara* of Basavaraja of Keladi, ed. by Rama Rau and Sundarasastryar, p. 35.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
9. Lingannakavi : *Keladinripavijayam*, ed. by R. Shamasastri, p. 175, v, 17.
10. Tirumalarya : *Chickadevaraya Vamsavali*, pp. 138 ff.
11. *F.E.*, p. 241-2.
12. *Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XIV, 1, p. 31.
13. Kanakadasa : *Mohanatarangini*, ed. by M. A. Ramanujaiengar. Ch. II, p. 13, vv. 37-41.
14. Parulekar, R. V. : *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay* (1820-30), p. 7.
Chikkananjeshha : *Raghavankacharite* (Ed. by Malwad. S.S.). Sandhi II, v. 53 mentions *Dhulakkara*.
15. *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, II, pp. 227-28.
16. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 227-28.
17. *Parulekar*, p. 31.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
20. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 267, p. 62.
21. *E.C.*, V, Cn and *STR Ghatikavidvan*, p. 5.
22. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 475.
23. *E.C.*, XIII, Kunigal 37, p. 39 and *E.C.*, VIII, Ti, 7.
24. *E.C.*, III, Tn. 63 (Eng. p. 8).
25. *Ibid.*, & *Q.J.M.S.*, VII, pp. 162 ff.
26. *A.S.I.*, 1936-37, p. 108.
27. *E.C.*, VIII, Ti. 2-33, *S.I.I.*, IX, (ii), Nos. 523, 655, 659, 673 and 675.

28. *Ibid.*, Ti. 42, 184.
29. *Ibid.*, Ti. 81.
30. *Ibid.*, Ti. 55.
31. *Ibid.*, Ti. 71 & 51.
32. *E.C.*, V, Cn, 165, p. 198 ; *S.I.I.*, IX (1), p. 140.
33. *Somesvarasataka*, v. 58.
34. *Ibid.*, v. 61.
35. *S.I.I.*, IX (ii), No. 507, p. 321.
36. *Padmaraja Purana* of Padmarasa, ed. by Hiremath, R.C., p. 34, v. 74.
37. *Somesvarasataka*, v. 1.
38. *E.C.*, XIII, Pg. 69, p. 128.
39. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, XVII, p. 275.
40. *Mys. Gaz.*, II, (iii), pp. 1914-15.
41. *Somesvarasataka*, v. 6-8.
42. Masti Venkatesha Iyengar : *Popular Culture in Karnataka*, p. 59.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
44. *Purandaradasara Padagalu*, III, 149, p. 82.
45. Uttangi, C. (Ed.) ; *Sarvajnana Vachanagalu*, v. 69, p. 10.
46. Narasimhachar, D.L., Article on *Kannada Literature* on VSC, p. 361.
47. *Masti*, p. 89-90.
48. *Op. cit.*, No. 30.
49. Mugali, R.S. : *Kannada Sahitya Charitre*, p. 185.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
51. *F.E.*, p. 274.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
53. *E.C.*, XII, Pg. 29, p. 36.
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72. *E.C.*, X, Gd. 6.
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81. *V.S.C.*, p. 303.
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83. *Kavicharite*, II, pp. 367-77.
84. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 5-8.
85. *S.T.R.*, VI, Kallola, Chs. XXIII & XXIV, pp. 263 ff.
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88. *Kavicharite*, III, p. 8.
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91. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, pp. 168-172.
92. *Ibid.*, Chs. XVIII and XIX.
93. *Ibid.*, Chs. XXVI and XXVII.
94. *Ibid.*, VII, Kallola, Chs. IX and X. pp. 320-331.
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97. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, 189-295.

KANNADA

(UNDER VIJAYANAGARA 1336-1565 A.D.)

RETROSPECT :

Kannada literature, by the time it came under the influence of Vijayanagara, had already witnessed two strong movements which left a permanent stamp on its tone and character. The first was the Jaina movement which had its origin some time shortly after Nripatunga and culminated by about the end of the 12th century. During this time Jainism gained a favourite place in the life of the people. Literature was used as a medium for religious propaganda. The old 'dēśi' style of writing gave place to the 'mārgi' style of the Jaina poets, who were very great scholars in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The poets imitated their originals to such an extent that the language was generally Sanskritic with Kannada terminations. Indigenous metres were pushed to the background and Sanskrit metres were adopted to express their ideas. Now and then they looked back and wrote a stanza or two in the homely metres, as a matter of courtesy. Some poets like Pampa tried to blend the two styles and had a very keen eye for the idiom and raciness of the language. Slowly the outburst of creative activity subsided and the succeeding writers fell into a groove. Freshness was lost and pedantry drove away simplicity and grace. Some poets, like Nayasēna, protested strongly against the undue importance given to Sanskrit words and phrases, but they were not heeded. Moreover Jainism also fell on bad days and its influence was on the wane. Conditions were such that a second movement was necessary and, like a hurricane, the Veeraśaiva Movement swept over the country in the wake of Basava, the great reformer.

The 'dēśi' style came into prominence. Basava forged a new style and almost a new language to express himself. Old Kannada of the champu kāvyas had become bookish and artificial by that time. The speech of the common folk had grown, while the language of the books stagnated and petrified. Now it was time to discard the worn-out medium and take up the language of the masses. Basava did this with considerable dash and insight. Some of the native metres, like the tripadi, sāngatya, ragaḷe, and popular songs were revived and became the vehicles of the new religion. New metres like the shaṭpadis, destined to play a very great part in the times to come, were discovered, perhaps invented. The old champu style of writing fell into disuse, though scholarly poets like Harihara, were anxious to show themselves off in that style also. While the previous Jaina literature emphasized the aspect of Vairāgya and the transitoriness of the present world, the then new Veeraśaiva literature laid stress on Bhakti with a personal God.

This went on for some time. But as soon as the master was removed from the scene the movement got a severe shock. Kalyāṇa was destroyed by about 1200 A.D. The Veeraśaivas had to scatter themselves in all directions, and spread themselves throughout Karnataka. Alien aggressions caused a panic and, by the close of the 13th century, there was also slowly evolving the counter-movement of the Vaishnavas, who also emphasized Bhakti.

THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT :

The desire for a personal God who could be prayed to and worshipped, instead of the Advaitic Brahman, was so strongly felt by the masses that two kinds of Bhakti religions came to the fore-front. One was Saiva Bhakti of Tamil Saivism and the other was Vaishnava Bhakti which was preached by Rāmānuja early in the 12th century and by Mādhvāchārya in the 13th century. As a result of this the epic heroes like Rama and Krishna, who had gained the status of Avatars, were looked upon by the people as supreme Gods, whose will controlled the destiny of the whole of creation. The duty that man had to do in accordance with this theistic attitude was to strive to obtain the grace of the Supreme Deity by prayer and fasting and various modes of worship. So the temple became the centre of social and religious life. Even the Veeraśaivas, who did not encourage the building of temples and the worshipping of deities in preference to the Ishṭalinga, did not refrain from erecting their own shrines to the various gods of the Saiva pantheon. The preaching and propaganda of these Bhakti cults went on unceasingly. The Veeraśaivas as well as the Vaishnavas, including the Jainas also, composed songs in the popular metres to be sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. Wandering bards travelled through the whole of Karnataka singing these devotional hymns and awakening the mind of the masses. The very fact that a vast Empire was built up is a testimony to the heroic activity of the period.

CLASSIFICATION :

It is customary among historians of Kannada Literature to classify the contents of it on the basis of the three principal religions, Jainism, Veeraśaivism and Brāhminism. This has got its own advantages ; but it is better to attempt at a classification based on subject-matter. The principal sources from which poets gathered their several themes were the Jaina epics and stories, the lives of the sixty-three Saiva saints of Tamil Saivism, the Siva Purāṇas and the Brāhminic Epics, Purāṇas and other legends. Almost all the literature falls under these three main groups.

That no poet belonging to any one of these three communities did ever attempt to write of anything that did not concern his own religion, with the exception of some technical, secular works, is noteworthy. Chāmarasa and Suranga,

the two chief Veeraśaiva champions of the period under review, have expressed their attitude in very incisive words : Suranga said that he had sold his tongue to sing the glories of Śiva only ; while Chāmarasa maintained that stories other than those of the Sivaśaraṇas were all tales of dead men writhing with the disease of birth and death and groping their weary way in the darkness of Karma, and that such narratives were only meant for bad men who could not spend their time worthily. This attitude, when viewed at this distance of time, is remarkable for two desirable features: it prevented Veeraśaiva writers handling Brāhminic epics and incidents ; also it forced them, since their stories were rather limited in range, to narrate the lives of contemporary saints and the 'nūtanas', or moderns, in addition to those of the 'purātanas', or ancients, thus giving the reader fresh material for study.

Besides the works belonging to the three groups noted above, we have some literature bearing on the secular sciences, commentaries and semi-historical compositions.

We may proceed to describe them in their proper chronological order.

THE LIVES OF THE TEERTHANKARAS :

The usual practice of the early Jaina poets in Kannada was to compose a poem on the life of a Teerthankara whom they particularly liked. Pampa, by writing his *Ādipūrāṇa*, had placed before them an excellent model. Soon after the establishment of Vijayanagara, we find Bāhubali (1352.A.D.) and Madhura (1385A D.), each writing in the traditional champu style, a poem on the life of Dharmanātha, the 15th Teerthankara. Both of them were learned men, skilled in the use of Sanskrit and Kannada, the last representatives of the 'mārgi' style of the Jainas. The story of the Jaina saint, narrated by earlier poets in Sanskrit and Apabhramśa, was expanded by these authors in a leisurely way, with lengthy and numerous descriptions of the eighteen topics characteristic of a 'mahākavya'. Only one leaf of a manuscript of the poem by Bāhubali was available till now, but it is pleasing to note that a complete copy of it has come to light recently. Madhura was patronized by Mudda Daṇḍēśa who was a Minister of King Harihara, son of Bukkarāja, and was a Court Poet. Only four chapters of his work have been found till now and they are enough to give an idea of his talents. His introductory verses, wherein he praises himself and his poetry, are easily the very best of the stanzas in the whole book, as is usually the case with a large number of Kannada poets. Of contemporary life and manners we get very little, as there could be no room for such things in a religious narrative. But, occasionally, it is a relief to come across some fine stanzas describing natural scenery in picturesque language. It is not possible to indicate the nature of the story as the work is incomplete, but one can rest satisfied that it cannot be totally diffe-

rent from the life-story of other Teerthankaras. The same writer composed an inscription near the Krishna Temple at Hampi in 1410 A. D., when his patron was Lakshmidhara, Minister of Dēvarāya.

The story of Nēminātha was a favourite theme with many Kannada poets, but till the time of Mangarasa (1508A.D.) it was not sung in a popular metre. To his credit stand a good number of works. He has an easy flowing style and, on many an occasion, he can make good use of it. Doḍḍiah of Periyāpaṭṇa near Mysore wrote a poem on the life of Chandraprabha Jina in about 1550 A.D. and Padmākara composed a work on Vardhamāna. There is also a *Sāntināthacharite* in the sāngatya metre written in 1519 A.D. by Śāntikeerti.

But the greatest Jaina poem of the Vijayanagara period was yet to come. In about 1557 A.D., *Bharatēśa Vaibhava* was written by Ratnākara Varṇi. It is a long poem containing ten thousand stanzas and the poet was able to complete it in nine months. One wonders at his ease and spontaneity. He narrates the story of Bharata, son of Ādinātha, the first Jina. After the nirvāṇa of his father, Bharata wanted to become the sole monarch of the world and almost achieved his ambition by conquering all the kings of his time except his own brother Bāhubali. Thereupon ensued a fight between the brothers, and Bāhubali, out of disgust for the joys of the present world and human vanity, renounced everything and became a sanyasin. After subduing all the passions, he became a Kēvalin. He has been immortalized by Chāvunḍarāya in the colossal statue of Gommaṭa, a poem in granite. Ratnākara presents the same sculpture in words. Both are equally vast and dignified. The poet in this work has tried to blend bhōga and yōga and has successfully shown that yōga, coming after a full life of worldly happiness, is more permanent and significant. The poem contains many peaks of poetic excellence such as the colourful and almost sensuous descriptions of dancing, the delight of music, pictures of domestic life and the happiness that the present world has to offer. The style is easy, graceful and polished and almost enchanting like distant music.

In passing, the *Bhārata* of Sāḷva (c. 1550) may be mentioned. It is a Jaina version of the *Mahabharata*, which story was being interwoven with that of Nēmi Jina by Jaina writers from very early times.

STORIES :

Since the days of Nayasēna in 1112 A. D., Jaina writers in Kannada indulged in story-telling for the edification of their co-religionists. The stories were merely illustrative in character; any particular doctrine of Jainism such as non-injury or non-stealing, when followed strictly, would certainly earn great merit and lift man to a higher level. The inculcation of these morals was the primary object of these stories, but some of them display fine literary

merit as well. The *Jeevandhara Charite* is such a story. In the space of about three quarters of a century, from 1424-1500 A.D., we see three poets handling this story. The subject itself is very old, having been narrated by many Sanskrit and Tamil poets. The *Jeevandharacharite* of Bhaskara, written in 1424 A.D., is a fine specimen of this type of literature. The story narrates the romantic adventures of Jeevandhara, son of King Satyandhara and Queen Vijaya of Rājapura. The character of Kashṭāṅgaraka, the villain of the story, has been impressively delineated. The painful circumstances under which the hero was born, the way in which he overcame all the obstacles in his way, the result of his meritorious deeds in a previous birth thrusting him forward in spite of himself and the evil machinations of his enemies, his many adventures and numerous marriages and, finally, the overthrow of his enemy Kashṭāṅgaraka—all these are vividly described. But there is nothing like an organized, well-knit plot here, save that all the adventures concern the same hero. Hence the book is episodic in character, but all the same interesting. The style also is peculiar and does not betray any pedantry. It has distinct traces of the influence of Kumāra Vyāsa. The *Jeevandhara Sāṅgatyā* of Bommarasa of Terakanāmbi, (assigned to c. 1485) and the *Jeevandhara Shaṭpadi* of Kōṭṭīśvara (c. 1500) treat of the same story.

Of the remaining tales, the *Jñāna Chandrābhyudaya* of Kalyāṇa Keerti (1439) and the story of Kāma are noteworthy; those of Sanat Kumāra by Bommarasa mentioned above, and Nāgakumāra of Bāhubali (c. 1560) have older models to follow and are not so interesting, viewed as stories, as those Mangarasa already referred to, has narrated: four different stories, two in shaṭpadi and two in sāṅgatyā. The story of Vijayakumari by Srutakīrti (c. 1567) marks the close of this type of literature. In all these, the poets had greater freedom to make their own changes, and as such a detailed study may reveal some valuable points of contemporary, social and religious life.

COMMENTARIES :

Commentatorial literature could be said to have been rather scarce in Kannada compared with the vast volume of it available in Sanskrit or Tamil. Though there was a great need for such works and glosses on Kannada classics, the few of them that are extant are on Sanskrit or Prākṛit works. This is inexplicable unless we assume that the study of the classics fell into disuse and was not widely cared for and that no attempt was made to popularize them. The few commentaries available belong to the early years of Vijayanagara. In 1359 A. D., Kēśavavarṇi wrote explanatory glosses on the *Gommaṭasāra*, perhaps by Nēmichandra in Prākṛit, and on *Srāvakāchāra* of Amitagati. Abhinava Sūtra Muni (c. 1365) is said to have written a commentary in Kannada on the *Sajjana-chitta-Vallabha* by the poet Mallisēna. In 1455, Vidyānanda wrote a commentary on his own Sanskrit work *Prāyaścitta*. Mention might be made of Yaśahkeerti who wrote a gloss of *Dharmasarmābhyudaya* in c. 1500.

MISCELLANEOUS :

Under this section may be included all those works, which having no definite narrative value, merely indulge in expounding the doctrines and moral codes of Jainism and also some prayers addressed to their saints.

Ayata Varma, in his *Ratna-Karaṇḍaka* written in about 1400, deals with the 'triratna' (three jewels) doctrine of Jainism, in the champu style. He seems to have based his work on a Sanskrit book of the same name attributed to Samantabhadra. Chandrakeerti (1400) composed his *Paramāgamasāra* in 132 stanzas, in which he deals with the transitoriness of worldly life and the ideal of a better one to be achieved by all human beings. The two *Anuprēkshas* of Kalyāṇakeerti and Vijayaṇṇa deal with the 'twelve recollections of Jainism', while the *Jñāna-Bhāskara-Charite* of Nēmaṇṇa (1559) seems to deal with the concept of knowledge and the way of acquiring it by reading the Sāstras and meditation. The stōtra, or prayer, containing eight stanzas addressed to Gommaṭa by Madhura is devotional in nature as well as the *Jainastuti* of Kalyāṇakeerti.

VEERASAIVA PURANAS :

After the establishment of Vijayanagara we find two centres of Veeraśaiva activity in southern Karnataka. One was established at Vidyānagara itself under the patronage of some Generals like Jakkaṇārya and Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍēśa and another near Kuṇigal, on the banks of the Nāgini river, under the spiritual guidance of Tōṇṭada Siddhalingayati. Both these centres were authoritarian and exerted a powerful influence on the Veeraśaiva community. Both undertook to train men and send them to other places to spread the religion, so that many minor maṭhas were established all over Karnataka. The community was striving to retrieve the losses it had sustained and gain a firm hold on the masses once again. Thus, a second movement of the Veeraśaivas came into being. This was not so remarkable or revolutionary as the first one, but all the same it was a revival. Collection, codification and preservation of older communal literature, went on rapidly; scattered fragments were strung together; commentaries were written on difficult texts; the vachana experienced a temporary revival; anthologies of vachanas were undertaken—in short the community kept itself very busy. The impress of this activity is to be seen in the vast body of literature produced between 1336 and 1565 A. D.

The Purāṇic literature of the Veeraśaivas may be classified into five main groups: (a) stories taken from the Saiva Purāṇas, (b) stories describing the spiritual achievements of the 63 Saiva saints, called Purātanas, (c) stories of the *Nūtana Purātanas*, or neo-ancients, as Basava and his contemporaries were called

(d) stories of *Nūtanas*, or modern saints, (e) compendiums consisting of all and sundry tales of Veeraśaivism.

(a) Episodes and stories from the Siva Purāṇas were isolated and treated independently, emphasizing, wherever necessary, the Saivite content already found in them. Of such stories the most popular one is that of Hariśchandra. Rāghavāṅka had already vigorously narrated the same story and his work was a model to all later writers. We have Ōduva Gīriya (c. 1525) and Bombeya Lakka (1538) each telling the story in sāṅgatyā, the most popular song-metre of the day. Both of them follow Rāghavāṅka very closely, the latter reproducing, in many places, the very phrases and ideas of the original. Next in order of time comes the story of *Sānanda Gaṇēśa* whose author was Ōduva Gīriya mentioned above. The story is found in the *Skānda Purāṇa* and in Kannada it had been told by Kumāra Padmarasa (c. 1180). It extols the greatness of the 'Panchākshari Mantra' and Sānanda, the hero, is seen passing through hell rescuing the wretched sufferers there by the help of the incantation. It describes, in an exaggerated fashion, all the tortures of hell. *Veerabhadra Vijaya*, whose author was Veerabhadrarāja (c. 1530) presents the story of the disasters consequent on the sacrifice of Daksha. Its poetic ideal is ambitious but the execution is mediocre. In *Bhikshāṭana Charitre* of Gurulinga Vibhu (c. 1550) there is better poetry. The story is one of the 25 leelas (sports) of Siva, where he is represented to have been filled with remorse for cutting off one of the superfluous heads of Brahma and as wandering, with the skull in his hands, over the earth till he met Krishna in Dwāraka. It is a tiny but clever piece. Mention may be made of *Svētana-sāṅgatyā* by Mallikārjuna (1485), the hero of which appears to be a Purāṇic character, who by his devotions obtained the grace of Siva. The story had been previously narrated in the *Basava Purāṇa*.

(b) Of the lives of the 63 saints the most interesting is the story of Sundara Nambi. It was first told in Kannada by Harihara, with a light and delicate humour. Bommarasa composed it anew in c. 1430 and called it *Soundara Purāṇā*. It abounds in many lovely stanzas and the descriptions are not infrequently luscious. Suranga (c. 1500), whom we had occasion to notice earlier, and a poet imitating the champu style of Harihara, has narrated the stories of all the 63 saints. He seems to have taken them from the *Lingapurāṇa*. He displays in his description of hunting the talents of a good poet, with his eye on his object. But he has not become popular even in scholarly circles, though the book was printed and made available some years ago. He deserves better study. *Bhava-chintāratna* and *Chōḷa-rāja Sāṅgalya*, respectively composed by Mallanārya of Gubbi (c. 1513) and Linga (c. 1550) are two poems treating of the same theme. The former gets its inspiration from a Tamil source. The story is mainly intended to show the greatness of 'Panchākshari'. It tells the legend of King Satyēndra Chōḷa, who condemned his son to death for the sin of even unintentionally killing a lad, who was a devotee of Siva. After he was beheaded, it so happened that seven other heads had had to be cut off and, finally, the King got

back all the dead persons to life and ascended to Kailāsa with them. The poem, though crude and grotesque, is not devoid of literary excellence and, later on, it was the source of inspiration for a most popular work called *Rājaśekhara Vilāsa*, by Shaḍakshari. Virūparāja (1519) and Cheramānka (1526) each narrated the story of Cherama, one of the 63 saints.

(c) The works on the life of Basava form an important group of this section. Among the Veeraśaiva authors writing of Basava during this period, there seem to be two distinct schools which differ in essential matters. The leader of the first is Bheemakavi (1369), author of the *Basava Purāṇa*. It is almost a literal translation of the Telugu *Basava Purāṇa* by Pāḷkurike Sōma. Besides the life of Basava, the poem is fully of many stories of the Saiva devotees, ancient as well as those contemporary with Basava. Though its poetic quality is not of a high order, it still maintains its place among the Veerasaivas as a granary of their legendary lore. Of the second school, the leader was probably Lakkaṇṇa Danḍēśa (1428) in whose work, among many other things, is also found a version of the life of Basava. He finds his great follower in Singirāja (c. 1500), author of the *Mala-Basava Chāritra* which, after giving the biography of Basava, goes on to describe some of the 88 miracles that were performed by the hero. A comparative study of these two schools, in addition to others, is worthwhile to clear some misconceptions about Basava and his doings.

Kereya Padmarasa, Allama Prabhu, and Pāḷkurike Sōma have each a biography written by Padmaṇānka (c. 1385), Chāmarasa (c. 1430) and Virakta Tōṇḍārya (c. 1560) respectively. The first one called *Padmarāja Purāṇa* describes the events in the life of its hero, who was a Minister according to the story, under Narasimha Ballāḷa. He performed a miracle and revealed a tank where there was nothing before and hence the epithet 'Kereya' attached to his name; he defeated in debate a Vaishnava controversialist, by name Tribhuvana Tāta and made him a Veeraśaiva. Padmaṇānka writes in a learned style, though he has employed the shaṭpadi metre. The *Prabhulinga Leele* of Chāmarasa is a remarkable book in Veeraśaiva literature. It tells the story of Allama *alias* Prabhudēva, an intellectual mystic and the brain of the Veeraśaiva Movement. The character of the hero has been nobly conceived and his spiritual greatness unfolds itself before our eyes. The style too is in keeping with the theme and few works of the Veeraśaivas come up to this level. Pāḷkurike Sōma was a prolific writer in Telugu, Sanskrit, and Kannada, but it was his misfortune not to have found a good biographer in Virakta Tōṇḍārya, author of *Pāḷkurike S'mēśvara Purāṇa*. The incidents in the life of the hero are described after long intervals of unnecessary and dreary episodes of other people. It is a patch-work of hundreds of stories which have nothing to do with one another, a conglomerate of heterogeneous elements. As an assortment of Veeraśaiva stories however it is valuable.

It is hard to decide whether Rēvaṇa Siddhēśvara was a 'purātana' or a 'nūtana-purātana'. The more orthodox section of the Veeraśaivas, otherwise

called the Aradhya, claim a high antiquity for him, while the followers of Basava make him an older contemporary of their 'Master'. The earliest story that we have of Rēvaṇasiddha is by Harihara. Mallāṇa (1413) and Chaturmukha Bommarasa (c. 1500) continue the same traditional story. The *Ārādhyā Charitra* of Neelakanṭha Sivārya (c. 1485) describing the exploits of Panditārādhyā, one of the five Veeraśaiva Āchāryas, deserves a passing mention here for its polemical quality.

Mahādēvi Akka is one of the most celebrated names in Veeraśaiva literature. Her biographers are many from Harihara onwards. Of them the *Mahādēvi Akka Purāṇa* of Channa Basavāṅka (1550) is the most voluminous and is not without poetic merit. It is written in various 'dēśi' metres and the pious character of the heroine and all the tribulations of her life have been clearly brought out. The story of Chikkaya, a contemporary of Basava and a writer of vachanas also, has been narrated by the poet Basava (c. 1550) in the sāṅgatyā metre. The hero, who was a professional burglar, in his attempt to kill Basava, was transformed into a great devotee of Siva. The *Udbhaṭa Dēva Charite* of Basavāṅka (c. 1550) may be referred to here.

(d) Few nūṭana-purāṭanas have the fortune of being commemorated by a biography. Tōṇṭada Siddhalinga Yati, mentioned before, has two purāṇas celebrating his exploits. One entitled *Siddhēśvara Purāṇa* was written by Virakṭa Tōṇṭadārya (c. 1560) and the other called *Tōṇṭada Siddhēśvara Purāṇa* was composed by Sāntēśa in 1561. Both these works, after giving some particulars of the hero, dwell at great length on the miracles performed by him and the incidents that happened during his sojourn in many places on a tour which he undertook. His spiritual preceptor was Gōśāla Channabasava of Haradanahalli on the banks of the Kapila.

(e) There are a few works which may be looked upon as compilations of Veeraśaiva mythology. Chief of them, after Lakkaṇṇa Dandēśa's *Siva Tattva Chintāmaṇi* (1428) is the *Veeraśaivāmṛta Purāṇa* of Mallāṇārya of Gubbi (1513). It is a massive work containing more than 7,000 stanzas in the largest śaṭpadi metre and has drawn upon many earlier sources for its material of legends and stories. Kumāra Channabasava's work (c. 1550) recounts in greater detail the stories already contained in the *Basava Purāṇa* while that of Ārādhyā Nanjunda of Kikkēri (c. 1550), of more modest extent and limited range, narrates a few other stories.

VACHANAS :

A revival of the Veeraśaiva Movement is unthinkable without its characteristic literature of Vachanas. It falls under two distinct classes—original and collected. Of original writers Tōṇṭada Siddhalinga (c. 1470), the nucleus of the movement, is easily the best. But his vachanas are cold and didactic and

seldom give the glow of literature. When compared with the writings of Basava and his followers, his is not an impressive performance. With him may be mentioned Jakkaṇāchārya (c. 1430), Swatantra Siddhalinga (c. 1480) and Siddhalinga of Gummalāpura (c. 1410). Anthologies from the works of previous writers, arranged with a definite plan and purpose and commented upon whenever necessary, are many. The *Sūnya Śampādane* is the best and most interesting of all.

COMMENTARIES :

A dozen commentaries, major and minor, are extant and it is interesting to note that some Kannada works are also commented upon. We shall here notice only a few of them which have some significance. The earliest of them are those of Gurudēva (c. 1350) on half-a-dozen Sanskrit stōtras. Gurunanja's (c. 1500) commentary in Kannada on the *Yajurveda Bhāshya* of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, is said to be very learned. The commentaries of Channaveera (c. 1500) on the *Sarasvata Vyākaraṇa* and others are erudite; his *Kāsa Kṛitsna Dhātu Vyākhyā* is remarkable from a linguistic point of view. Sridharāṅka (c. 1550) and Sānanda Siva Yōgi (c. 1480), both authors of voluminous commentaries, deserve mention. Virakta Tōṇṭadārya (c. 1560) has written a gloss on the three *Śātakas* in Kannada of Maggeya Māyidēva.

MISCELLANEOUS :

There is much that is interesting in the material that comes under this section. We have here two poets professing royal connections in the service of literature. One is Deepārāja (c. 1410) belonging to the ruling family of Vijayanagara and author of two works called *Śabagina Śōne* and *Amaruka*. The first one is a cluster of stories of a romantic character while the second, being a translation of the famous *Śataka* in Sanskrit by the poet Amaru, is the only one of its kind in Kannada literature. The second poet is Rāmendra (c. 1550), Chief of Kārkaṭa and author of *Soundarya Kathāratna* composed mainly in the tripadi metre. He has based his work on Kshēmendra and narrates the thirty-two doll-stories noted in Indian literature. The individuality of this book consists in its making use of the tripadi metre for narrative purposes. The poet Chandra (c. 1430) has written a work describing the Audience Hall of the god Virūpāksha of the Temple at Hampi in classical style affording fine and enjoyable reading. His stanzas have been quoted in an anthology of old Kannada poetry, called *Kāvyaśāra*, by Abhinava Vādi Vidyānanda (1533) and it is a fitting recognition for the poet. Of a similar purpose are the two works of Prabhuga (c. 1500) called respectively *Chūḍanāsthāna* and *Vaibhōga Rājāsthāna* praising the glory of God Śiva in Kailāsa and in the same classical language. Of the remaining works we may mention the *Rāmanātha Vilāsa* of Sadāśiva Yōgi (1554) and the *Rājendra Vijaya* of Murige Dēśikēndra

(c. 1560) for their champu style, which was rarely effectively employed during their times.

THE BRAHMINIC EPICS :

The Vaishnava Movement, which seems to have begun very early and whose impress on literature is to be perceived in the work of Rudrabhaṭṭa (c. 1180) and in the songs of Narahari Teertha (1281), gathered great strength under the aegis of Vijayanagara. It was the most flourishing movement of the times and had enormous influence over the masses. Brahmin writers, who till now had not taken in large numbers seriously to cultivate the vernacular literature in preference to that of Sanskrit, rushed forward to throw open all the knowledge contained in their sacred writings, for the betterment of all people irrespective of caste or creed. Some of them engaged themselves in rendering the great epics of India into the language of the country, while others having renounced all their belongings, wandered from place to place preaching the philosophy of the *Upanishads* in homely language set to musical tunes. What the poets taught through their epics, the bards, or 'dāsas', preached through their songs. The tremendous earnestness of these people appealed to the masses, and everywhere in the country we see evidences of a higher culture and a nobler ideal in the innumerable acts of charity and piety recorded in the inscriptions of this period.

We may now pass on to a critical appraisal of the adaptations of the three epics, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and *Bhagavata*. The *Mahabharata*, so far as we know, was the first to capture the hearts of the Kannada poets. Pampa, the father of Kannada poetry, gave a dignified and spirited account of it in the 10th century but he was able to appeal to the cultured few only. It was left to Kumāra Vyāsa (C. 1430) to move and inspire and energise the masses through his adaptation, popularly known as *Gadugina Bhārata*. It is not a translation of the original but a free and independent rendering. The object of the poet Nāraṇappa was to glorify Krishna as the Supreme God and sing His praises, for His was the Spirit moving through the *Bhārata*, making and unmaking the lives of so many heroes. Nāraṇappa (Kumāra Vyāsa) was an inspired poet and poetry gushed out of him at his bidding through the grace of God Veeranārāyaṇa at Gadag. His luxuriant imagination and rich experience, clear, vigorous and beautiful style, dash and daring, fervour, earnestness and devotion, picturesque conceptions of character and situations, fresh and unexpected similes and metaphors—all these make his poetry sublime and a perennial source of inspiration. His is a glory never to be forgotten or bedimmed.

Kumāra Vyāsa did not narrate the story of the last eight books of the *Mahabhārata*. Timmaṇṇa, under the orders of Krishnadēvaraya, rendered rather inefficiently the rest into Kannada. There is another rendering of the epic by Sukumara Bhārati (c. 1550) otherwise called Chāyaṇa. The complete

work is not available, save for two chapters of it contained in a dilapidated manuscript of the Madras Mss. Library.

Of the versions of the *Ramayana* that of Narahari (Kumāra Vālmiki) (c. 1500) is the most popular, though it is not very satisfactory. He tried to imitate Kumāra Vyāsa in expression but could not achieve what he aimed at. The *Ramayana* of Battalēśvara, a Veeraśaiva by faith, is a notable exception to the general observation made above. A manuscript of the work has been recently acquired by the Oriental Library, Mysore and a glance at it is enough to show its strong Saivite atmosphere and its many divergences from Vālmiki's *Ramayana*.

The *Bhāgavata* was rendered twice into Kannada, in the period under review. Nārāyaṇa Kavi (c. 1450) seems to have paraphrased it in prose, but the work is not extant. It might have prepared the way for another version to succeed and displace it. In c. 1530 Sadānanda Yōgi, known also as Nityātma Suka, is said to have finished a rendering of the work into poetry. But there are scholars who have perceived five different hands at work to complete it. Be this as it may, it may be said that some episodes like that of Kūchēla have found a favourite place in the hearts of the masses, which fact is a testimony to the poetic quality of the work.

STORIES :

The Brahmin poets of this period wanted to achieve gigantic things like the sculptors of Vijayanagara and chose extensive canvasses to display their poetic abilities : but Kanakadāsa, a household name in Karnataka and spiritually more than a noble Brahmin, chose pretty stories from the epics and retold them elegantly. His *Naṭacharitre* is so popular that many school boys know it by heart. Simplicity, grace, delicate humour and rapid narration make it a lovely work. The *Mōhanatarangiṇi* is a story by the same author, devoted to narrate the life of Sri Krishna and though not so popular, has the characteristic imprint of the writer's personality. His *Rāmadhānya Charitre* is a very curious story, probably invented by the poet himself, extolling the greatness of Ramadhanya or Ragi—the staple food-grain of the common people. There seem to be much sarcasm and humour in the work. Another writer named Rāmarasa Virūpāksha (1538), author of *Harischandra Sāngatya*, may also be mentioned here.

DEVOTIONAL SONGS :

There is a vast body of lyrical literature popularly called *Dāsara Padagaḷu*. Much of it has not yet come into print and its extent is not yet definitely known. Many songs are floating amongst the populace like fallen flowers on a quiet lake.

Attempts are now being made to collect and print as many of them as can be gathered. As such any study of this literature is bound to be perfunctory. But enough is known to understand its spirit and purpose. Some of them are regular songs, or 'keertanas', with definite musical tunes, while others called 'suḷādis' are composed in a kind of free verse not without musical value, and set to different time-measures. The songs of these composers, to whatever community they belong, all breathe the spirit of devotion and renunciation. The names of the deities invoked may vary but everything else is quite common to all. This is the region why Jaina and Veeraśaiva songs may also be included under this section.

Of the Vaishnava singers coming within the scope of this survey we find three great masters of their art—Śrīpādarāya (c. 1500), Purandaradāsa (c. 1540) and Kanakadāsa (c. 1550). Śrīpādarāya was the Pontiff of a Madhva maṭha in Muḷbāgal and had some influence with the Vijayanagara kings of his time. The number of songs that he composed is not known but they can be easily distinguished from others by his signature 'Ranga Viṭhala' found at the end of his songs. Nothing need be said of Purandara or Kanaka as their songs are being sung and broadcast through the Radio and the gramophone almost every day in Karnataka.

The output of songs among the Veeraśaivas and Jainas is rather meagre when compared with those of the Vaishnavas. Guru Basava (c. 1430) and Nijaguna Śivayōgi (c. 1500) among the Śaivas are known to have composed some, while Ratnākara (1557), a Jaina, has done a similar service to his community. But there must be many more of them which have not yet reached the professional scholar.

SATAKAS:

The Sataka literature of this period is rather prolific. There are about fifteen of them written by more than half a dozen poets. The object of every writer was to inculcate some moral truths according to his own bent of mind. Every one of them has poured out his heart on the helplessness of man and the all-pervading power of God, invoking Him to come to his rescue and alleviate his sufferings. The spirit of all the Satakas is that of pessimism and prayer. Devotion, knowledge and renunciation are the chief topics expounded in all except in that of Ratnākara (1557) called the *Trilōka Śataka* which describes the cosmogony of the Jainas. Maggeya Māyideva (c. 1430) is an early writer of this group and has contributed three *Śatakas* of considerable moving power, while Chandra (c. 1430), Gummaṭarya (c. 1500), Sirināmadhēya (c. 1560), and Channa Mallikārjuna (c. 1560) has each left a legacy of one *Śataka* which can touch and move the emotions. In this respect the *Aparājītēśvara Śataka* of Ratnākara may be said to be the greatest. Veera Bhadrarāja (c. 1530) has written five *Satakas* of unequal quality.

634

Erotics and cookery are represented each by one work. The *Janavaśya* of Kallarasa (c. 1450), written for the delectation of King Mallikārjuna, deals with erotics and aphrodisiacs. The *Sūpa Śāstra* of Mangarāja III (1508) is enjoyable by some men of good digestion. For a history of eatables, this book is a valuable guide.

SEMI-HISTORICAL WORKS :

Though Kannada literature did not care much for history as a distinct branch of study and for its own sake, there are numerous *bakhairs*, *kaifiyats* and local records which have not been explored and systematically studied. Some of them may belong to the period herein described. In literature there is a solitary example of this kind. The *Kumāra Rāmana Kathe* of Nanjunda (c. 1525) is history mixed with fiction and romance. One or two historians have analysed the work and deduced some historical facts. As poetry the work is not wholly negligible.

From the above review of the literary activity of about two and a half centuries it is clear that in poetry there are a few summits of excellence. Kumāra Vyāsa is easily the highest and the fullest expression of Vijayanagara culture and art. Among the Jainas there is none to contest the supremacy of Ratnākara, while among the Veeraśaivas though Chāmarasa's claim to superiority is formidable, it is not voluntarily conceded by Bommarasa of *Sundarapurāṇa* and Gurulinga Vibhu. The prodigious activity of the Vaishnava dāsas has earned for them the gratitude of all and they succeeded in establishing a school of music, called the 'Karnataka School,' justly praised in many parts of India.

SANSKRIT

(UNDER VIJAYANAGARA 1336-1565 A.D.)

The Vijayanagara period was one of the brightest in the literary history of India in general and of Karnataka in particular. The Empire sought to stabilise and promote mainly the culture of Hindu society, without trying to destroy other cultures or religions. Patronage to builders, artists, and scholars played a large part in the beneficent activities of the rulers of Vijayanagara. The

noblemen and wealthy citizens of the land followed the example set by the rulers. The tradition was kept up even after the Empire was disrupted, and continued in centres like Tanjore, Madurai and Travancore.

Political conditions did not materially affect the production of Sanskrit Literature which continued to be produced, though it must be admitted that much of it was not marked by originality or creative genius. Much of the work was intended for the learned; a good portion of it was devoted to religious controversy. There was also the effort on the part of scholars to produce standard texts.

Many of the kings of Vijayanagara were acquainted with more than one language. Some were also poets and authors in their own right. The disturbed conditions in other parts of the country at that time naturally brought scholars and poets to the Court of the Vijayanagar kings. Their literary efforts resulted in the production of a great number of literary works as well as commentaries and other ancillary forms of literature. But original treatises were far fewer than the commentaries on older books. It has to be remembered, however, that the destruction of the City in 1565 A.D. must have resulted in the irretrievable loss of a great deal that must have existed in manuscripts. What has survived is only a meagre portion of what must have been produced.

The name Vijayanagara usually brings to one's mind the saintly and scholarly figure of Vidyāraṇya.

The Vedic ideal has always been that good government can only be achieved by the right combination of spirituality and martial valour (Brahma and Kshātrātējas), and Vidyāraṇya had always this ideal before him. After the establishment of the 'national government' by Hukka and Bukka, Vidyāraṇya turned to the domain of philosophical and other literature. He invited specialists in various branches of learning to make their contribution, and the learned of the Empire readily co-operated with him. This resulted in the production of many literary works during this epoch. Most of the works go by the name *Mādhaviya*—indicating thereby that Mādhava was the inspirer, director and supporter of all these literary activities. We definitely know, however, only two names, Mādhava and his brother Sāyaṇa as authors. The learned band of scholars who were directly responsible for the production of monumental literary works, in most cases, were content to keep themselves in the background and allowed their work to pass in the name of their great Director. Therefore though Bhāratiteertha, the learned guru and predecessor of Vidyāraṇya at Ṣringeri, and Sāyaṇa and Bhōganātha and his brothers wrote many works, these generally passed under the name of Vidyāraṇya or Mādhava.

I. VEDIC AND ALLIED LITERATURE :

Vedārtha Prakāśa: The most monumental work of the period was the *Vedārtha Prakāśa*. The onerous task of writing a lucid commentary on the Vedas

was entrusted to Sāyaṇa who was a worthy* brother of Vidyāraṇya. The latter, however, superintended the whole work. A band of scholars who were experts in the different fields of the Veda and who were born and brought up in different parts of India were requested to come to Vijayanagara in order to work with Sāyaṇa. We have not yet been able to know the number of scholars who assisted Sāyaṇa, their background and the way they helped him. However, from the evidence provided by inscriptions and the internal evidence found in the great Commentary itself, it has been possible to gather a few names, Panchāgni Mādhava, Narahari Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇa Vājapēyi, Pandhari Deekshita, Nāgābharaṇa and Vāmanabhaṭṭa. This literary monument testifies also to the fact that though no complete Commentary on the entire Veda was available, the Vedic tradition was kept intact in all parts of the country down to the 14th century, in spite of the repeated invasions of foreigners.

This Commentary strengthened the earlier Vedic tradition and made it possible for all students of the Veda to understand its intricacies. The *Vedārtha Prakāśa* is the first complete available Commentary on the Vedas.

The texts that had the benefit of having a commentary in this series were the following :

1. *Taittiriya Samhita* (*Krishna Yajurveda*) 2. *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* 3. *Taittiriya Aranyaka* 4. *Ṛksamhita*. 5. *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* 6. *Aitarēya Aranyaka* 7. *Sāma Samhita* 8. *Panchavimśa* or the *Tāndyamahā-Brāhmaṇa* 9. *Shadavimśa Brāhmaṇa* 10. *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* 11. *Arshēya Brāhmaṇa* 12. *Devatādhyāya* 13. *Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* 14. *Samhitōpanishad Brāhmaṇa* 15. *Vamśa Brahmana* 16. *Kāṇvasamhita* (*Sukla Yajurveda*) 17. *Atharva Samhita* and 18. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

These are in accordance with the chronological order of the Commentaries. Excepting the last two, these were written in Bukka's reign. The last two were written in the reign of Harihara II. Each Samhita Bhāshya is prefixed with an elaborate introduction (*bhūmika*). They are written in simple and forceful prose. Several points of Vedic interpretation are discussed in the highly useful introductory sections.

II. Sāyaṇa also wrote the *Yajñatantra-Sudhānidhi*, a hand-book on the Vedic sacrificial ritual. It was written in the reign of Harihara II. Similarly, Chaundapāchārya (c. 1404 A.D.) wrote a hand-book dealing with the Vedic ritual. The book was called *Prayōgaratnamāla* or *Āpastambha-adhvara-tantra vyākhyā* by the author, as it dealt with the Āpastambha system.

III. The *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* is a commentary by Vidyāraṇya on the *Parāśara Smṛti*. The exposition is lucid and avoids lengthy discussions. An interesting feature of this work is the *Vyavahāra Mādhaviya*, which is a section of the Commentary. This section occupies about one-fourth of the entire work. It is

an independent essay on *Vyavahāra* (jurisprudence), based on a few stanzas of Parāśara, in the *Āchāra-Kāṇḍa*.

Prāyaschitta-Sudhānidhi (a Manual of Expiations) was prepared by Sāyaṇa. His *Purushārtha-Sudhānidhi* is a compilation of Purāṇa verses dealing with dharma, artha, kāma and mōksha. Sāyaṇa wrote this work at the direction of Bukka. Dēvaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa (c. 1445 A.D.) wrote the *Smṛiti-Chandrika*, a hand-book of Dharmaśāstra. The author of a similar treatise, *Smritikaustubha* is Narahari, son of Varadarājāchārya.

IV. The *Tātparyadeepika* is a commentary on *Sūtasamhitā*, a part of *Padma Purāṇa*. Mādhavamantrin, a contemporary of Vidyārāṇya, is its author. He was a Saiva and a disciple of Kāśivilāsa Kṛiyāśakti Achārya. Narahari, son of Varadarājāchārya wrote notes (tippani on the *Vishnu Purāṇa*).

Īśvara Deekshita wrote two commentaries on the *Ramayana* at the instance of Krishnadēvarāya, and of these one is said to be short and another elaborate. He is also said to have amazed the Rāya by reciting all the Kāṇḍas of the *Ramayana* in twenty-four hours !

Varadarājāchārya, a contemporary of Vyāsarāya, wrote the commentary, *Varadarājiya* on *Mahābhārata Tātparya-Nirṇaya* of Ānandateertha. Vijayadhvajateertha (1378-1438 A.D.), a pontiff of the Pējavar Maṭha, Uḍupi, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*. Notes to *Bhāgavata-Tātparya-Nirṇaya* were added by Narahari, son of Varadarājāchārya.

II. KAVYAS :

The poems of this period centre generally round Rama or Krishna or the patrons of the poets themselves. In the historical poems, the poets keep close to facts instead of allowing their imagination to have free play. Therefore, these poems have now become valuable source-books for the history of the period.

I. *Sankara Vijaya* and *Rājakālanirṇaya* are attributed to Vidyārāṇya. The first is the biography of the great Advaita teacher Sankara, written in a good style. We learn that the work *Rājakālanirṇaya* contains a history of Vijayanagar from its foundation. Sāyaṇa compiled a treasury of good sayings: *Subhāshita-Sudhānidhi*. The book is divided into four sections and deals with dharma, artha, kāma and mōksha, respectively. It was compiled for a Sangama Prince for whom Sāyaṇa was the Regent. The complete work, however, is not available.

Bhōganātha, a brother of Sāyaṇa, is also known to be the author of many works. He was a counsellor of Sangama II. He was a poet of a high order, and Sāyaṇa had a good opinion of his brother's literary abilities. On the basis of

the quotations in Sāyaṇa's *Alankāra Sudhānidhi*, we can gather the names of about six works, otherwise lost to us. They are :

1. *Udāharaṇāmāla*. This is a collection of stanzas composed, as examples for the rules laid down in the *Alankāra Śāstra* (Rhetoric); a special feature about the stanzas is that all of them are in praise of Sāyaṇa.
2. *The Rāmōllasa* is a poem relating the *Ramayana* story.
3. The *Tripura-Vijaya* has for its theme the story of Śiva's victory over Tripura.
4. The *Śringāraṃanjari* is full of verses dealing with the sentiment of love.
5. The *Mahāgaṇapatistava* and
6. The *Gaurināthaśataka* which are two stōtras in praise of Gaṇapati and Śiva respectively. Bhōganātha's verses have a limpid flow and they are pregnant with thought.

The women of this period made valuable contributions to Sanskrit Literature. Gangādēvi, Abhirāma-Kāmākshi and Tirumalāmba are representative respectively of the early, middle and the closing periods of Vijayanagara history.

Gangādēvi's *Madhurāvijaya* or *Veera-Kamparāyacharita* may be regarded as the earliest available *mahākāvya* of the period. She narrates in a simple and charming style the successful expeditions of her husband Kamparāya or Kampaṇa (d. 1377 A.D.), the second son of Bukka I. Kampaṇa's victory over the Sultan of Madura is the main theme of the poem. *Madhurāvijaya* begins with the birth and parentage of Kampa. We also get a glimpse in the poem of the character of Bukka. After his marriage with Gangādēvi, Kampa proceeded towards the south. He defeated Sambuvarāya and established a just government in Kānchipuram. Later, he defeated the Sultan of Madura after a fierce struggle. Kampa took possession of the town. At this point the manuscript breaks off abruptly. Probably, she accompanied her husband on this tour of conquest and must have personally observed the details of all that she has described. In the earlier portion of the work, Gangādēvi mentions some of her contemporary poets, like Vidyānātha, author of *Pratāparudra Yaśōbhūshaṇa* who was her guru. She calls him 'Kaviśvara'. The historical importance of the poem is indeed very great. But, unfortunately, the poem is extant only as a fragment, because only eight cantos and a part of the ninth are available. Even in this portion many verses are lost to us. It is strange that only one manuscript of it has been found so far. Vēnkaṭanātha, better known as Vēdanta Dēśika (the contemporary of Vidyāraṇya), wrote the great Mahākāvya *Yādavābhyudaya*, dealing with the life of Krishna. He wrote the great 'Sandeshakāvya' (a poem dealing with carrying a message to be delivered to a distant place), *Hamsasandēśa*, a large number of stōtras and the 'Chitrakāvya' *Pādukāsahasra*.

King Virūpāksha (c. 1385 A.D.) was the patron of Mādhava, the author of *Narakāsura Vijaya* of which only nine cantos are now extant. The theme of the poem is the Victory of Krishna over the demon Narakāsura. The language of the poem is very terse. The author bestows high praise on contemporary poets. This makes the work valuable. The poem *Virupākshasthāna* describes Vijayanagar. This was written by Chandrakavi at the express orders of Gururāja, one of the Ministers of Dēvarāya II.

Gangādhara, the author of *Gangadāsa-pratapa-vilāsa*, was patronized by Mallikārjuna, the King of Vijayanagar (1446-87 A.D.). The poem, is said to have been written in Champakapura, the Capital of Pavachala State, and glorifies the victory of Gangadāsa. It is difficult to identify this State.

Sāḷuva Narasimha, the Vijayanagar King (1486-97 A.D.) of the Sāḷuva dynasty, was a scholar himself and a generous patron of letters. To him is attributed the *Rāmābhyudaya*, a beautiful poem in twenty-four cantos. The real author, however, appears to be Sonādrinātha or Aruṇagirinātha I of the Diṇḍima family. The authorship of this poem is also attributed to Dēvarāya II in whose Court flourished Aruṇagirinātha I. Both the kāvyas, the *Rāmābhyudaya* and the *Mahānāṭaka* must have been written by one author, Aruṇagirinātha I. The *Ramāyana* story is narrated in the poem *Rāmābhyudaya* in the poet's own words. In the beginning of the work, the ancestors of the family of Sāḷuva Narasimha are described and Narasimha is described as a great scholar.

Some of the official documents relating to the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty were composed by poets of a high order. One family of writers of distinction was that of the 'Diṇḍimas'. This family was also proficient in more than one language. Most of the writers of this family were given the title 'Diṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma': Aruṇagirinātha I, who belonged to the family, had the title 'Aṣṭabhāṣhāparamēśvara', signifying that just as Paramēśvara had eight faces, so too did the poet have mastery over eight languages. Rājanātha II Diṇḍima, has expressed his gratitude to his patron, Sāḷuva Narasimha by writing a poem called *Sāḷuvābhyudaya*, wherein the achievements of his patron are glorified. The poem must have been completed before 1486 A. D., as there is no mention of Narasimha as the King of Vijayanagara.

Vyāsateertha sang the glory of his Guru, Jayateertha (a contemporary of Sāyaṇa) in his narrative poem, *Jayateertha Vijaya*.

King Krishnadēvarāya (1509-30 A. D.) was a famous figure in the literary field even as he was famous in the political field. He was a profound scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu. He wrote in both the languages. He was a generous patron of learning also. He was called 'Sakalakalābhōjarāja' or 'Abhinava-bhōja', the modern Bhōja. From his *Āmuktamālyada*, a Telugu poem, we learn that *Madālasacharita*, *Satyavadhūsāntvana*, *Sakalakathāsārasangraha*, *Rasamanjari* and *Jñāna Chintāmaṇi* are the works of Krishnadēvarāya. Though some doubts are ex-

pressed in regard to the authorship of these works, it appears reasonable to believe that Krishnadēvarāya himself may have written them.

Sabhāpati of the Dīṇḍima family, who flourished in the Court of Krishnadēvarāya, was the composer of official records in Sanskrit, as Peddaṇa was in Telugu. Lolla Lakshmidhara and Divākara, who were in the Court of Gajapati of Orissa came to Krishnadēvarāya's Court after the latter married Gajapati's daughter. Divākara retold the *Mahabharata* story in forty cantos in his *Bhāratāmṛita*.

Of the works of poetesses of this period, it is only those of Abhirāma-Kāmākshi and Tirumalāmba that have survived the test of time. Abhirāma-Kāmākshi, whose brother Svayambhu was the son-in-law of Aruṇagirinātha I, composed, in charming verses, the *Abhinava-Rāmābhyudaya*. It is in twenty-four cantos and narrates the *Ramayana* story. This was called 'Abhinava', in order to distinguish it from another work called *Rāmābhyudaya* written in the same period. Fortunately, the complete poem is available to us.

Svayambhu's son and nephew of Rājānātha II, Sivasūrya, was the author of *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*. This is a poem in eight cantos, relating the story of the *Mahabharata*. King Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara also followed the example of his predecessors in encouraging the learned. Rājānātha III of the Dīṇḍima family devoted a poem of twelve cantos to expatiate on the glory of his patron, Achyutarāya. The poem *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* describes Achyuta's expedition to the south, his pilgrimage to Srīrangam, Kāḷahasti and other places, and his siege and victory of Bijapur. The poem ends with his return to the Capital. Besides this, the poet records some points of interest regarding Sāḷuva Nara-simha and describes, in brief, the reign of each of the earlier kings of the Tuḷuva dynasty. It was possible for Rājānātha to write all this, because he belonged to the family in charge of drafting the official records. It gave the writer an opportunity of going through the early documents. Thus, the poem has much historical value. Svayambhunātha, nephew of Aruṇagirinātha II, wrote the life of Śrī Krishna in fourteen cantos, in his *Krishnavilāsa*.

Two works of Vādirāja may be noticed here. *Rukmiṇīśa Vijaya* and *Teertha Prabandha* were written by this great Dvaita Pontiff of the Sōde Muṭha in the latter part of the 16th century. The *Rukmiṇīśa-Vijaya* in twenty-one cantos deals with the theme of the *Bhāgavata* story of Śrī Krishna. Krishna's birth, his early life, the death of Kamsa, the marriage of Rukmiṇī and Krishna, the marriage of Jāmbavati and others with him are beautifully described. The poem ends with the birth of the sons of Krishna. The other poem *Teertha Prabandha* narrates the poet's tour round the country, and describes the various pilgrim centres of India.

Of the commentators of this period, mention may be made of Narahari, a pupil of Vidyāranya. He wrote the *Naishadha Deepika*, a commentary on

Naishadha Mahākāvya of Śrī Harsha. Another commentary worthy of note was on the *Saundaryalahari* of Sankarachārya written by Aruṇagirinātha who was in the Court of Dēvarāya II.

Anantabhaṭṭa (c. 1500 A. D.) wrote the *Bhārata Champu*. The *Mahabharata* story is here retold in twelve chapters. His nephew, Sōmanātha, wrote a life of Vyāsarāya in his *Vyasayōgichvrita Champu*.

Rājanātha III wrote the *Bhagavata Champu* dealing with the life of Krishna. The poet wrote this Vaishnava work at the instance of the King, Achyutarāya, who was himself an ardent devotee of Vishnu. The poem is dedicated to the King. Svayambhunātha, nephew of Aruṇagirinātha II, described the fight between Śiva and Arjuna in his *Śankarānanda Champu*. His brother Gururāma is the author of *Harischandra Champu*, a work which deals with the story of Harischandra. We learn that it was written in 1610 A. D.

Tirumalāmba was a poetess whose literary achievements were admired by one and all in the Court of Achyutarāya. This poetess has been identified with Ōduva Tirumalamma, the authoress of a Sanskrit stanza in an inscription (1533 A. D.) at Hampi Viṭhala Temple. Dr. Lakshmana Sarup takes her as one of the Queens of Achyutarāya himself. Other scholars have thought of her as the wife of Aḷiya Rāmarāya. She was evidently an accomplished lady of refined literary tastes. She was a scholar in many languages and knew many scripts. *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*, a champu, is the only extant work of Tirumalāmba. The poem begins with the description of the battle of Achyuta's father, Narasa, with the Chōḷa King. It describes Narasa's marriage with Ōbamāmba and the birth and parentage of Achyuta. Then is taken up the main theme, *viz.*, Achyutarāya's love for Varadāmba, a Princess of a Salaga Chief, and their marriage. Then follows the birth of the Prince, Chinna Venkaṭādri. The poem ends with the installation of the young Prince as the Yuvarāja. Though a bit difficult to understand, the champu is written in a charming style. It is the only complete work of a poetess of the period available to us in print.

Immaḍi (Praudha) Dēvarāya, the King of Vijayanagara (1424-1446 A.D.) composed the work, *Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi*, narrating the story of the *Ramayana*. There is difference of opinion in regard to the authorship of this work. Some ascribe the work to Aruṇagirinātha I, while other scholars are inclined to think that the author is Mallikārjuna Immaḍi Dēvarāya (1446-1487 A. D.)

Sāluva Timma, the famous Minister of Krishnadēvarāya, wrote a commentary called the *Manōhara* on the *Champubhārata* of Agastya, who was the Court Poet of Pratāparudra of Warangal.

The dramatic literature of this period was of the shorter variety. Those adopted were of the 'Bhāṇa', 'Ḍima', 'Vyāyōga' and 'Prahasana' types. Plays of the 'Nāṭaka' variety were very rare.

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa was a pupil of Vidyāraṇya. He appears to have been a witness to the rising power of Vijayanagara. When he was about thirty years of age, he seems to have migrated to the Court of Vēmaḥpāla or Veeranārāyaṇa, ruler in Koṇḍaviḍu (1402-1420 A. D.). The *Śringārabhūṣaṇa-bhāṇa* was written by him for being enacted before the audience gathered for the festival of Virūpāksha. We get a glimpse of the highly developed civic life of Vijayanagara through this play.

Vēṇkaṭaṇātha wrote the allegorical play '*Sankalpa Sūryōdaya* in imitation of Krishna Misra's *Prabōdha Chandrōdaya*. Varadāchārya wrote *Vedānta Vilāsa* describing the triumphs of Rāmānuja. He also wrote the *Bhāṇa*, *Vasanta tilaka*.

Bāṇa's *Kādambari* was dramatised under the name *Kadambarikalyāṇa*. It is in eight acts. The story is taken up from the moment Chandrapīḍa follows the kinnara pair, and ends with the reunion of the lovers. The author, Narasimha, the sister's son of Agastya, deviates from the original by introducing a play within a play in the fifth act, to bring Kādambari to the presence of Chindrapīḍa. This forms a special feature of the work. This play must have been written before 1400 A. D.

Bhāskara, probably the Court Poet of Harihara II, wrote a short play (*prēkshanaka*) *Unmatta-Rāghava*. The playwright presents Rama, mad at the loss of Sīta, who was transformed into an antelope due to the curse of Dūrvāsa, and their reunion through the aid of Agastya. The soliloquies are in imitation of the fourth act of *Vikramōrvaśīya* of Kālidāsa. Its style is elegant. The play was commissioned to be staged before an audience assembled to pay their homage to the sage Vidyāraṇya. Virūpāksha, son of Harihara II, also seems to have written a play of a similar name dealing with a similar plot. *Unmatta-Rāghava* is in one act. He also wrote another play in five acts, *Nārāyaṇa Vilāsa*. In the *Sōmavalliyōgānanda prahasana*, a farcial play, the author, Aruṇagirinātha I, ridicules the amorous pranks of an ascetic with a woman. Aruṇagirinātha II, who was in the Court of Veera Narasimha, King of Vijayanagara (1506-1509 A.D.) is the author of a 'ḍima', *Veerabhadra Vijaya*. Veerabhadra's birth and the interruption of Daksha's sacrifice form the theme of the play. This was enacted in Bhūpatirāyapura, in the festival of Rājanātha. The author was called Kumāra Ḍinḍima and had the titles, 'Ḍinḍimakavisārvabhauma', and 'Kavirājarāja'.

Jāmbavati Kalyāṇa, a play in five acts, was written by Krishnadēvarāya. The theme is the 'syamantakamaṇi' episode and the marriage of Jāmbavati, daughter of Jāmbavan, with Krishna. This was enacted at the Chaitra festival of Virūpāksha. *Ushāpariṇaya* is another play said to have been written by Krishnadēvarāya.

Mallikārjuna or Sphulingakavi was the son-in-law of Aruṇagirinātha II. He has to his credit a play, *Satyabhāmāpariṇaya*. It is in five acts and dramatises the story of the marriage of Satyabhāma with Krishna.

Gururāma wrote two plays. The first, *Subhadrā-Dhananjaya*, is in five acts. The plot is the marriage of Subhadrā with Arjuna. The other play, *Ratnēśvara prasādana* is also in five acts. The author has chosen the marriage of Ratnachūḍa and Ratnavālī that was brought about by the grace of the God, Ratnēśvara.

The allegorical play *Prabōdha-Ghaandrōdaya* was commented on by Nadindla Gōpa.

III. ALANKARA, SANGEETA AND OTHER SASTRAS :

Sāyaṇa's *Alankāra-Sudhānidhi* is now available only as a fragment. Though there may be nothing new in it, the presentation is illuminating and deserves to be studied. We learn that it was written in ten chapters (unmēshas). The illustrative stanzas, all in praise of Sāyaṇa himself, are taken from *Udāharaṇamāla* of his brother Bhōganātha. These stanzas throw light not only on the personal life of Sāyaṇa but also on some aspects of early Vijayanagara history. Another work on poetics, the *Rasamanjari*, is attributed to Krishnadēvarāya. The illustrative stanzas refer to the Rāya himself.

Narahari, the author of *Naishadha deepika*, also wrote a commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa*. Sāḷuva Gōpa Tippa Bhūpāla, a Viceroy of Mulbagal under Dēvarāya II, was a great scholar and author of many works. *Kāmadhēnu* is his commentary on the *Kāvyalankāra-sūtravṛitti* of Vāmana. It is lucid and is an important contribution.

The works on music may be considered as a significant contribution of this period. Vidyāraṇya himself is said to have composed a work, *Sangita sāra*, explaining the theory and practice of music. This work has been quoted by Chikadēvarāya of Mysore in his *Bhāratasāra sagraha*, Gōpa Tippa Bhūpāla wrote a treatise called *Tāḷadeepika* on the different ways of keeping time in music (tāḷa). He has discussed the 'mārga' and 'dēśi' tāḷas in three chapters. We are given to understand that he also wrote on dancing. Dēvaṇṇabhaṭṭa (c. 1445 A.D.) wrote a hand-book on music called, *Sangeeta-Muktāvalī*.

Lakshminārāyaṇa was the Director of Dance (Natyāchārya) in the Court of Krishnadēvarāya. He was called 'Abhinava Bharata', the modern Bharata. He was an authority on music too. His *Sangeeta-Suryodaya* is a treatise on music. In the text, the author deals with the five topics tāḷa, vṛitta, svarageeta, jati and prabandha in five chapters.

Kallarasa or Kallamātya wrote his *Kalānidhi*, the commentary on *Sangeeta-Ratnākara* of Sārṅgadhara. He was patronized by the Prince Mallikārjuna, while Dēvarāya II was the king.

Ratiratna Pradeepika is a work on Kama Sāstra by Dēvarāya II. The work is in seven chapters. It is an elaborate and interesting treatise on the science and art of love.

The *Āyurvēda Sudhānidhi* is a medical work of Sāyaṇa. The work is referred to in his *Alankāra-Sudhānidhi*. Bukka II gave patronage to a physician, Lakshmaṇapandita who wrote the *Vaidyarāja Vallabha*.

Sāyaṇa's *Dhātuvritti* is, probably, the only noteworthy work on Grammar in this period, in Karnataka. It is a commentary on Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha*, or the lists of verbal roots. It gives the notable conjugational forms of the roots and also mentions and discusses some of their derivations with relevant references to the sūtras of Pāṇini.

Works on Jyōtisha (Astrology and Astronomy) are also rare. *Kāla-Mādhava* of Vidyāraṇya is a treatise on time, its nature and its divisions. It is in five chapters. The year, seasons, months, and intercalary months are dealt with. Besides these topics, tithi, nakshatra, yōga, karaṇa, Sankrānti and eclipses are taken up for elucidation.

The astronomer, Vidyāmādhava Suri (early 14th century), was the author of *Muhūrta-Darśana*, which is an exhaustive treatise on horary astrology. It is also called *Vidyāmādhaviya*. His son, Vishnu Sūri, a contemporary of Mallappa Oḍeya, son of Bukka (1363 A.D.), wrote a commentary on this work. It is called *Muhūrta-deepika*. Another scholar, Lolla Lakshmidhara, was the author of a part of *Jyōtishadarpaṇa*, an encyclopaedic work on Astronomy.

IV. PHILOSOPHY :

The different philosophical systems too were the topics of several works. The Advaita Vedānta, under the leadership of Vidyāraṇya, his teacher and his brother. The Viśiṣṭādvaita under Vēṅkaṭanātha, the Dvaita Vedānta under Akshōbhyateertha and his disciples; the Saiva Siddhānta under the Kriyāśakti Āchāryas, and the Veeraśaiva Faith under Pāṅkuriki Sōma and Srīpati Paṇḍita received scholarly treatment. Jainism too received royal patronage. Sāyaṇa, who directed the Vedic studies, was probably also the author of the popular text on philosophy, *Sarvadarśana Sangraha*, though the authorship is still a subject of controversy among scholars. This is more widely known than other similar critical reviews of the different darśanas, or systems of philosophy, attempted in our country. *Sarvadarśana Sangraha* takes into account sixteen systems. The *Sangraha* opens with Chārvāka-darśana, followed by Bauddha and the Jaina systems. Then come those of Rāmānuja and Pūrṇaprajna. Afterwards, Lakuliśapāsūpata Saiva, Pratyabhijña, Rasēsvara, Aulūkyā, Akshapāda, Jaimini, Pāṇini, Sāṅkhya and Pātanjala-darśanas are reviewed in order. The work ends with Sankara-darśana.

Bhāratiteertha, guru of Vidyāraṇya, wrote the *Vaiyasika-nyāyamāla*, which is a paraphrase of the *Brahmasūtras*. It is in four chapters. The contents of each adhikaraṇa is epitomized and presented in simple stanzas, with a commentary in prose called 'vistāra'. Vidyāraṇya wrote the *Jeevanmukti-vivēka* and was perhaps joint author, with Bhāratiteertha, in the production of the *Panchadaśi*. On the basis of the textual evidence, it might be inferred that the work was the product of two hands. The *Panchadaśi* lucidly sets forth the tenets of Advaita in fifteen chapters. The *Jeevanmukti-vivēka* is a disquisition on one of the topics of Advaita, namely Jeevanmukti. Incidentally, 'sanyāsa' and 'vidēhamukti' are also discussed. In the *Anubhūti-Prakāśa*, Vidyāraṇya presents the teachings of the *Upanishads* in a condensed manner. The work is based on the following *Upanishads*—*Aitarēya*, *Taittiriya*, *Chhāndōgya*, *Mundaka*, *Kaushitaki*, *Maitrāyaṇi*, *Kaṭhā*, *Svetāśvatara*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Talavakāra* and the *Nrisimhatāpini*. The treatise is in twenty chapters. The *Vivaraṇa-pramēya sangraha* is yet another work of Vidyāraṇya. This is an epitomization of the *Panchapādika-vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman with occasional notes.

Immaḍi Dēvarāya is the author of a Vritti on the *Brahmasūtra*. He follows closely Sankara and Vāchaspati Miśra and often adds paraphrases utilizing their own words. The *Chandrika* is a commentary on *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* written by Nādinḍḷa Gōpa, nephew of Sāḷuva Timma. It has much of interest for students of philosophy and history.

Vēdānta Dēśika, the great Sri Vaishnava philosopher, wrote philosophical works: *Sēśvara Mimāmsa*, *Nyāya Siddhānjana*, *Tattva Makuṣa Kalāpa*, *Tālavālika* and *Tātparya Chandrika*, which are commentaries on Rāmānuja's *Sri Bhāshya* and *Geetā Bhāshya*.

Turning to the Dvaita system of philosophy we find the great name of Akshōbhyateertha. He was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya and was the author of *Madhva-tattva-sārasangraha*, in which he has presented in a nutshell all the important aspects of the Dvaita system. His disciple Jayateertha became famous as the 'Teekāchārya'. Jayateertha was the most original of all commentators of the works of Ānandateertha (Madhvācharya). He wrote many works. The *Pramāṇapaddhati* is an independent work of his. It is a treatise on the three sources of knowledge accepted in the Dvaita system, viz., pratyaksha, anumāna and āgama. *Vādāvali* and the *Adhyātma-tarangini* are two other original works. Among his great commentaries may be mentioned, *Tattvapra-kāśika* *Prameyadipika*, the commentary on *Bhagavad Geeta* and *Rgbhāshya-ṣika*.

Raghūttama (c. 1500 A. D.) wrote the *Bhāvabōdha*, a commentary on *Nyāyavivaraṇa Vāgyajra* of Ānandateertha. Sripāda, who was greatly respected by Veera Narasimha (1506-1509 A. D.), is said to have written a Sanskrit work *Vāgyajra*.

Vyasarāya (1447-1539 A. D.) was a great expositor of the Dvaita system of philosophy. Krishnadēvarāya was among those who were influenced by his wisdom and austerity. His three works, *Tātparya Chandrika*, *Nyāyāmṛita* and *Tarka-tāṇḍava* are well-known. *Tātparya-Chandrika* is the celebrated commentary on the commentary of Jayateertha called the *Tattvapra-kāśa*, a commentary on the *Sutrabhāṣya* of Madhva. The *Chandrika* clarifies many points that are not clear in the earlier works and answers the objections raised by the exponents of other systems. It is an important contribution to the philosophic literature of Dvaita Vedānta. The *Tarka-tāṇḍava* is a disquisition on some important points of Nyāya epistemology from the point of view of the Dvaita tenets. The author says that he has paraphrased the works of Ānandateertha and Jayateertha, and amplified them wherever necessary. The *Bhedōjjeevana* is another independent work of Vyāsarāya. Among his immediate disciples, Vādirāja and Vijayeendra were prominent.

Vādirāja was another brilliant exponent of Dvaita. He toured the country propagating Madhva philosophy. He wrote commentaries on many Dvaita texts. He is the author of numerous works. His *Yuktimalikā* is a profound discourse, in easy verses, on Dvaita tenets, and is an original work. It is considered as one of his finest works. The chapters are called 'saurabha' in keeping with the name 'mallikā'. His *Nyāyaratnāvalī* refutes the Advaita standpoint in five chapters. Each chapter is called 'śāra'. *Gurvārtha-deepika*, *Tantrasāra-ṭika*, *Tātparya-prakāśika*, *Chakramimāmsa*, *Geetāuyakhyāna-vivaraṇa*, *Bhugōḷa-vivaraṇa* are some among his other works. His younger contemporary Vijayeendra is known as the author of some 104 works written in order to answer the criticisms of Appayya Deekshita, the great Advaita scholar. Of his works, the following may be mentioned : *Bhēda Vidyāvilāsa*, *Nyāya-yūktimālā*, *Adhikaraṇamālā*, *Mimāmsa-nyāyamālā*, *Nayachampakamālā*, *Nayamukura*, *Nayamanjari* and *Paratattva-prakāśika*.

The Pūrvamimāmsa system engaged the earnest attention of some of the scholars of the times. The *Jaimīniya-nyāyamālā* in twelve chapters is a work on Pūrvamimāmsa by Vidyāraṇya. This is an epitomization of the Pūrvamimāmsa-sūtras following their Adhikaraṇa pattern like the *Vaiyāsika-nyāyamālā*. This work is written in simple verse. It has a commentary called the *Vistāra*.

Taking up the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika system, Chennubhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on Kēśava Miśra's *Tarka-bhāṣā*. He was in the Court of Harihara II. There were other commentaries on *Tarka-bhāṣā* written by Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and Balabhadra. *Tarkaprakāśa* is an independent work on Logic written by Murāri-bhaṭṭa.

Works on the Śaivasiddhānta were written by Mādhavamantrin, who compiled the *Śaivāmnāyasāra*. Towards the end of the 15th century, Sesali Virapārādhyā wrote *Pancharatna* which Rēvaṇārādhyā commented upon.

Of Veeraśaiva works, mention may be made of Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha's *Sōmanātha Bhāṣya* (*Basavarājēya*) written in the Court of Veera Pratāpa Rudra II :

he also wrote *Rudra Bhāshya*, *Ashṭaka*, *Panchaka*, *Namaskāra-gadya*, *Aksharānka-gadya*, *Pancha Prārthana-gadya*, *Basavōdāharaṇa* and *Chaturvēda Tālpārya Sangraha*. The *Śrikara Bhāshya* on the *Brahmasūtras* by Sripati Paṇḍita was another monumental work of the period, expounding Śakti Viśiṣṭādvaita.

V. LEXICONS:

A few Lexicons were also compiled during this period.

The *Ēkākshara-Ratnamālā* is divided into three Kāṇḍas : vowels, consonants and conjunct consonants. Mādhava, son of Māyana, is its compiler. Irugappa Daṇḍādhinātha, the General of the army of Bukka I and Harihara II, compiled a Dictionary, called the *Nanārtharatnamālā*. This work is divided into six sections—*ekākshara*, *dvayākshara*, *trayākshara*, *chaturākshara*, *sankīrṇa* and *avyaya*. *Lakṣhābharaṇa*, a glossary of nearly a lakh of difficult words compiled by Vādirāja may also be mentioned here.

This brief sketch will bear out the fact that the literary output in Sanskrit in the Vijayanagara period was varied and vast. Many works have been undoubtedly lost, and it is, therefore, difficult to make a comprehensive assessment of the output in the field of Sanskrit letters of the period.

ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER FINE ARTS

(VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD)

The selection and the construction of the Capital at Hampi satisfies the art injunctions of *Śukra-nītisāra* : “In a place that abounds in various trees, plants, shrubs and is rich in cattle, birds and other animals, that is endowed with good sources of water and supplies of grains, and is happily provided with resources in grass and woods, that is bestirred by the movements of boats up to the seas, and is not far from the hills, and that is an even-grounded, picturesque plain, the Ruler should build the Capital.” Only the conditions ‘up to the seas’ and ‘even-grounded’ were not satisfied. At Hampi we have the seven hills, the *Hēmakūṭa*, the *Rishyaśringa*, the *Mātanga*, the *Mālyavanta*, the *Anjani*, the *Sugriva* and the *Jāmbavanta*, all enclosing a region full of water and luscious vegetation. According to Paes, the City was situated amid these hills: ‘This range of hills surrounds the City with a circle of 24 leagues, and within this range there are

others that encircle it closely. Wherever the ranges have level ground, they cross it with a very high wall in such a way that the hills remain all closed except in places where the roads come through from the gates in the first range, which are entrance ways to the City'. Varthema and Nikitini confirm this and add that the City is seven miles in circumference..... 'It occupies the most beautiful site and possesses the best air that was ever seen.....; a wonderful place!' and so on. Bukka I (1353-79 A.D.) really began the construction of a new City in 1368 A.D., and completed it in 1378 A.D., naming it Vidyānagara. It had already been a town of great celebrity and the recipient of royal grants from the Western Chālukyan ruler Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (689-90 A.D.) and the Hoysala King Sōmēśvara (1236 A.D.). It was visited by the Western Chālukyan ruler Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha (Inscription dated 1018-1019 A.D.). The Western Chālukyan General Mahādēva called it Hampi, the 'Svāmi Pampāsthala' in his grant to the deity.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE:

The early years of the Empire seem to have been exclusively devoted to a gathering together of the various legacies handed down from the 12th and 13th centuries. The early style in architecture was but an imitation of the simple rectangular style of the Kadamba period without much ornamentation or decoration. The Jaina basadis and the other small Hindu temples on the Hēmakūṭa Hill and on the way to the Viṭhalasvāmi Temple, just near the Chakra Teertha, as well as the Gānagitti Temple built by Irugappa (a Jaina General of Harihara I) in 1385 A.D., to the west of the 'Queens' Bath', all at Hampi, are examples of the horizontal stages of the Kadamba vimānas. The Temple of Kaḍalekāḷu Gaṇapati with its simple rectangular and horizontal designs and the restrained carvings of the gods of the Hindu pantheon in low relief on its square-cut pillars are also of a similar type. The images of Gaṇēśa here and in the Sāśivekāḷu Gaṇapati Temple as well as the huge monolith idol of Yōgā Narasimha carved during the time of Śrī Krishnadēvarāya, have all the simple unsophisticated grandeur of the best in the Gupta sculpture, of which we have echoes at Paṭṭadakal, Bādāmi, Ellōra, etc. With the rise into power of the Vijayanagara kings and their close association with the Hoysalas, and especially during the brilliant reign of Śrī Krishnadēvarāya, the Chālukyan and the Hoysala forms and detailed ornamentation seem to have been freely indented upon to decorate the Capital.

Indian architecture reached new dimensions in its plastic embellishment during this period. As Percy Brown pertinently points out, it is a record in stone of a range of ideals, sensations, emotions, prodigalities, abnormalities, of forms and formlessness and even eccentricities that only a super-imaginative mind could conceive and only an inspired artist could reproduce. Much of the intricacy and rich beauty of the Vijayanagara type of temple was produced by the

number and prominence of its pillars and piers. A striking type in the design of the pillar, and also the most frequent, is that in which the shaft becomes merely a central core for the attachment of an involved group of statuary, often of heroic size and chiselled entirely in round, having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse, rampant hippogryph or upraised animal of a supernatural kind. Another type, sometimes combined with the former, sometimes alternating, shows encircling the central column a cluster of miniature pillars, slender, mystical and dreamy, like Gothic nook-shafts. The pendant below the bracket of the capital of these pillars was elaborated into a volute terminating in an inverted lotus bud.

The horse *motif* in the pillars of the period attains the finality of extravagance in the maṇṭapam at Srirangam near Trichinopoly. The steeds each rear up to a height of nearly nine feet and the whole is executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel. During the Vijayanagara regime, this *motif* appears so frequently that it dominates every conception, until it becomes an obsession. A feeling of exultant invincibility translated into the triumph of good over evil seems embodied in the art of this period, and accounts for these colonnades of splendid cavaliers nonchalantly astride gigantic rearing chargers engaged in furious combat with fabulous creatures.

Probably the oldest temple in Vijayanagara is that of Pampāpati. It is built around the nucleus of an earlier Hoysala temple with its lathe-turned pillars, beautifully carved doorway and ornate ceiling. According to Longhurst, Harihara I got constructed some parts of this huge Temple for the personal use and worship of his preceptor, Vidyāraṇya. Krishnadēvarāya got its Ranga Maṇṭapa built in 1509-10 to commemorate his coronation. This huge monument still stands in the midst of the vast ruins of Hampi like a great sentinel, overlooking the wide street which once teemed with flourishing shops in the palmy days of Vijayanagara.

Of the numerous temples built by the Vijayanagara Emperors as well as their subjects as votive offerings, the most representative are the shrines of Virūpāksha, Krishnasvāmi, Achyutarāya, Hazāra Rāmasvāmi and Viṭthalasvāmi at Hampi, the Chintalarāya at Tāḍpatri, and Veerēśvara *alias* Pāpanāśēśvara at Lēpākshi, not to mention the most gorgeous and magnificent thousand-pillared sculptured halls, pavilions and aisles added on to the pre-existing and celebrated old temples at Srirangam, Chidambaram, Kānchi and other places. The black-stone door frames of the Bhuvanēśvari Shrine at Hampi, of Pāpanāśēśvara at Hūvina-haḍagali and of the Siva Temple at Kuruvatti and the Makara-tōraṇa lately unearthed at Kānalāpuram, are fine pieces for the wealth of their perforated kalpalatā (creeper) designs centring the dancing poses of the humans, as well as of Naṭarāja, redemption of Gajēndra, Siva incarnations etc., done in quite a Hoysalan exuberance and delicacy with the utmost rhythmic grace and devotional abandon. The images

of the Sun-God Sūryanārāyaṇa, Gulaganji Mādhava (Vishnu), of Sri Dēvi Kāliyadamana Krishna in the Viṭthalasvāmi Temple, of Trivikrama, Yōgā-Narasimha, Sāśivekāḷu and the Kaḍalekāḷu Gaṇapatis, huge monoliths (16' and 22' respectively), of those of the dancers at rest, the cymbal-player, the drum player and Dvārapalas in the Achyutarāya Temple, the cosmic Veera-bhadra, the 'Hattu-Kaiyamma Kāḷi' (Kāḷi of ten arms), Bhairava etc., all at Hampi, the images of the Madanikas bracketed at Kuruvatti, of Siva incarnations, of Sapta-Rishis and Ashṭadikpālas at Lēpākshi, the perfectly modelled and ornamented tower at Tāḍpatri, and of Vishapānamūrti—these are among the most charming ones, which illustrate the noteworthy success the Vijayanagara artist attained with his traditional restraint. In this connection, the Sri Ranganātha image lying recumbent at Hoḷalu, meant for consecration at the Anantaśayana Shrine (Hospet), as well as the most lovely and huge monolith Nandi (28' x 18') at Lēpākshi also deserve a well-merited notice.

The Vidyāśankara Temple at Srīngēri built in 1356-58 combines the principles of both Hoysala and Dravidian architecture. Some of the sculptures are of great interest, particularly those depicting episodes from the life of Sankarāchārya. There are 61 groups of wall images, most of them reflecting Saiva iconography.

There are three temples, in the main, at Hampi, that vie with one another for supremacy. The first is the main Viṭthalasvami Temple, the artistic front of which was added by Krishnadēvarāya, together with its 'Phalapūja' and 'Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapas', after his victory (Digvijaya 1513 A.D.). It is on a polygonal plinth with gorgeous compound pillars multi-columned, delicately hewn and chased out of huge monoliths, with animal, bird and floral designs, along with the horizontal shafts of its basement similarly chased but interrupted at their centres by shallow niches in the manner of 'Bhadra Maṇṭapas', all housing gods and goddesses in low relief. These remind one of the outside decoration of the Brihadēśvara Temple at Tanjore or the Viśvēśvara Temple at Paṭṭadakal. But the running lotus petal leaves slanting down the cornice and held together by stone shafts, the cornice crowned with finely sculptured bands of swan asport with lotuses, and their stalks, and kalpalatas in various rhythmic attitudes, and other forms of aquatic birds of the type of flamingoes and storks (may be chātakas) distributed here and there on either side of the exquisitely sculptured yōgāsanās, together with small towers distributed at prominent parts on the top, all mark off a distinct style known as the Vijayanagara style. There are very nicely executed elephants, without the Hoysalan floridity in ornamentation, on either side of the flight of steps, alternated, however, with the substitution of makaras (crocodiles) for elephants in the flights of steps leading on to the Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapa. Secondly, the Kalyāṇa and the Phalapūjā Maṇṭapas are distinctive of the Vijayanagara style, where to such similarly executed colonnades different designs are added: for instance, the Vijayanagara cavalry astride their prancing yāḷis, alternated, however, in some instances with gods thereon. Thirdly, there is the Dancing Saloon described by a contempo-

rary traveller. On the square-cut pillars of these maṇḍapas, panelled into three parts of each face, are sculptured, in low relief but in charming poses, daśāvatāras (ten incarnations), poses of dance, together with the peculiar three-faced and five-faced Vēṇugōpālas in the most lithe-some attitudes. There is a monolith stone-car in the form of a Ratha (chariot), perhaps inspired by the Kōnārak Sun Temple in Orissa. The bas-reliefs are masterly with a rhythm and a movement scarcely attainable in the hard granite which the sculptors had to negotiate. But in the friezes we find also the soldiery, hunters and cavalry (seen also in the Audience Hall—Maharnavami Dibba) types of other nationalities, such as the Portuguese, the Arabs, the Persians etc. As observed by Fergusson, the Viṭhala Temple 'shows the extreme limits in floral magnificence to which the style advanced' but with a sublime restraint.

Contrary to popular belief, there seems to have been an image and regular worship in the Viṭhalasvāmi Temple for some years, as evidenced by inscriptions which have come to light.

The Krishnasvāmi Temple and its copy, the Achyutarāya Temple, built by Krishnadēvarāya and his brother Achyutarāya in 1513 A.D. and 1539 A.D., respectively, are both Dravidian in style, raised over rectangular bases. The Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapas of both are replicas of the Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapa of the Viṭhalasvāmi Temple, with compound monolith pillars multi-columned, ornamented with yāli designs, floral carvings and mythological subjects, all executed with the same gusto as in the Viṭhala Temple, though not so profusely or delicately. The gate jambs in all the three bear the same artistic design of the water-nymph, Ganga, on either side, from out of whose uplifted hand and dancing pose flow up kalpalatas most gracefully centring, alternately, dance-bhangis of kōlāta (stick-dance) and yōgic attitudes. The best pair of them (jambs) is found at the main gate of the Krishnasvāmi Temple. The gateway of the Achyutarāya Temple, however, is the most magnificent of them all, with the delicately chased and most expressive daśāvatāras on its plinth and sides. The friezes on the plinth of the Achyutarāya Temple and its surrounding maṇḍapas containing processions of elephants, horses, Arab traders and other foreigners are more nicely and realistically executed than elsewhere.

The Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple (1513 A.D.) which is nearest to the Palace enclosure was also a commemoration of Krishnadēvarāya's Digvijaya. This, as well as its replica, the Vishnu Temple at Penukonḍa, though small, are remarkable for their low relief of scenes from the *Ramayana*, and especially of Krishna-leela, exquisitely executed on the outside walls of their cellas within their well-spaced cut panels. The killing of Rāvaṇa and the Putrakāmēśhṭi yāgas are noteworthy. The outside walls of the Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple are profusely covered with lines of friezes from top to bottom setting out the Hindu pantheon in rhythmic line and form, together with representations of the various yōgic poses. In this Temple, and for the first time, we come across the soft soap-stone columns, only four-square cut, with each face divided into three panels, housing in the main and in their

low ornamented niches encarved *daśavatāras* (the ten incarnations of Vishnu) and other gods of the Vaishnavite pantheon. There are in all 48 panels and the images therein amply stress the predilection of Krishnadēvarāya for the Vaishnavite cult. The figures here are crudely executed, and except in 'Hanumān-Jāmbavati', Vēṇugōpāla, and 'Hanumān with garland in his hands', and 'Rama plumbing the ocean', there is little expression. This Temple was meant for the daily worship of the royal family in the Palace enclosure, and also formed the forum for their dramatic shows.

The Throne platform, of the Mahānavami Dibba, built by Krishnadēvarāya has been graphically described by the Portuguese traveller, Paes. The spaces between the different rows of the plinth mouldings of the platform are most elaborately carved in a style similar to those wonderful bas-reliefs of the Hazāra Rāmā Temple. They depict hunting scenes and charming dancing poses and conventional animals. Some of the most interesting sculptures occur on the south side of the platform. Apart from the procession of the elephants of the upper portion, two foreign-looking men with pointed beards and Persian-like caps are shown bowing to a group of figures seated on a throne. As Longhurst suggests, the scene represents a visit of foreign ambassadors to the Court. On the west side of the platform is depicted a scene from the Holi festival.

Vijayanagara also witnessed the creation of a class of buildings belonging to the Indo-Muslim style. The Queens' Bath and the Octagonal Pavilion fall into this category. But the stronghold of this school of architecture was in the cities of the Bahamani Kingdom: Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur.

Though situated outside the Mysore State, mention may be made of the Temple of Veerēśvara at Lēpākshi built and consecrated by Veeraṇṇa (1535 A.D.), and that of Chintalarāya (1535 A.D.) at Tāḍpatri consecrated to Lord Śiva, both built during Emperor Achyutarāya's reign (1530-1542 A.D.). They are also justly famous for their fine sculpture and painting of the Vijayanagara period. While the temple at Lēpākshi may well be called the Ajanta of Śaiva-Siddhānta because of the predominance of Śiva Purāṇa paintings and also for its exquisitely executed sculpture of the incarnations of Śiva, Sapta-rishis and Ashṭadikpālās, the Temple at Tāḍpatri is noted for the versatile hand that decorated its most ornate tower with the greatest variety of sculptures, which are executed with realism showing a classical finish.

At Lēpākshi, except for the imposing figure of Nandi (28' x 18'), the rest of the art-treasures are found in the Temple of Veerēśvara or Pāpanāśēśvara. There are figures of Naṭarāja, Gangādhara, Ardhanārīśvara, Kalyāṇasundara, Veera-bhadra, Kālārīmūrti, Bhikshāṭana-Śiva, Mahishāsura-mardini, Mōhini-Vishnu, Ashṭadikpālākās, Sapta-rishis and others, all in half or quarter relief on the panels of the square-cut pillars of the Temple and of the incomplete Kalyāṇa Mantapa and its completed Ranga Mantapa. The movement

of form, the pose and the power displayed are remarkable. Each of the dikpālās and the sapta-rishis or munis has been rendered individually with their characteristic expression, entourage, weapons, coiffures and ornamentation, and the figures seem to be full of gusto to attend the wedding of Kalyāṇasundara with Pārvati. On the pillars of the Ranga Maṇṭapa are sculptured Vishnu's dasāvatāras (ten incarnations), Bharatanāṭya poses, scenes from the lives of common people, of hunting, going to fairs, pounding grain, etc. The rendering of ornamental *motifs*, the kalpalatas, and the poses of Bharatanāṭya is delicate and worthy of emulation by expert goldsmiths.

The unfinished tower at Tāḍpatri seems never to have been carried higher than its perpendicular part. They are not left bald like other towers left unfinished in the period, but are richly decorated with figures and ornamental *motifs*, of creepers, flowers, bird, yōgāsanas and Bharatanāṭya poses, cut with precision. Having been done out of the fine close-grained hornblende stone, this has resulted in a rich effect. Fergusson observes that 'compared with Halēbid and Bēlur, these gōpuras stand the test better than any other works of the Vijayanagar rājas.'

The distinctness of the Vijayanagara art, and especially of its temple architecture, lies in the openness of its forms to plenteous ventilation, the choice and the variety and the historicity of the subject-matter utilized for its ornamentation. The assemblage of its various decorative pieces into symbolic forms is a departure, as it were, from the old traditional types and into more normal and natural shapes with an eye on realism, and, above all, in the sublime restraint in the use of decorative *motifs*, that was somewhat selective in the execution of only essentials.

SECULAR AND CIVIL ARCHITECTURE :

Life during the rule of the Vijayanagara kings was luxuriant, especially in and around the Capital City. The Empire was fabulously rich, and people had a zest for life, and this was reflected in the architecture of the period. Of domestic architecture, inclusive of that of palaces, mansions and courtiers' residences, no vestiges remain except the Lotus Mahal, the Queens' Bath, the Watch-tower of the Zenana enclosure, the Elephants' Stables, Guards' Quarters, the Octroi or the Mint Mansion—all of which give indication of a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles. The King's Balance made up of two tall pillars with a cross-beam surmounted by three turrets, near the Viṭhalasvāmi Temple, is evidence of the munificence and love of ceremonial of the Emperors who weighed themselves against gold, pearls and precious stones on occasions of coronation and other festive days, and distributed wealth among the poor and the needy.

DANCE :

Dance and music are twin arts, and are inextricably combined. Music swayed the emotion and dance is the physical expression of such emotion, the

human body itself being used as the medium, just as words in poetry or the brush in painting. The theory and practice of music received great attention during the period, as testified by many treatises on Music which have come down to us: Sālvagōpa Tipṭa's *Tāla Deepika*, Chatura Kallinātha's *Sangeeta Ratnākara Ṭika* (1460 A.D.), Puṇḍarikaviṭhala's *Shadrāga Chandrōdaya*, *Rāga Manjari*, *Rāgamālā* and *Naṭana Nirṇaya*, Rāma Amātya's *Swaramēḷa-kalānidhi*, (all written between 1510 and 1560 A.D.)

Bandham Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa's *Sangeeta Sarvōdaya* (1520 A.D.) contributed not a little to the systematisation attained, because he was the music and dance teacher to Krishnadēvarāya and his seraglio. Although the royal Dancing Saloon attached to his Palace is not to be seen now, yet a detailed description of it by Paes shows the perfection to which the art of dance had attained during the Vijayanagara times. The dance poses sculptured on the pillars and walls of the Vijayanagara temples and in their friezes further testify to the high progress attained in the art. Paes describes the Dancing Saloon thus:

"This is the hall where the King sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the walls. They are half-pillars made with other hollows, all gilt. The images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals and they are painted in colours with pink on their faces, but the other images seated on the elephants as well as on the panels are all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms or kanjiras). The designs of these panels show a position at the end of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in such a position at the end of a dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of that dance; by that they keep in mind what they have to do..... At the end of this house on the other hand is a panel recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs. There they teach them to make the whole body supple in order to make their dancing more graceful, and at the other end where the King places himself to watch the dance, all the floors and walls are covered with gold and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of 12 years with her arms in a position which she occupies at the end of a dance."

It will not be too much to infer from this detailed description that there should have existed most of the dancing poses scrupulously and exquisitely executed on the panels as prescribed by Bharata in his *Nāṭya S'āstra*. The sculpture of the 108 dance-bhangis or poses on the panels of the Chidambaram Temple gōpuram further testifies to this.

PAINTING :

There are no good examples of any ancient painting of this period anywhere over the temple walls or ceilings at Hampi, excepting the few on the

ceiling of the Ranga Maṇṭapa of the Pampāpati Temple which are indigenous and Tanjorean in style and celebrate the celestial wedding of Kalyāṇasundara with Pārvaṭi. The few existing in the Palace at Ānēgundi are crude and of the pre-Vijayanagara times. These resemble, at their best, the pot—paintings of Bengal. In this connection, it must be noted, that there was no attempt to develop the art on the lines of the Ajantan anywhere, although the Jaina traditions are evident, as at Lēpākshi. The surviving examples of this period in the temples of Veerēśvara at Lēpākshi (1535 A. D.), Chennakēśava at Sōmapalli (1535 A. D.), Varadarāja at Kanchi, Pampāpati at Hampi, Brihadēśvara at Tanjore (1546-47 A. D.) suggest styles distinct from that of the paintings at Sittānavāsal, Māmaṇḍūr, and Ellōra. As Fr. da-Jarric observed, during the days of Venkaṭa II (1584-1614 A. D.) there was a huge importation of the Portuguese painters for his Court.

By far the best are the paintings of Lēpākshi (c. 1535 A. D.) done during Achyutarāya's reign. In these the indigenous Tanjore and the Pot and Jaina styles are discernible, both individually and in synthetic combinations. Although the Pot and Jaina styles are primitive in expression, the Tanjorean having achieved a great suppleness of line and grace, is more sensuous than the other two. And this attainment of excellence at Lēpākshi has been not a little at the expense of virility and power. This is patent especially in the portraiture of the super-human personalities of Siva and Pārvaṭi, and other celestials who figure in the various chronicles of the Śaiva-Siddhānta.

MUSLIM ART :

In Muslim Architecture the utility motive and adaptability to seasonal variations are predominating features, not so pronounced in Hindu architecture. No pains and expense were spared to make the Muslim buildings pleasing to the eye. In general, the architecture of Delhi was emulated though the political bonds between Delhi and the southern Muslim powers like the Bahamani etc., were snapped in 1347 A. D. Like the Hindu rulers, the Bahamanis and their successors were all generous patrons of art, literature, science and learning. In the beginning, 'no provincial style' of Muslim architecture was less influenced by the surrounding indigenous styles than that of the Bahamani Kingdom. The Bāhamanis had in their service European and Persian architects and mercenaries for soldiers. They were employed to plan out and construct their fortifications and mausoleums like the Jāmi Maṣjid of Gulbarga, the Chānd Minār of Daulatabad (1435 A. D.), the Fortress of Parenda and the College of Muhammad Gawan at Bidar (1472 A. D.), which are predominantly Persian.

Towards the end of the 15th centwy A.D., the Hindu traditions of the Deccan began to assert themselves over the architecture of Bijapur, because local craftsmen were employed in great numbers. In the period between 1294 and 1347

A. D., Hindu shrines and fortifications were all transformed into mosques and mausoleums, as evidenced by the Jāmi Masjid at Daulatabad (1315 A. D.) and the Deval Mosque at Bodhan (Md. Tughlak's reign), and the fortifications of Raichur (1294 A. D.) and of Mudgal, all built earlier by Hindu chieftains and Yadava rulers.

Gulbarga and Bidar were centres for royal tombs and mausoleums. In the disposal of details of ornamentation, changes are noticeable from time to time. Firstly, Sultan Hasan's tomb copies the Tughlaks' style of Delhi, while that of Ghiyyasuddin (early 15th century or end of 14th century A. D.) has Hindu ornamental carvings round about the Prayer niche. In the next stage, the growing strength of Hindu influence is noticeable, especially in the superb mausoleum of Firoz Shah and of his family, as it is Hindu on the outside and Persian in ornamentation on the inside. 'The shining plaster and the painted decorations of the interior recall the rich designs of Persian book-binding and embroidery'. (*A History of South India* by K. A. N. Sastri, p. 478).

The architectural history of Bidar begins with Ahmed Shah Wali's reign (1422-35 A. D.). The first group of tombs resemble those of the later Bahamani-kings 'though their scale is larger, their domes loftier, and more bulbous, and their facades adorned with a greater multiplicity of arched recesses or screen windows'. The most splendid of these is the Tomb of Ahmad Wali himself which has its interior 'decorated with brilliantly coloured paintings in the Persian style'. The facade of Takht Mahal (Palace) is decorated with the device of the tiger and the rising sun. The royal emblem of Persia was the effigy of a lion with the rising sun. But the artist appropriately changed the lion into a tiger, as there are no lions in the Deccan. In addition to the Tomb of Ahmad Shah Wali, there are the Tombs of Ala-ud-din, Humayun, Nizam Shah, Mahammad Shah III and Kalimullah. The Chānd Minār at Daulatabad of the reign of Alaud-din Ahmed Shah (1436-58 A.D.) is no less remarkable for the facade leading to the Tomb having been paved with enamel tiles of various shades of blue in the manner of the Lahore Fort, which came into existence later on. The Madarasā of Gawan in Bidar (1472 A.D.) covering an area of 205' x 180' has an open Court with four sides in which the lecture rooms, the prayer hall, the library which housed 3000 manuscripts, the Professor's rooms and the students' cubicles were built. It was finely decorated with encaustic tiles, particularly on its facade and the minarets. This three-storeyed building suffered great damage either from lightning in 1696 or from an explosion of gun-powder in the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Barids also contributed to the architectural glory of Bidar. Apart from the Tombs of Qasim Barid, Amir Barid, Ali Barid and Ibrahim, the 'Rangin' Mahal of Ali Barid, so-called because of the lavish use of variously coloured tiles, is a notable building with its lovely wood carving and mother-of-pearl work. The inner room or the royal chamber has a star-shaped plan and, as Yazdani suggests, was perhaps designed by a Hindu architect.

The Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur constructed Bijapur most magnificently because it served as a fortified centre of their administration. Bijapur contains palaces, mosques, gateways and minting mansions. The unfinished Jami Masjid (1565 A.D.), begun by Adil Shah, is a remarkable structure, what with its arcaded prayer-hall possessing fine aisles supported on massive piers and its most impressive dome. Though its ornamentation is most sparing, its wall-surfaces glow like live plaster, and the central bay is decorated with the most gorgeous array of patterns in colour and gold, probably by a later hand, which is considered incongruous with the austere refinement of the rest. The Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim II, with the Mosque attached thereto, eclipses the finest Moghul building. Its artistic finish together with its carved decorations by local craftsmen is superb. But the Göl Gumbaz with its engineering feat, the whispering gallery (with a diameter of 120 feet), and its vast dome 198 feet high, while evidencing the versatility of the Bijapur workmen is not only an architectural wonder like the Kailāsa Temple at Ellōra, not only of India but of the World. Under Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-56), Bijapur reached the height of its artistic and political glory. The turrets are octagonal, and seven-storeyed. King Ibrahim II, his father, had raised the beautiful pile of Ibrahim Rauza, which was the last word in decorative and luxurious magnificence. So, Muhammad struck out a different path. He endeavoured to dwarf it and everything else by stupendous mass. Its great dome is as remarkable as the whispering gallery below it. The Göl Gumbaz writes Mr. Cousens, is the antithesis of the Ibrahim Rauza in that the strong virility of conception of the one contrasts with the delicate femininity of the other.

KARNATAKA MUSIC

(VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD)

South Indian music, known as the Karnataka School of Music, is one of the most scientifically developed systems and can lay claim to a long history going back to the Vedic times. The name 'Karnataka Music', however came into vogue about the 14th century. A brief chronological survey of the contribution of Karnataka to the system is of interest to all music lovers.

After Bharata wrote his *Nāṭya Śāstra*, the first notable work on Music is Matanga's *Bṛhaddēśi*. As the name of the work suggests, the work deals elaborately with the science of music of the folk-songs of his time. Matanga was the first to use

the word 'rāga' for the melodies that were current in his time ; and this, perhaps, laid the foundation for the rāga-system of present-day music.

Early in the 13th century, was produced *Sangeetaratnākara* by Śārṅgadēva who was patronized by the Yādava King of Dēvagiri. The work has seven commentators, the most important of whom is Chatura Kallinātha. Even to this day, *Sangeetaratnākara* remains an authoritative work on Indian Music, both northern and southern. Śārṅgadēva follows Nārada in classifying rāgas into masculine and feminine groups and gives a total number of 26 rāgas. Śārṅgadēva does not indicate the basis of his classification, but presents certain rules to be observed in singing a rāga. Later, the Persian and Arabic influences, however, greatly affected the development of Music in North India.

The great Pontiff, Vidyārāṇya, who lived in the 14th century, was a great scholar in music also, and wrote his *Sangeetasāra*, only parts of which quoted by other writers are available to us. In his work, Vidyārāṇya mentions fifteen primary or parent ragas ; and he is the first to indicate the janaka-janya system of rāga classification. The name 'Karnataka Music' given to the southern system seems to have come into vogue since his time.

Chatura Kallinātha who lived in the first half of the 15th century and was the chief commentator of *Sangeetaratnākara* was patronized by Immaḍi Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara, and wrote his *Kalānidhi*. He had also the little 'Rāya Vaggēyakāra'.

The Royal Court of Vijayanagara gave great impetus to music as it did to other fine arts.

Sripādarāya, the Madhva saint, had great musical attainments and literary gifts and was the 'guru' to Sāḷuva Narasingarāya (1487-1493 A.D.) of Chandragiri, a feudatory to the throne of Vijayanagar. The compositions of Sripādarāya in Kannada provided inspiration and models both to Vyāsarāya and to Purandaradāsa. His compositions bear the *nom-de-plume* 'Rangaviṭhala'. Sripādarāya was a contemporary of Aṇṇamācharya, the great Telugu composer.

At about the same period (1500 A.D.), Nijaguṇa Śivayōgi flourished in Koḷḷēgal in the south of the Mysore province. He was a petty king and was a great devotee of Śiva. Nijaguṇa Śivayōgi was a disciple of Channa Sadāśivayōgi and renounced the world. He lived in a small hill known as the Sambhulinga Hill at Koḷḷēgal, dedicated to the deity, Sambhulinga. Endowed with great learning in Vedānta and proficient in music, he devoted himself to the task of uplifting his fellowmen and became a prolific writer on Veeraśaiva philosophy. Among his works, *Vivēka-Chintāmaṇi* is considered as an encyclopaedia of Dharma. In one of its chapters he has described the theory of music. He has dealt with śruti, svara, alankāra, jati, grāma, rāga and vādya. He classified the

rāgas as rāgāṅga, upāṅga, kriyāṅga, and bhāṣhāṅga, and also distinguished them as masculine, feminine and neuter. This work is perhaps the first systematic exposition in Kannada of the science of music. It seems Nijaguṇa Sivayōgi had the titles, 'Vijnāna Chakravarti', 'Adhikavidya-sampanna' and others. Nijaguṇa Sivayogi was also a great composer of Kannada songs. His keertana is made up of pallavi (refrain) and charaṇas (stanzas), in which form of composition Nijaguṇa Sivayōgi may be said to be a pioneer. Some of his compositions describe the type of Veena that was in use during his time and of certain rāgas prevalent in those days.

Māgaḍi Kempegowḍa (1513-1669 A.D.), the builder of Bangalore, was a feudatory king to the throne of Vijayanagara during the reigns of both Krishnadēvarāya and Achyutarāya. The human figure with a Kinnari on the grand stone-pillar in front of the Basavēśvara Temple in Bangalore which he built amply testifies to his love of music. Kempegowḍa was a good composer of Yakshagāna; and among his compositions, 'Gangagowri Vilāsam' is a noteworthy one. Besides Yakshagānas, Kempegowḍa also composed some 'darus' (a composition type) in different rāgas and tālas. The compositions are all in his mother tongue, Telugu.

The next important composer in Kannada is Vyāsarāya. He was a religious preceptor to Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagara. Vyāsarāya was a pupil of Sripādarāya and was highly proficient in Sanskrit literature and music. Kanakadāsa and Purandaradāsa became his pupils. Vyāsarāya composed a good number of 'Keertanas' and 'Sulādis' in rāgas that were in vogue during his time. His compositions bear the 'mudrika' (*nom de-plume*) 'Śrī Krishna'.

About this time *Svaramēla Kalānidhi*, an important work on the music of the south was written by Rāma Amātya, the Minister to Rāmarāya, King of Vijayanagara. In the 'Mēla-prakaraṇa' of this work, Ram Amātya has attempted to classify the rāgas that were current in his time on a scientific plan based on the affinity and number of allied notes in them. He has also distinguished them as superior, middling and inferior varieties. He has enumerated twenty janaka (or parent) rāgas, and gives Mukhari the place of the first mēla of the śuddha scale. This work is in Sanskrit.

Among the Jaina poets of Karnataka, Ratnākaravarṇi (c. 1557 A.D.) was a great scholar in music and dance. He hailed from Mudabidre, South Kanara District, and his guru was Hamsanātha. Although Ratnākaravarṇi has not written separately on music, his great work *Bharatēśa Vaibhava* written at the command of his guru Hamsanātha, abounds in references to music and the fine arts. In the course of his description of music concerts by the Court musicians of Bharatēśa, he narrates the rules to be observed by vocalists for performing divine musical concerts, thereby indirectly suggesting several 'gāyaka dōshas' (faults of singers). His description of 'Nādōtpatti' is noteworthy. Mention

of the essentials of scientific music such as laya, bhajavaṇe, gamaka, ālāpa are very clearly made. Veeṇa, daṇḍige, svara maṇḍala, kinnari and vēṇu (flute) are the instruments that were in use during his time. Mention is made of them in the story of Bharatēśa. Ratnākaravarṇi has also described how tāna is to be sung vocally and played on the Veeṇa in the 'Veeṇāsandhi'. He seems to have had a partiality for the Veeṇa. Dēvagāndhāri, Bhūpāli, Dhanyāsi, Velavali and Saurāshṭra are some of the rāgas he has mentioned. He also makes a mention of 'Udayarāgas' (morning tunes) though he has not named them. He seems to have had a special liking for playing on the Veeṇa with a soft vocal refrain. Ratnākaravarṇi was a great composer also, and his compositions are popularly known as 'Aṇṇagaḷa padas'.

The next great composer we might notice is Purandaradāsa, who founded an epoch in the theory and practice of Karnataka music. He was a rich man but he relinquished all he possessed in the name of God. He dedicated himself to singing the praise of the Lord and propagating Bhakti among the people. The songs of the great saint are replete with devotional fervour and express great philosophical ideas in simple language. He composed numerous songs and went about the country not only preaching devotion, but calling on men to live good and useful lives.

None knew better than Purandaradāsa the power of music. Music is a universal language. Purandaradāsa made full use of music in his life's mission of elevating humanity and making it God-minded. He describes God as 'Gānalōla,' 'Gānavinōda.' He achieved a rare synthesis of music and poetry, and left behind a rich store of compositions, valuable both as musical compositions and great poetry.

Purandaradāsa chose Māyāmāḷavagauḷa as the scale most suited to initiate systematic exercises for the scientific practice of Karnataka music. Saraḷa, Swarāvaḷi, Janṭivarase, Alankāra in the Suḷādi tālas and sāmānya geetas and lakshaṇa geetas in different rāgas were composed by him. By so systematizing the methodical practice of Karnataka music, Purandaradāsa laid the secure foundation on which the edifice of modern Karnataka music has been built. Rightly does Purandaradāsa deserve the title 'Karnāṭaka Sangeeta Pitāmaha,' (grandfather of Karnataka music).

'Suḷādi' is another type of composition which Purandaradāsa composed. Śrīpādarāya had led the way earlier. Five or seven of the Suḷādi tālas are made use of in the Pallavi and charaṇas and at the end of the composition there are two lines called 'jate' (couplet), which have to be sung in all the five or seven tālas used for pallavi and charaṇas. The singing of the suḷādi demands very great skill in the manipulation of time-measures. Purandaradāsa also composed 'Ugābhōgās,' which were in simpler measure and of a repetitive character analogous to the Vachanas of Veeraśaiva devotees. Vijayadāsa, who succeeded Purandaradāsa,

more than a century later, tells us that only thirty-two rāgas were in vogue during the time of Purandaradāsa. Basavēśvara who flourished in the twelfth century, has also mentioned in one of his 'Vachanas' about 32 rāgas, which leads one to believe that from the twelfth century up to the time of Purandaradāsa, only thirty-two rāgas prevailed in Karnataka music. Purandaradāsa mentions in some of his compositions the names of some rāgas that were current in his time.

Bandham Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa, who was a dance teacher in the household of Krishnadēvarāya, wrote in Sanskrit *Sangeeta Suryōdaya* and further helped the systematization of Karnataka music.

Up to the time of Venkaṭamakhi, it is seen that that the rāgas of Karnataka music belonged to what was known as the 'Asampūrṇa mēḷa paddhati.' The rāgas were only 'swēcchā mēḷas.' It is only after the great Venkaṭamakhi (1660 A.D.) formulated his scheme of seventy-two mēḷas known as 'krama-sampūrṇa' mēḷas that the rāgas became full-fledged and fell into a scheme. Tyāgarāja followed the scheme of Venkaṭamakhi, and Muthusvāmi Dikshitar followed the 'asampūrṇa mēḷa' scheme in his compositions. Evidently, therefore, the thirty-two rāgas of the time of Purandaradāsa might have been gradually incorporated in the 'asampūrṇa' rāga scheme. Purandaradāsa is credited with composing 4,75,000 pieces. Most of these have not survived. His compositions have passed on from generation to generation only through vocal transmission, in which process it is likely that the compositions have lost their original rāga form. Excepting compositions in rāgas like Sankarābharāṇa, Tōḍi, Kalyāṇi, Mōhana, Kāmbhōji, Bhairavi, Śrī and some others which are prevalent, perhaps handed down in their original forms in both the 'asampūrṇa' and 'krama-sampūrṇa' schemes, the compositions of Purandaradāsa in other rāgas are uncertain as regards their musical form.

The work of Purandaradāsa provided stimulus to Kshētrajna (18th century) and to the musical trinity, namely, Tyāgarāja, Muthusvāmi Dikshitar and Syāma Sāstri, who flourished in the early part of the 19th century. It is said Tyāgarāja knew a good number of Purandaradāsa's compositions taught to him by his parents. Tyāgarāja has paid his token of respect and admiration to Purandaradāsa in the invocational verses of his Opera, namely, *Prahlāda Bhakti Vijaya*.

To systematize and co-ordinate the systems that existed in North Indian music, Burhankhan of Khāndēsh is said to have invited Puṇḍarika Viṭhala (1562-1599 A.D.), who went and settled in the north. He was a native of Sātanoor, near Sīvaganga (Bangalore District) and was proficient in both Karnataka and Hindustani systems of music. At the request of the Khan, he wrote *Shadrāga Chandrōdaya*, in which he deals with both systems of music. Many of the rāgas of modern Hindustani music have retained the scale of Puṇḍarika Viṭhala according to scholars. Later, patronized by the king of Jaipur, Puṇḍarika Viṭhala wrote another authoritative work, namely, *Rāgamāla* which gives a classification of rāgas under six (male) rāgas with five 'rāgiṇis' to each. He also specified the

time for singing them. In addition to these, Puṇḍarīka Viṭhala is also the author of two other works, namely, *Rāgamanjari* and *Nartana Nirṇaya*. He has mentioned in *Rāgamanjari* twenty, meḷas or parent scales and compares sixteen Persian rāgas with the Northern mēḷas as being analogous. *Nartana Nirṇaya* deals with the art of dancing. Realizing the importance of culture, and specially of the fine arts, Gōvinda Dīkshita (1577-1614 A.D.), who held high ministerial offices, in Tanjore, wrote a treatise on the subject of Karnataka music, namely, *Sangeeta Sudhā*. The lakṣhaṇas of rāgas are fully treated in this work. The jāti ragas are elaborately exemplified by actual compositions with svaraprastāra (musical notation). His classification of rāgas is an improvement on Matanga's system and is done under ten heads. By this time, though the system of seventy-two mēḷas was already evolved in the 'Asampūrṇa paddhati', Gōvinda Dīkshita and his son Venkaṭamakhi gave it a secure and scientific 'Kramasampūrṇa' status. Gōvinda Dīkshita is the inventor of Jayantasēna and some other rāgas.

It is learnt that Gōvinda Dīkshita had eight sons and one daughter, of whom two sons became famous scholars in Music and Vedānta. The elder of the two was Yagnā Nārāyaṇa Dīkshita and the younger was Venkatēśa Dīkshita or Venkaṭamakhi (1660 A.D.). Venkaṭamakhi was a disciple of his elder brother both in Music and in Vedānta. Later, he came in contact with a great Vaggēyakāra by the name of Tānappāchārya (of whom we have little information), from whom he learnt the art of music in all its aspects of lakṣhaṇa and lakṣhya. Venkaṭamakhi became the Court-musician of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and, on the King's encouragement, wrote his monumental work on Karnataka Music, *Chaturdanḍi Prakāśika*. The work contains chapters dealing with Śruti, Svara, Mēḷa, Rāga, Ālāpa, Laya, Geeta, Prabandha and Tāḷa. The credit for the formulation of seventy-two janaka (parent) rāgas, making use of all the varieties of vikritisvaras, goes to Venkaṭamakhi. Thus from the 15 mēḷas of Vidyāraṇya and twenty of Rama Amātya, the number has been exhaustively raised to seventy-two mēḷakartas by Venkaṭamakhi, which number included also the nineteen mēḷas that were in vogue during his time. The lakṣhaṇa geetas of Venkaṭamakhi are monumetal compositions and even today reference is made to them as rāga lakṣhaṇa. It is said that the present-day Veeṇa with twenty-four frets is the result of Venkaṭamakhi's diligent application and effort to perfect this instrument. This instrument is still called the Raghunātha Mēḷa Veeṇa.

The kings of Vijayanagara and the Nāyaka kings of Tanjore were all great men of letters and music, but for whose encouragement the tradition of music would not have gathered strength from generation to generation. It is a matter of pride that many kings of Mysore also were eminent scholars and musicians of high calibre and made valuable contributions to the progress of music and literature. Among them, Chikkadēvarāya (1672-1704 A.D.) stands out pre-eminent.

He was a scholar in Sanskrit, Kannada and in Music. Besides many works in Kannada literature, Chikkadēvarāya is the author of a musical treatise known as *Geeta Gōpāla*. The compositions deal with the theme of Krishna-leela and are in the form of kritis akin to those of Jayadēva. Each piece has seven 'pādas', instead of eight as in Jayadēva's work, and is called a Sapta-padi. It has its own specific rāga and tāḷa.

Thus musical tradition was preserved uninterrupted in Karnataka even during the days of political decline by the votaries of this great system of music.

CHAPTER XIII

MINOR KINGDOMS

We have already dealt with the fortunes of the Vijayanagara Empire and the Bahamani Kingdom that flourished from the 14th to the 17th centuries, and the social and cultural life during the period. Contemporaneous with these which played the major role, there also existed in Karnataka several principalities, built up by the enterprise of local chieftains. Some of them enjoyed almost sovereign status, or owed nominal allegiance to the Vijayanagara emperors or others. Such decentralized authority was the characteristic of ancient and mediaeval polity in our country. These local kingdoms flourished for considerable periods and played a significant role. They contributed to the stability of political life in the country, and promoted arts and letters in their regions, making no mean contribution to the cultural progress of the country.

We shall now deal with these minor kingdoms that flourished in Karnataka.

YELAHANKA PRABHUS

(THE FOUNDERS OF BANGALORE)

Kempegowḍa is reputed as the founder of the modern City of Bangalore. The ancestors of Kempēgowḍa first settled in Yelahankanāḍu (8 miles north of Bangalore) and, by gradual stages, became the rulers of the region, paying tribute to the Vijayanagara emperors. They were vassals later of the Marathas and the Muslim rulers, according to the political exigencies of those times. In 1728, A. D. they were conquered by the ruler of Mysore, Doḍḍa Krishnarāja Wodeyar, and their rule came to an end after having lasted for nearly three centuries.

The ancestor of Kempēgowḍa was one Raṇabhairagowḍa. He migrated with his family to a village Avati (near Dēvanahalli) from Āttur, a village near

Kānchipuram. The youngest son of Raṇabhairagowḍa, Jayagowḍa, settled at Yelahanka and ruled during 1418-1433 A. D. The successors of Jayagowḍa were Giḍḍegowḍa (1433-1443 A. D.), and Kempa Nanjēgowḍa (1443-1513 A.D.). The name Kempēgowḍa came to be assumed by every member of this family, as the goddess Kempamma was their family deity. It was through her blessings that Giḍḍegowḍa had a son whom he named Kempa Nanjēgowḍa. There are three great Kempēgowḍas and there has arisen much confusion in assigning several achievements to the right person on account of the identity of name.

Kempēgowḍa I, son of Kempa Nanjēgowḍa, ruled from 1513-1569 A. D., and was the most illustrious ruler of the family. He was patronized by the Vijayanagara Emperor, Krishnadēvarāya and Achyutarāya. Kempēgowḍa I founded the modern City of Bangalore in 1537 A. D. Being at a place called Sivasamudram (10 miles from his Capital), it is said he chose this place as being ideal for a new city. He founded the city on an auspicious day, and built a mud fort on which were mounted four batteries. As far as the site is concerned the usual story of a hare attacking a dog is recounted.

The village of Bangalore, however, is much older than the town founded by Kempēgowḍa. Haḷē Bengalūru, near Hebbal, is said to have been founded by the Hoysaḷa King Veeraballāḷa II. An inscription from Bēgūr (900 A. D.) mentions Bangalore. We may infer that a village called Bangalore existed from 900 A. D. But modern Bangalore dates from its foundation by Kempēgowḍa I.

Emperor Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara was so much pleased with Kempēgowḍa that he conferred on him an area yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas (or 12 hoblis) around Bangalore. Kempēgowḍa further improved the town and encouraged foreign merchants and artisans to settle in Bangalore. It is said that Lakshamma, the daughter-in-law of Kempēgowḍa, sacrificed herself in connection with the erection of the main gate of the fort of Bangalore. Kempēgowḍa commemorated her memory by building a temple for her at Kōramangala with her effigy, which is being worshipped even today.

Kempegowḍa was pious by nature and of a very charitable disposition. He built a large number of temples and agrahāras. He made liberal grants for worship in temples and for their upkeep. He built the Gavigangādhareśvara Temple and the Kempāmbudhi Tank, both in Bangalore, naming the tank after his family goddess. The Gangādhareśvara Temple is built over a cave. There are two stone umbrellas, a stone trident and a stone drum, all over 12 feet high standing on solid rock and possibly carved out of boulders which formed part of it. The Basavēśvara Temple, with a beautiful bull 11 feet high in a recumbent posture, was also built by Kēmpēgowḍa. It is said that the river Vrishabhāvatī takes its birth in a small tank behind this temple and feeds the Kempāmbudhi Tank. Around the Basavēśvara Temple Kempēgowḍa also built the temples of

Gaṇāpati, Ānjanēya, Nandiśvāra, and Mallikārjuna. All these contain huge idols of the deities cut out of rock. Along with these, Kempēgowḍa built the Sōmēśvara Temple at Ulsoor, and the Chennigarāya Temple within the Fort, to both of which Kempēgowḍa made liberal grants.

He erected the famous four watch-towers, in the four directions of the City. It is said that he did so to indicate the limit of the future extension of the City. (The east one is in Ulsoor, the north one at Hebbal, the south one at Lalbagh and the west one on the bund of the Kempāmbudhi Tank. There is also one behind the Basavēśvara Temple. These are small and beautiful towers over four-pillared maṇṭapas built in conspicuous positions).

Kempēgowḍa occupied the sacred hill of Śivaganga, about twenty-five miles north-west of Bangalore, in 1550 A.D. He built there a large number of temples, towers and choultries and made endowments for the regular celebration of festivals. He is said to have built the audience hall and installed his image in it.

By this time Kempēgowḍa became a power in the land. He issued his own coins, the pagodas of god Bhairēśvara, by way of asserting his independent status, without the permission of the Emperor. Rāmarāya, the *de facto* ruler at Vijayanagara, resented this and imprisoned Kempēgowḍa at Ānēgondi, and annexed Kempēgowḍa's kingdom. Kempēgowḍa regained his liberty and kingdom after paying a heavy fine, having been in prison for about five years. He died in 1569 A.D., after an eventful reign of fifty years. ●

Though a devotee of god Bhairēśvara, a form of Śiva, he built a Kēśava Temple for Vishnu within the Fort (now no longer in existence,) and showed his religious toleration.

Kempēgowḍa I is said to have been succeeded by his son Giḍḍegowḍa who seems to have ruled till 1578 A.D. We have no information about his reign. He was succeeded by Kempēgowḍa II, who ruled between 1578 A.D. and 1638 A.D. This ruler also became famous as a founder of new villages, and as a builder of temples and tanks. He also built two agrahāras, Kempāpura Agrahāra near Bangalore and Varakaṇḍapura Agrahāra near Hesaraghaṭṭa (1605 A.D.). He improved the Sōmēśvara Temple (Ulsoor) by importing sculptors from Bēlūr, and got the episodes of 'Girijā Kalyāṇa' carved upon the walls of the Temple. These are fine pieces of carving in hard granite rock full of grace and realism. He also built a tank in memory of his father, the modern tank at the Binny Mills, and the Kāranjikere (fountain-tank) to the south of the Fort which supplied water to the Fort. This tank, however, no longer exists. It was drained long ago and the southern extensions of Bangalore, Viśvēśvarapuram and parts of Sankarapura (the southern extensions of Bangalore City which were laid out in recent times) now occupy the place. In 1623 A.D., he

took Māgaḍi and Sāvanadurga, from Talāri Gangappa Nāyaka, the usurper, whom he killed treacherously.

He improved the mud fort of Māgaḍi, and built a township inviting merchants and traders to settle there. He strengthened the fort of Sāvanadurga and garrisoned it. He ruled over both Bangalore and Māgaḍi for fourteen years. In 1638 A.D., Ranadullakhan, the Bijapur General, defeated Kempēgowḍa imprisoned him, and captured Bangalore. Kempēgowḍa regained his freedom by agreeing to pay a tribute to Bijapur. He ruled from Māgaḍi for 18 more years, and his successors became known as Māgaḍi Kempgowḍas.

Kempēgowḍa II conquered Hulikal, Huliūrduṛga, Utridurga, Bairanadurga and Kuṇigal. He defeated Sri Rangarāya, the Viceroy of Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa and secured a huge booty. He built the temples of Narasimha and Veerabhadra at the foot of the Sāvanadurga Hill. He founded the new town Nelapaṭṭana near them. He improved the Temple of Ranganātha at Māgaḍi. Like his grandfather this Kempēgowḍa was also a great builder.

Kempēgowḍa II's son, Mummaḍi Kempēgowḍa (1658-1678 A.D.), was also a great builder and made generous gifts. He also built a very large number of temples and agrahāras. He is called Maḷē Kemparāya, because, it is said, he caused a downpour of rain during a famine by his fervent prayers to God. He built Prasanna Veerēśvarasvāmi Temple and Kempasāgara at Māgaḍi, in 1676 A.D.

The last great ruler of the Yelahanka Prabhu family is Mummaḍi Kempa Veerappagowḍa (1705-1728 A.D.), the grandson of Maḷē Kempēgowḍa, and son of Doḍḍa Veerappagowḍa (1678-1705 A.D.). He erected the famous Īśvara Temple at Māgaḍi in 1712 A.D. He also built a beautiful pond near the Temple, and installed the image of Cheluvarāyasvāmi at Cheluvarāyapēṭe near Māgaḍi. He installed a large number of Lingas, and also built a Maṭha for Lingāyats. He granted the village Seegekuppa to Srīngēri. He was a great patron of scholars, among whom was Ēkāmbara Dikshita, who composed *Veerabhadra Vijaya*. It describes the great festival of Veerabhadra at Māgaḍi, besides giving an account of the family of the Yelahanka Prabhus. This Kempēgowḍa is said to have defeated Shahji (father of Sivāji) and Kanṭheerava Narasarāja of Mysore.

In order to safeguard himself from the attacks of the Nawabs of Sira, Kempēgowḍa III made Nelapaṭṭaṇa, which was impregnable, an alternate Capital. Though he resided at Māgaḍi, he withdrew to Nelapaṭṭaṇa near by in times of danger.

The earlier Yelahanka Prabhus had been devotees of both Siva and Vishnu, but Kempēgowḍa III reversed this policy of toleration. It is said that Kempa Veerappa became a Veeraśaiva through the influence of a Lingāyat lady,

Bhārgavati. There was a split among his followers. Doḍḍa Krishnarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore used this internal dissension to his advantage. He sent an army under Dalavoy Dēvarājayya who captured Veerabhadranāyakā, the Commander of Kempēgowḍa's army. Then Dēvarājayya captured Nelapaṭṭaṇa, and made Kempēgowḍa prisoner. He and his family were removed to Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa where, ultimately, he died. The Māgaḍi territory was added to the territory of the Mysore kings.

THE RULERS OF KELADI

Among the many principalities in Karnataka in the 16th century, owing allegiance to the Vijayanagar Emperors,¹ the State of Keḷadi, afterwards called Ikkēri, is the most important.² The feudalistic administrative decentralization of Vijayanagar contributed to the rise of many principalities like Tanjore, Ginjee, Madura, Keḷadi, Beḷlūr, Mysore, Uḷḷāl etc., at the periphery of the Empire. The Nāyaks of Ikkēri founded a strong and flourishing kingdom on the western coast.³ For nearly 250 years of its existence, i.e., from 1500 A.D. to 1763, A.D. this Hindu State was an acknowledged power in the fluid conditions of the period in the south. Its rulers successfully curbed the expansionist tendencies of the Portuguese power on the western coast, on the one hand, and the absorption of their kingdom by the Bijapur Sultans, on the other. After the dissolution of the Vijayanagar Empire, Ikkēri assumed the role of a protector of Hindu thought and culture. The Keḷadi Kingdom at its zenith extended up to Goa in the north and Cannanore in the south, and included the present districts of Shimoga and portions of Hassan.

The historical literature available for a study of the Keḷadi rulers is copious. Among the primary sources, besides a large number of inscriptions⁴ and Portuguese,⁵ Dutch⁶ and English⁷ documents and accounts, the two quasi-historical works, viz., the *Keḷadinripavijaya*⁸ of the Court-poet Lingaṇṇa and the *S'ivatattvaratnākara*⁹ of Basavarāja (1712) deserve special mention.

The secondary sources consist of chronicles and memoirs by travellers¹⁰ and the investigations carried out by research scholars¹¹ in the field.

The *S'ivatattvaratnākara* and the *Keḷadinripavijaya* attribute the founding of the Nāyakship to Chauḍa and Bhadra, the two brothers, sons of a Veeraśaiva farmer,

who discovered a buried treasure in their field in Keladi, near Sāgar. With this new-found wealth the elder managed to become the 'Grāmādhīpa' (Village chief) and was summoned by Krishnadēvarāya to his Court. He employed the brothers against the rebellious chiefs.¹² Being pleased with their valour and loyalty, the Emperor made Ghaṇḍa the Governor of Pulladēśa and bestowed upon him the title 'Keḷadi Mūlasamsthānada Chaudappanāyaka'.¹³ The *Keḷadinripavijaya* narrates that Chaudappanāyaka crowned himself as the King of Keḷadi in 1500 A.D.¹⁴ Rice is of opinion that one Maḷava Gowḍa went to Vijayanagar and gained from Sadāśivarāya the title of Sadāśivanāyaka and also the grant of Bavanker, Mangalore and Chandragutti.¹⁵ Soon after founding the Kingdom, Chaudappa died¹⁶ and Sadāśiva, his son succeeded, him.

The *Keḷadinripavijaya* unambiguously states that Sadāśivanāyaka succeeded to the Ikkēri throne in 1513 A.D.¹⁷ and ruled till 1545 A.D. But on the basis of epigraphical evidence Sadāśiva's accession is claimed to have taken place in 1544 A.D. and lasted up to 1565 A.D.¹⁸

Sadāśivanāyaka during his able stewardship laid strong foundations for the future greatness of the Ikkēri Kingdom. He was sent in command of Vijayanagar forces against the rulers of Kalyāṇa and Kalburgi (Gulbarga)¹⁹ whom he utterly defeated. He also subdued the Sultan of Bidar and the rulers of Bankāpur and the Tuḷuva and Kēraḷa country. In recognition of all these services to the cause of the Empire, Rāmarāya honoured Sadāśivanāyaka by bestowing on him the title of 'Kōṭe Kōlāhala', 'Satrusaptāngaharaṇa' and 'Rāyanāyaka'. Also he gave to the Nāyaka the ownership of 18 kampaṇas of Āraga. By 1563 A.D., the extent of Sadāśivanāyaka's kingdom comprised Āraga, Tuḷu Rajya, Bārakūr and Mangalore.²⁰

After his military exploits Sadāśiva turned his attention to consolidate his newly carved-out kingdom. He constructed forts²¹ at Keḷadi and Chandragiri. The Capital was removed from Keḷadi to Ikkēri.²² The *Keḷadinripavijaya* credits him with having built an agrahāra on the banks of Kuśāvati river.²³ Sadāśivanāyaka had strong religious leanings. Not only did he construct many Īśvara temples, but he also made liberal grants to both Brahmin and Veeraśaiva maṭhs. The instance of making a land grant to a Jaina Teerthankara shows his religious catholicity.²⁴ According to *S'ivatattvaratnākara*, Sadāśiva, towards the end of his career, retired from active administration in favour of Bhadrappanāyaka.

Bhadrappa known as Immaḍi Sadāśivanāyaka appears, on all accounts, to have reigned for a very brief period,²⁵ and crowned his nephew Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa in 1567, who may perhaps have reigned up to 1571 A.D. During his brief rule Sankaṇṇa quelled the rebellion of Jambūr, stormed the fort of Uḍugaṇi,²⁶ and collected annual tributes from the Kārkaḷa Chief. Another historical fact of his rule worth recording is his campaign against the Portuguese in Goa in company with Viṭhala. Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa, like his predecessors, was deeply interested in

spiritual pursuits and abdicated his throne in favour of his brother Chikka Sankaṇṇa. ²⁸

Chikka Sankaṇṇanāyaka was an ambitious Chief and he waged successful wars against Salabat Khan of Bijapur, ²⁹ Bhairadēvi of Gerusoppa and Arasaṇṇanāyaka of Sode. According to *Sivatattvaratnākara*, he is said to have constructed a large tank in Sangala and a big botanical garden. After his death in 1580 A. D., Sankaṇṇa was succeeded by his younger brother Rāmarājayya ³⁰ who continued to rule up to 1586 A. D., in which year he died at Gerusoppa.

After Sadāśivanāyaka the most successful ruler of Ikkēri was, perhaps, Venkaṭappanāyaka. He not only asserted his independence from the suzerainty of Vijayanagar but also extended his kingdom on all sides, so that Ikkēri came to be reckoned a powerful State in the political struggles of the period. He successfully repulsed the Bijapur forces, who wanted to curb the growing influence of Keladi. In an encounter he defeated and captured Bhairadēvi, 'the Pepper Queen' of Gerusoppa. He acquired the territories of several minor chiefs ³¹ all along the coast till he reached the borders of Malabar. Pietre Della Vallo, an Italian traveller who visited Ikkēri in 1623 A. D., records "Prince Venkaṭappanāyaka was sometimes vassal of one of the Ministers of the great King of Vidyānagar... ..but after the downfall of the King.....Venkaṭappanāyaka remained absolute Prince of the State.....which also, being a good soldier, he hath much enlarged." ³² In pursuing a policy of expansion Venkaṭappa came in conflict with the Portuguese, who had established trading centres all along the coast and were actively engaged in strengthening their foot-hold on the Indian soil. The Portuguese lost influence and prestige in the Gerusoppa affairs and their trade got dislocated. The pepper and rice trade of the coast passed entirely into the hands of the Nāyakas of Ikkēri. ³³ Venkaṭappa and his successors took advantage of this favourable position and strengthened themselves politically and economically. The Portuguese Viceroy at Goa desired to cultivate the friendship of Venkaṭappanāyaka and obtain trade concessions and sent an embassy to the Ikkēri Court. ³⁴

Venkaṭappa was keen about the welfare of his subjects. He founded many new agrahāras and constructed many temples. He kept up the Hindu tradition of religious catholicity. His gift to a Muslim mosque in Bhuvanagiri-durga is worth recording here. ³⁵ He also extended his patronage to literary works written by scholars, of Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Dharmaśāstra and other subjects. ³⁶ Venkaṭappa's long reign came to an end in 1629 A.D., and his grandson Veerabhadra succeeded him in the same year and ruled till 1645 A.D.

The disappearance of a strong ruler like Venkaṭappa was the signal for forces of disorder and confusion to raise their head all over the State. But young Veerabhadra, with the able assistance of Sivappa, restored order and put down the attempts of several chiefs to overrun the Kingdom. Taking advantage of the

disturbed conditions in this coastal kingdom, the Sultan of Bijapur, in league with the feudatories of Keḷadi, invaded Ikkēri in 1630 A.D. ³⁷ Veerabhadra unable to push back the Muslim forces concluded a peace treaty and accepted the overlordship of Bijapur. But he regained the territory he had lost by helping the Sultan's forces against Kengo Hanuma and Mysore. A Portuguese letter dated 6th February 1635 A.D., speaks of the triumph of Veerabhadranāyaka over the rulers that had rebelled against him on the death of his grandfather. In 1631 A.D., he concluded a treaty with the Portuguese, under which he consented to cede Cambolin and Bārkalur, and some other trading rights. ³⁸ But he clearly saw that they had increased their power. Hence he negotiated with the Portuguese to demolish some of their fortifications in Cambolin and Barooker. An English mission under Peter Mundy visited Ikkēri and secured permission to establish a fort at Bhaṭkal. The coastal trade gradually passed from the Portuguese hands to the English. In 1638, Veerabhadranāyaka moved his Capital from Ikkēri to Bednūr (Vēṇupura) which was strategically better situated. ³⁹

The Nāyaka established a good administrative system in the Kingdom. He respected the civic rights and privileges of merchants and their guilds. ⁴⁰ He gave liberal patronage to all.

Sivappanāyaka, the most reputed name in the Keladi dynasty, was crowned in 1645 A.D. ⁴¹ He ruled the kingdom, assisted by his younger brother, Venkaṭappa, with great valour and liberality. The minor chiefs were all brought under the complete control of Bednūr.

One of Sivappa's best-known military exploits was the siege he laid to Vellore. On hearing that his over-lord Srīrangarāya was betrayed on all sides, and that Vellore was captured by the Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa forces, he marched against the enemy and blockaded the fort on all sides and forced them to submission. ⁴³ The wandering Emperor hearing this news came to Vellore and greatly honoured Sivappanāyaka. Defeating some other feudatories of Sriranga, he handed over their territories to him and returned to his capital.

Nearer home he added new territories, of Turuvekere, Belaguth, Svase, Hosur, Bilgi etc., and extended his sway up to Mangalore. Immediately after the death of the Bijapur Sultan, Sivappanāyaka quickly recovered the forts of Ikkēri, Uḍugaṇi, Sorab and others which had been wrested away from him in an earlier encounter.

In his dealings with the Portuguese, Sivappanāyaka exhibited his remarkable military genius and manouvring abilities. In 1652 A.D., with a large army he attacked the Portuguese stronghold on the western coast and drove them away from Mangalore, Kundāpur, Gangolli and Honāvar. The Portuguese lost heavily in men and munitions, and Sivappanāyaka became the master of the coast from Tadre to Kāsargōḍ. As K.D. Swaminathan observes, "The pepper and rice

markets of the Kanara coast were left open to merchants, who paid best for it, be it the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese or the Arabs."

In 1659 A.D., the Nāyaka carried out an unsuccessful expedition to capture Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa.⁴⁴ After this incident the relations between Bednūr and Mysore became highly embittered.

Sivappanāyaka gavet o the Kingdom stability and order, and Bednūr became a power to reckon with in South India. He constructed many new forts in Kēraḷa and also built many temples, wells and tanks.⁴⁵ He is best known for the revenue administration he gave to the country. He introduced the land assessment known as 'Shist' (Regulation) which was in vogue for a long time.

Sivappanāyaka is famed for his revenue settlement and this compared favourably with that of Rāja Todarmal, Minister of Akbar. He divided the land into five categories: I Class—Black soil mixed with sand; II Class—Mid-ling—Red soil or mixed. III Class—mixed black soil with a little water; IV Class—Very bad—waterless hard soil; V Class—Unfit for cultivation—barren soil.

In every village, lands were surveyed and sample areas were cultivated for the King's assessment. The cost of seeds, cultivation expenditure, total produce and its value were all calculated and perfect accounts were maintained. The total produce for five years and its market value were calculated. Then the averages per year were struck. One-third of the average value was fixed as the Government share. Further, the maximum and the minimum rates of assessment were fixed.

With regard to the gardens of areca-nut, he fixed one thousand areca-nut trees as a unit. Every tree must be not less than eighteen feet in height for the purposes of assessment. The assessment was fixed on the area covered by the trees. The assessment was based on the yield of a unit of 1000 trees. It is interesting to note that Sivappanāyaka planted trees in his own gardens and fixed the assessment on the basis of his personal experience. Even today the phrase 'Sivappanāyakana shistu' is a by-word for efficiency, discipline and justice. Sivappa passed away in 1661 A. D.

Venkaṭappanāyaka, who succeeded his brother in the same year, had but a very brief reign. Bhadrappa succeeded him. Trouble was round the corner from Mysore and Bijapur. In 1663 A.D., under Bhadrappa's reign, the Bijapur forces besieged Bednūr and it was for a heavy indemnity that the Sultan withdrew his army. Bhadrappanāyaka, who had the qualities of an efficient ruler, died early in life. This must have created some confusion as regards the rightful successor to the throne. Anyway Sōmaśekharaṇāyaka, the brother of the deceased ruler, was crowned in 1664 A. D.

The Court historian Lingaṇṇa states that Sōmaśekhara soon after his accession clashed with the Mysore forces and took possession of Bolagoda, Kana-

tur, Abbina and Belur.⁴⁶ On hearing of the gross misrule of Hanumappanāyaka of Tarikere, he despatched an army under Sabnis Krishnappayya and removed him from the throne,⁴⁷ in 1664 A. D. Sivāji made a surprise appearance before Bednūr and collected a heavy booty and swiftly returned before any defence could be put up. The competition for coastal trade brought in the Dutch, who for a time appear to have been more favoured by the Court of Bednūr. But they soon fell out in the Nāyaka's esteem as they supported the Malabar Chief in his encounters with them. Towards the close of his career Sōmaśēkhara fell into bad company and became virtually mad.⁴⁸ The reins of Government were taken over by his wife Channammaji, a reputed Queen who ruled over Bednūr (1671-1696 A. D.).

The *Keḷadinripavijaya* gives an elaborate account of the family feud that followed the death of Sōmaśēkharanāyaka. But Channammāji thwarted the attempts of rival groups, who, at the behest of the Bijapur General, planned to place on the throne an illegitimate son of Andhaka Krishnappa or a son of Bhadrappa.

The traditional rivalry with Mysore led to a series of encounters between Channammāji and Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore. Though no decisive result came out of these, the pitched battle at Arakalgūḍ in 1695 A. D. gave a definite advantage to Mysore, which acquired fresh territories.⁴⁹

The most memorable incident of Channammāji's reign, however, is the protection she offered to Rajarām, the son of Sivāji, who was being pursued by Aurangzeb's armies. The Queen treated the threats of the Moghul Emperor with contempt. In the war that ensued in 1690 A.D., the gallant Queen struck a severe blow to the Moghul armies and scored a decisive victory over them. This event is immortalized in the folk literature of Karnataka and is sung even today. When, after this event, her own feudatory chiefs (sāmantas) evinced hostility she reduced them to subjection.⁵⁰

In her relations with foreign powers, the agreement with the Portuguese in 1678 A. D., deserves mention.⁵¹

Channammāji received faithful assistance from a band of Ministers and military officers, like Gurubasappadēva, the Chief Councillor, and Sabnis Krishnappayya and Timmarasayya, the two military Generals.

She practised religious toleration and patronized the religious institutions of all faiths. The Portuguese, for example, were allowed to construct churches in several coastal towns. She gave extensive lands to goddess Mūkāmba and founded an agrahāra naming it Channammāmbapura after herself.

Channammāji had no issue. After training him in the art of politics and war, she entrusted the Kingdom to Basavappa, her adopted son, in 1696 A. D.,

and retired to pursue a life of contemplation. She appears to have passed away in 1698 A. D.

Basavappanāyaka (1696-1714 A. D.) continued the aggressive policy of his 'mother' against frontier kingdoms. He recovered the forts of Chandragiri and Vasudhare from the Malayāḷi Chief and concluded a treaty of friendship with him.⁵² He beat back the Muslim forces from Honnatha, Jaḍe, Mirzan, and Mahādevāpura.⁵³ The Nawab of Savaṇur was completely defeated in his attempt to invade Bednūr.

The Portuguese made a strong bid to secure the trade monopoly in pepper and rice as is evidenced by Basavappanayaka's peace treaty with the Viceroy of Goa in 1707 A.D.

Basavappa was a great patron of art and literature. He himself was a man of letters. He is the author of *Śivatattvaratnākara*, an encyclopaedic work and a leading source-book for the history of the period. He is also credited with the authorship of *Suradruma* in Sanskrit and *Sūktisudhākara* in 'Gēervāṇa' Karnataka (Sanskrit and Kannada) languages.⁵⁴

Basavappanāyaka's son Sōmaśekhara succeeded his father in 1714 A.D. The trade rivalries among the foreign powers in the Kanara coast reached new heights. The entry of the English and the active assistance they rendered to native rulers only resulted in more bloody wars. Sōmaśekharanāyaka carried his arms down the Nilēśvaram river up to Cannanore, but had to retreat with heavy losses because of the interference of the English and the Dutch on behalf of the Kēraḷa chieftains. Kasargōḍ became the acknowledged southern boundary of Bednūr.

He carried out several minor operations against local chieftains, and acquired Ajjampura and Sira from the Moghuls.⁵⁵ Sōmaśekhara had a long rule of twenty-five years. He looked after the welfare of his subjects well and extended liberal help to several institutions and professions. He is said to have built a new Palace in the Capital.

We may, in this brief sketch, pass over the reigns of Basavappanāyaka (1739-1755 A.D.) and Channabasavanāyaka (1755-1757 A.D.), except for making a reference to the wars against Kolattiris of Malabar, Rājas of Cannanore and Nilēsvaram, and the Pāḷayagar of Chitradurga. Mention may also be made of the invasion of Bednūr by Maratha Generals and the collections of heavy sums of money by them. This led to an increase of taxes on all lands. The people were greatly dissatisfied with this additional levy. Continuous war with the neighbouring powers had exhausted the Kingdom of its resources and strength.

On the death of Channabasavanāyaka in 1757 A.D.,⁵⁶ his adoptive mother Veērammāji assumed the reins of Government. From the very

commencement of her rule, she had to face difficulties from all quarters. Some of her subjects were thoroughly dissatisfied with the raising of the standard rent from 2 and 229 star pagodas to 66 and 599 star pagodas.⁵⁷

At the instance of Madakerināyaka of Chitradurga, who introduced a pretender to the Bendūr throne, Haidar Ali seized the opportunity of extending his Empire from coast to coast. In 1762 A.D., he led a very big expedition of 10,000 horses and 20,000 soldiers to Bednūr. Haidar Ali, with his innate genius, won over many of the Queen's subjects to the pretender's cause and besieged Bendūr itself. The Queen made overtures to the invader and sued for peace. But Haidar demanded the complete surrender of the Rāṇi and her agreeing to become a pensioner. She proudly rejected the offer and offered a gallant defence, but was overwhelmed by the combined forces of Mysore and Chitradurga. She was taken prisoner in 1763 A.D. and was sent to Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa with her adopted son, Somaśekharaṇāyaka. All the contemporary records speak in glowing terms of the valour and dignity of the Queen Veerammāji.

The entire Empire was then added to Mysore and the century old feud between these two kingdoms ended with the absorption of Bednūr into Mysore. And with this, an enthralling episode in the history of Karnataka also came to a close, and Mysore became the heir to the glory and culture of this great Kannada dynasty.

Before concluding this survey, a brief reference to the religious and economic policies and literary and cultural achievements of the rulers may be made.

The Nāyakas were Veeraśaivas, and encouraged the study of Veeraśaiva religion and literature. They were extremely tolerant of all faiths, and extended patronage to all cults and sects. The Advaita Maṭha at Srīngēri received their special personal care and attention. The Dvaita Maṭha at Uḍupi received royal patronage. Christians and Muslims too were treated generously.⁵⁸ The Catholic historian of Christianity in Kanara, Mr. S. Silva, observes that "the Christians of Canara carried on their religious duties without fear. They were much favoured by Bednore rules. Some of the best lands were in their hands....."⁵⁹.

One very significant fact that must be recorded is that Sivappanāyaka while permitting proselytization proposed that in his own Empire an Indian Bishop to serve his Christian subjects be appointed, and opened negotiations with the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities on this matter. The civil authorities of Goa accepted this proposal.⁶⁰

Agriculture was the mainstay of the prosperity of the Kingdom. The Rulers gave every encouragement to the cultivation of rice, pepper, coconut and areca-nuts. The land revenue administration and the taxation policies were calculated to promote this end.

The Temple of Aghorēśvara at Ikkēri is the best specimen of the architectural achievements of the Nāyakas. The literary productions of the period have already been referred to.

FOOT NOTES

1. The feudalistic administrative decentralisation of Vijayanagar contributed to the rise of many principalities like Tanjore, Jinji, Madura, Keladi, Bellur, Mysore, Ullal etc., at the peripheries of the Empire. A detailed narration of the story of some of these kingdoms has been done by leading scholars. Mention must be made of the following works on these kingdoms: (i) R. Satyanatha Iyer, *The Nayakas of Madura*, Madras, 1924 (ii) V. Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayakas of Tanjore*, Annamalainagar, 1942, (iii) C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of Gingee and its Rulers*, Annamalainagar, 1943, (iv) K. D. Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, Madras, 1957, (v) Wilks, *Mysore*, 1930, (vi) L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, 1897.
2. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Father Horas, Madras, 1927, p. 177.
3. The Keladi Kingdom at its zenith extended up to Goa in the north and Cannanore in the south and included the present districts of Shimoga and portions of Hassan.
4. Many of these inscriptions are available in the volumes of the Mysore Archaeological Report, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica* and *South Indian Inscriptions*.
5. The bulk of the Portuguese documents have not yet been published, but are available in the archives of Panjim and Lisbon. Some of the important documents have been translated by K. D. Swaminathan in his work, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*.
6. Batavia Dag Register.
7. Some of the English factory records and correspondence from their trading centres on the east coast are found in the *English Factories in India*, Vol. I, by Sir C. Fawen, Oxford.
8. The Court poet Linganna's Kannada work *Keladinripavijaya* gives a fairly full account of the rise and fall of the Keladi kingdom. The earlier chapters of the work 'abound in factual and chronological errors'. The work was edited and published by Dr. R. Shama Sastry on behalf of the University of Mysore in 1921.
9. Written by Basavaraja Nayaka most probably in 1712. This is an encyclopaedic work written in Sanskrit. It throws a flood of light on contemporary thought and culture. The work was edited by B. Rama Rao and V. P. Sundara Sastriar in 1927.
10. Some of these are found in the Col. Mackenzie Collections.
11. Mention must be made of the pioneering efforts of Robert Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, 1884, M. S. Puttanna's *History of Ikkeri*, 1931, N. Lakshminarayana Rao's *The Nayakas of Keladi, Vijayanagar Sex-centenary Volume*, Father Heras' *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, 1927 and K. D. Swaminathan's *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 1957.
12. *Keladinripavijaya*, Canto, 1, Stanza 82, p. 21-22.
13. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, Kallola V.
14. Prajotpatti Year, Magha 5, Canto 1, Stanza 105, p. 28.
15. Rice; *Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions*, p. 355.

16. Chaudappa Nayaka's reign cannot be definitely established. The *Keladinripavijaya* says that he ruled for a little over thirteen years, i.e., from 1500-1514. K. D. Swaminathan contends that he must have ruled till 1535 A.D., or probably even till 1540. (*The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, p. 19). The latter view has to be established yet on sounder evidence.
17. *Keladinripavijaya*, Canto 2, p. 29.
18. N. Lakshminarayana Rao; *Vijayanagar Sex-centenary Volume*, p. 257.
19. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, Kallola, V, Taranga 5.
20. N. Lakshminarayana Rao; *Vijayanagar Sex-centenary Volume*, p. 258.
21. Father Heras; *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 179.
22. *Keladinripavijaya* says that Chaudappa Nayaka made Ikkeri his new capital — Canto 1, p. 27.
23. *Ibid*, Canto 11, Stanza 68, p. 41.
24. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 89-90.
25. The *Keladinripavijaya* mentions that Sadasiva Nayaka was succeeded by his son Dodda Sankanna Nayaka, Canto 111, p. 43.
26. *Ibid.*, Canto 111.
27. L. Lakshminarayana Rao; *Vijayanagar Sex-centenary Volume*, p. 260.
28. Father Heras and N. L. Rao hold the view on the basis of a suggested reference in the *Sivatattvaratnakara*, that Dodda Sankanna was deposed by Ramaraya. But this is not tenable as Sankanna ruled up to 1571.
29. *Keladinripavijaya*, Canto 4, p. 66.
30. The *Sivatattvaratnakara* mentions that Chikka Sankanna was succeeded by Venkatappa.
31. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, Kallola VI, Taranga 13.
32. See *European Travellers in India*, J. T. Wheeler and M. Macmillan, 1956.
33. K. D. Swaminathan; *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, p. 45.
34. Rice; *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 158.
35. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, N.G. 79.
36. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar; *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 345; Venkatappa Nayaka himself wrote a Sanskrit commentary on *Sivageeta*.
37. *Keladinripavijaya* gives 1637 A.D. as the date of the Bijapur invasion.
38. For the terms of the agreement see *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, K. D. Swaminathan, p. 76.
39. N. L. Rao holds the view that because of the destruction of the former palace he shifted to Bednur. This does not appear very convincing.
40. *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*.
41. The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says that Sivappa murdered Veerabhadra Nayaka. This may not be true as Sivappa not only helped Veerabhadra to retain his kingdom intact, but was personally very religious.
42. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar; *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 346.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
44. *Keladinripavijaya*, Canto 7.
45. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, Kallola, VII, Taranga, 14.
46. *Keladinripavijaya*, Canto 7, Stanza 29, p. 125.
47. *Ibid.*, Canto 7, Stanza 30, p. 126-8.
48. *Ibid.*, Canto 7, Stanza 22, 126.
49. Wilks; *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 58.
50. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar; *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 350.
51. Under this treaty, Churches and factories were allowed to be built at Mirajan, Chanda-var, Honavar, Bhatkal and Kalyanapur.
52. *Keladinripavijaya*, Canto X, Stanza 10, p. 174.
53. *Ibid.*, Canto X, Stanza 15-17, p. 175.
54. *Ibid.*, Canto X, Stanza 15-17, p. 175.

THE RULERS OF KELADI

55. *Ibid.*, Canto X, Stanza 72 p. 189.
56. K. D. Swaminathan quotes from the Public Department Diary, 1757 that 'The Younger Raja of Bednur has been murdered by his mother on the 17th July'. *Hyder Namah* too states that Channabasavanayaka was treacherously put to death. See *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, p. 151, Foot-note.
57. S. Silva; *History of Christianity in Canara*, p. 75.
58. Fr. Spinola, S. J. expressed that the King (Sivappa Nayaka) though a gentile was extremely kind, evidently 'inclined to our religion'.
59. It was their religious policy that made a considerable number of Christians come and settle in the Kingdom from Goa. There were more than ten thousand Christians in the kingdom. See *History of Christianity in Canara*, S. Silva, 1958.
60. Students of Karnataka History are indebted to S. Silva for throwing light on this aspect of Bednur rule.

THE PALAYAGARS

The Pālayagars were petty chieftains who flourished during the days of the Vijayanagara Empire ruling over small states of varying size and exercising almost sovereign authority in their own realms. Their foreign policy was so intertwined with the central authority that without the active support of these vassals, the Emperors of Vijayanagara would have been ineffective in resisting aggression from outside and in establishing peace and order and a welfare administration in the far-flung areas under their sway.

The history of the Deccan, south of the Godavari river, in mediaeval times is not complete without the history of the more important Pālayagars. A Pālayagar levied taxes on the people, and maintained law and order within his jurisdiction. He was regarded as a King by his own people, and often assumed high-sounding titles.

The Pālayagars who came into prominence during the rule of the Vijayanagara Emperors paid tribute to the Emperors and sent their armies to the imperial camp during times of war. They camped outside the capital city in a 'Pālaya' (military camp) whenever they went to meet the Emperor. This was perhaps the reason for their having been called 'Pālayagar'. They fortified their capitals, and occupied well-protected hill-tops, called 'pālayapaṭṭu' (military strongholds); and this may also have been the reason for the name 'Pālayagar'. A few Pālayagars existed even before the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

though they came into prominence later. For example, the Pālayapaṭ of Gummareḍḍipālaya was founded by Narasimhanāyaka in 1243 A.D.

During the days of the Bahamanis and the Shahi Sultans, officials with full powers were appointed over vast areas. Such officers had the right to collect taxes and had to send armies to fight under the royal standard. Such people also became Pālayagars. There was a large number of Pālayagars called Heggāḍes in South Kanara. Some of them were independent and some of them were tributaries to the Vijayanagara Emperors. They paid tributes to the Emperor while maintaining independent jurisdiction over their territories. The Shahi rulers and the Vijayanagara Emperor allowed the Pālayagars to continue, as they were unable to shoulder the entire burden of administration of far-flung regions.

The early Woḍeyars of Mysore were also Pālayagars in a sense. The famous Daḷavoys Dēvarāja and Nanjarāja destroyed a number of Pālayagars, Haidar Ali of Mysore extinguished the Pālayagars one after the other.

The Zamindars in Bengal, the Talukdars in Uttar Pradesh, the Jahgirdars under Moghul Raj, the Desais, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes in the Maratha kingdom, who claimed and enjoyed proprietary rights over extensive regions, had their own retainers and some kind of military force, and paid tributes to some central authority. They correspond to these Pālayagars in the south.

M. S. Puttanna has done valuable pioneering work in collecting information about the rule of Pālayagars in different parts of the Mysore State.

We may now deal with the more important among them.

TARIKERE NAYAKS:

Hanumappanāyaka obtained power in 1545 A.D., when he distinguished himself as a great military Commander in the Vijayanagara army against the Muslim powers. He received the grant of an estate at Sante Bedanur in Mysore to retain troops. He conquered a large tract of country with Shimoga as centre having an annual revenue of 9 lakhs of 'huns'. The Tarikere Pālayagars ruled practically as independent rulers for over a century. They dwindled in power by 1733 A.D. They then became tributaries of the Marathas and Haidar Ali. The last important member of the family was Sarjah Hanumappanāyaka, who was employed by Tipu. When the Nāyaka died in 1797, his office was conferred upon his second son Krishnappanāyaka. Krishnappanāyaka was suspected as an agent of Tipu by the other Pālayagars. He was pensioned by Purnaiah. In 1831, Sarjappanāyaka, Nanjappanāyaka and Hānumanthappanāyak revolted. They were defeated and were conciliated by pensions and jobs.

GUMMANAYAKANA PALAYA :

This Pālayapaṭ was established much earlier than the great Vijayanagara Empire. It included the whole of Bāgepalli Taluk, and portions of Hindupur and Kandukur Taluks. In 1243, two brothers Narasimhanāyaka and Khādripatināyaka left their place of Doḍḍapālaya (Cuddapah District). They came to the Sidlaghaṭṭa Taluk and settled in Yaguvakōṭe. After some time, the younger brother established an independent prinicipality at Pātapālaya and Bhairavana Beṭṭa. He cleared the forest and by his good deeds endeared himself to his subjects. Gumma Reddy and Lakka Reddy, the two rich Zamindars, invited Khādripatināyaka to settle himself in Pātapālaya.

They believed, on account of a dream, that Khādripatināyaka was God-in carnate whose commands they must obey. They surrendered all their wealth to Khādripatināyaka, thinking that God wanted him to establish an Empire. Khādripatināyaka is said to have got two pots of gold at Buramkoṇḍa through divine intervention. He built a temple at that place and built a new village Dēvarājapalli after clearing the forests. He received people from the famine-stricken areas and protected them. He is said to have died in 1272 and was succeeded by his son, Chinnammanāyaka (1272-1296 A.D.), who established Gummanāyakanapālaya in honour of Gumma Reddy. He invited many agriculturists, merchants, sculptors, builders and other artisans. He appointed patels, tōṭis and talāris in the villages. It is said that he got plenty of gold through the blessings of two holy men. He built the fort of Kalyāṇḍurg. He conquered Guttapalaya, Maddepalli and the adjoining territories.

He formulated various rules and regulations, and passed orders that people of one class should not interfere in the affairs of others. Each class should follow its own trade and calling. He assumed the title 'Mahānāyaka Achārya'. Khādrī Tirumala was his guru and Chandragiri Mallikārjunasvāmi was his family guru. Chinnammanāyaka ruled for 24 years as a pious and a god-fearing king. He built a large number of temples and worked hard to promote the welfare of his people. He constructed a tank, Doḍḍammanakere, naming it after his mother. He was succeeded by his son, Gummanāyaka (1296-1364 A.D.).

It is said that the Gummanāyaka tactfully sent away the invading army of Tirumalarāya, the ruler of Ānegondi, by paying off the expenses of the invading army and accepting vassalage. He appointed a Prime Minister and awarded Jagirs to his officers. He is said to have offered worship to Pushpagirisvāmi.

Gummanāyaka's son, Dakkanāyaka (1314-1346 A.D.) increased his revenue by improving agriculture and by founding new villages. He was a feudatory to the Vijayanagara rulers.

The next important ruler is Kadarappanāyaka (1353-1388 A.D.) who helped the Vijayanagara rulers to put down the Pālayagars of the Andhra districts and made

them vassals of Vijayanagara. The King of Vijayanagara made Kadarappa the Chief of the Nāyaks and he was granted overlordship over a big area.

We know little about Singappanāyaka (1388-1457 A.D.). The next great ruler Doḍḍa Vasantanāyaka (1457-1467) was a great military leader. During the time of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara (1446), the Sultan of Gulbarga invaded Vijayanagara. Vasantanāyaka attacked Gulbarga and killed the Sultan in single combat. Vasantanāyaka was allowed to annex the territory surrounding his Pālaya as a reward for his services.

Kadarappanayāka II (1482-1508 A.D.) put down the revolt of Rangarāja on behalf of his sovereign. He demonstrated his loyalty to his overlord by accepting a challenge to be stabbed in the open Durbar at Vijayanagara during Navarātri. He established peace with his neighbour, the ruler of Baḷḷāpur.

Vasantanāyaka III (1584-1614 A.D.) drove back the armies of Dilawarkhan, the Moghul General. He helped Emperor Sri Ranga in building the Temple at Srīrangam. Narasimhanāyaka IV (1614-1644 A.D.) set up an efficient form of administration by establishing various departments. This Pālayagar was loyal to the Vijayanagara Emperor even when the Empire was on the decline.

The succeeding rulers, Bangāra Timmanāyaka (1680-1728 A.D.) and Kadarappanāyaka III (1723-1740 A.D.) purchased peace by paying tributes to the Moghuls and the Marathas. Haidar Ali conquered Gummanāyakapālaya from Narasimhanāyaka VI. During the Third Mysore War, Narasimhanāyaka appealed to the British to help him. During the Fourth Mysore War, Narasimhanāyaka recovered his pālayapaṭ. But the British broke their promise and Narasimhanāyaka died of grief.

HARAPANAHALLI :

The Pālayagar of Harapanahaḷḷi was the most powerful ruler of the Bēḍas. He was the chief ally of Bijapur against Vijayanagara. In 1792 he became the most faithful ally of Haidar Ali till 1786. Tipu had no love for any Pālayagar. He treacherously seized the Pālayagar of Harapanahaḷḷi and annexed his kingdom in 1792. After the fall of Tipu, the Nizam recognized the Pālayagar. But the British liquidated him.

HAGALAVADI :

The major portion of the present Tumkur District belonged to this pālayapaṭ. The chiefs ruled from Hāgalavāḍi, a village in the modern Gubbi Taluk. These Pālayagars were feudatories of Vijayanagara. It was bounded by Madhu-

giri pālayapaṭ and that of Kempēgowḍa in the east, Jagadēvaraya of Channapaṭṇa in the south and the chiefs of Chitradurga and of Sīra in the north.

This pālayapaṭ was founded at Erekaṭṭe by Erimadanāyaka in 1478 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Salināyaka (1508-1544 A. D.) who extended the pālayapaṭ. He faithfully helped the Vijayanagara Emperor who conferred Tumkur, Seṭṭikere, Honnayaḷḷi and Turuvekere upon him. The third Pālayagar Bhairavanāyaka (1544-1578 A. D.) founded the township of Hāgalavāḍi in 1558 A. D. He became a Veeraśaiva and many stories are told about the frequent visits of Siva in the form of an old jangama to him. The next ruler, Mudiappanāyaka I (1578-1618 A. D.), put down his neighbours and further extended his kingdom. Bhairappanāyaka II (1618-1646 A. D.), at first repulsed the attacks of Ranadullakhan, but later had to surrender a portion of his territory to Bijapur. The most important ruler of this family is Mudiappanāyaka II (1700-1740 A.D.) A staunch Veeraśaiva, he was learned, and was very tolerant. His ambition was that all his people should be happy by following their own religious beliefs. He gave liberal gifts to the scholars of every religion. He is said to have written 700 religious tracts and appointed a large number of scholars to tour among the people to spread ethical principles. He encouraged the learning of music among the people from musicians appointed by him. He planted a large number of groves and constructed many wells. Even prisoners were treated well and given good food and clothing. In the end, he abdicated and personally spread his teachings among the people. He was indeed a rare kind of philosopher-chieftain.

The next ruler, Muddaveerappanāyaka (1740-1753 A.D.), was given the title Jang Bahadur, by the Moghul General Dilawarkhan. The last ruler was Chennabasappanāyaka (1753-1755 A.D.) who was over-thrown treacherously by Haidar Ali who annexed this pālayapaṭ to Mysore.

CHITRADURGA :

Chitradurga was a small principality founded by Matthi Thimmaṇṇanāyaka, by his personal valour. He was recognized as a Nāyaka by the Vijayanagara Emperor. There were two lines of kings, the Matthi family and the Biḷichōḍu family who ruled together for 211 years over the present Chitradurga District and its neighbourhood.

The founders of this pālayapaṭ, belonging to Vālmiki gōtra, are said to have come from Delhi. Thimmaṇṇa became the Nāyaka of Hoḷalkere in 1435 A.D., by the order of Emperor Śāḷuva Narasimha of Vijayanagar. In 1495 A.D., he was appointed as the Nāyak of Chitradurga, when he built the famous fort. In 1502, he was recognized as a vassal of Vijayanagara. He captured the fort of Gulbarga far his suzerain lord. But he ended his life as a prisoner in Vijayanagara for his insubordination.

He was succeeded by Ōbaṇṇanāyaka (1510-1525 A.D.) and assumed the title 'Madikerināyaka'. He is said to have become independent of Vijayanagara. The third ruler Kasturi Rangappanāyaka (1525-1574 A.D.) defeated the Pālayagars of Tarikere and Sira. He was followed by Madikerināyaka II and Ōbaṇṇanāyaka (1596 A.D.) who was murdered. There was confusion, and bloodshed as a result of a mutiny of the army. In the midst of this confusion, the attacks by Ikkēri and Harapanahaḷḷi were repulsed. At this juncture the members of the Madikerināyaka family embraced Veeraśaivism but very soon gave it up. They repulsed the attacks of Ranadullakhan also. The next ruler was Madikerināyaka III who had to fight with his own army officers. There was civil war and much confusion during his reign (1680-1721 A.D.).

Bharamappanāyaka was a great ruler. He recovered the fort of Anaji from the Harapanahaḷḷi Pālayagar. He formed a confederacy of Pālayagars against the Nawab of Sira and the Marathas. He helped the Moghuls and drove back the Bijapur armies. Bharamappanāyaka was the greatest ruler of this family. He defeated the armies of the Moghuls and the Bijapuris sent by the rival Pālayagars. He built 30 temples, 4 palaces, and the big tanks at Bharamasāgar and Bheemasamudra. But the people suffered heavily on account of plague.

The next important ruler was Madikerināyaka I. The ruler of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa regarded Madikkerināyaka as an ally. He repulsed the army of Ramadurga and captured Ramagiri. He died in the battle of Māyakonḍa, fighting with the armies of Harapanahaḷḷi.

The next ruler was Kasturi Rangappanāyaka II. He drove back the armies of the Marathas and the Harapanahaḷḷi forces.

The last Madikerināyaka (1755-1762 A.D.) was chosen by the leaders, though he belonged to the Biḷichōḍu family. He was under the regency of Obalamma-nagati. Rāyadurg was captured by the Chitradurga forces. The Pālayagar of Harapanahaḷḷi defeated the Chitradurga forces. Haidar Ali attacked Chitradurga. Madikerināyaka saved himself by paying a large tribute. The army of Chitradurga helped Haidar in capturing the fort of Bankāpur. They further helped Haidar against the Marathas, Nijagal and against Murari Rao of Gutti. Then Madikerināyaka joined Peshwa Madhava Rao against Haidar and was mainly responsible for the defeat of Haidar in the Battle of Ānavatṭi. Haidar Ali was determined to destroy Madikerināyaka. He laid siege to the fort of Chitradurga. But he was defeated and the fort was impregnable. It is in this siege we come across the famous woman Obavva, who killed a number of Haidar's soldiers who wanted to sneak into the fort through a trap door in the fort. Haidar corrupted a large number of Muslim soldiers in the army of Madikerināyaka. These people betrayed the secrets of the fort. Madikerināyaka is said to have died as a prisoner. Chitradurga was annexed to Mysore.

NIDUGAL :

The Niḍugal chiefs were descended from Thiḍpanāyaka (1487 A.D.). He is called Kaṭhārīrāya and built temples and a tank in the name of his wife Lakshmīdēvi. Before his death he divided his kingdom among his seven sons, who were driven out by the Bijapur army. One of them, Timmaṇṇanāyaka, occupied Niḍugal and built a fort. His descendants became the tributaries of the Nawab of Sīra. Haidar captured the fort in 1761 A.D. and Tipu annexed it to Mysore.

KALALE :

The rulers of Kaḷale have played a very important part in the history of Mysore. There was a great rivalry between the Kaḷale and the Ummattur chiefs. It is said that on one occasion the Ummattur chief had nearly extinguished the Kaḷale family. The inscription of Yeḍatore 58 (1748 A.D.) gives the following details regarding the family.

The founder was Timmarāja. His son was Srikanṭha who had three sons, Nanjarāja, Doḍḍayya and Mallarāja. His successors were Basavarāja, Doḍḍayya's son, Veerarāja and his sons, Dēvarāja and Nanjarāja (1767 A.D.)

The royal families of Mysore and Kaḷale were united through intermarriages, as they were of equal rank. This was vouched for by a 'Bhashāpatra' (a declaration on oath) issued by Krishnarāja Woḍeyar in 1758 and the 'Nambuge Nirūpa' (an offer of agreement). The same year Dēvarāja became the Commander of the army of Krishnarāja and subdued Miḍagēśi, Sāvanadurga, and many other places. His cousin Nanjarāja became the Sarvādhikari. Nanjarāja established an agrahāra at Kannambāḍi. The younger Nanjarāja unwillingly made way for the usurpation of Haidar Ali.

UMMATTUR :

Ummattur was a very important principality under the Vijayanagara kings. These Rājas were related to the Vijayanagara Viceroys of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa, namely Sri Rangarāja and Tirumalarāja who wanted to hand over the Vice-royalty to the Ummattūr chieftains. As Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore became the Viceroy, the Ummattur Rājas disliked the Mysore ruling family. The Kaḷale family also had no love lost on the Ummattur chieftains. In 1613 A.D., Rāja Woḍeyar annexed Ummattur to Mysore.

The founder of this family was Hanumappa Woḍeyar. The other rulers were Dēvarāja (1478-84), Nanjarāja (1484-94), and Channananja (1497-1504). The

last ruler was Rājappa Woḍeyar. The family god of these rulers was Sōmēśvara. They assumed all the imperial titles of the Vijayanagar Emperors.

MADHUGIRI :

Madhugiri was founded by Veerappagowḍa in the 13th century. He built a strong fort on the hill and also the town of Madhugiri. His successors were called Rāja Hiregowḍas. Veerappagowḍa made further conquests. He repaired the forts and ruled the country with firmness and justice. Another ruler Kaḷe Chikkappagowḍa improved the fort with the permission of the Emperor Srī Ranganāya. He fixed the boundary of every village in his dominion. Madhugiri was attacked and taken by the Mysore armies under Dēvarāja in 1788. The Nāyaka was taken prisoner, but was later on released and was given Miḍagēśi as a jagir.

HOSAKOTE :

Along with the Yelahanka Prabhus we have Sugaturnāḍ Prabhus. Each one of the members of this family called himself Thammēgowḍa (1595). Thammēgowḍa received the title 'Chikkarāya' from the ruler of Penukonḍa for having repulsed the attack on Penukonḍa. His son was Immaḍi Thamma Bhūpāla. He captured Bheemanadurga, and received in 1632 a flag of a golden Bull and Veera-bhadra from the King of Penukonḍa. His son was Mummaḍi Thamma Bhūpāla who was a great scholar, and wrote *Rājēndra Chōḷa Charita*, *Kumārārjuneeya* and *Sundarēśacharita* in Telugu. In Kannada he wrote *Sankara Samhita*. In Sanskrit he wrote *Karmdivyākhyāna Rasika Manōranjana* and got the work, *Sivadarpaṇa* compiled by Brahmin scholars. He fostered trade and commerce, and sheltered hundreds of Hindu refugees from Muslim persecution. He built the Avimuktēśvara Temple at Hosakōṭe. Hosakōṭe was captured by Shāhji, and later by Kasim Khan in 1663. Haidar annexed Hosakōṭe to Mysore in 1761 A. D.

CHENNAPATNA :

Jagadēvarāya, who repulsed the Muslim attack on Penukonḍa in 1577 A.D., became the ruler of the territory extending from Bārāmahal to the Western Ghats. He fixed his capital at Chennapaṭṇa in 1580. His possessions included Mulbāgal, Piriyaṭṇa, Kānkānahalli and Būdiḥāḷ. His daughter had been given in marriage to the Vijayanagar Emperor. These rulers belonged to the Telugu Banajiga community. He was succeeded by Raṇōjirāya, Immaḍi Jagadēva, Mummaḍi Jagadēva, Kumāra Jagadēva and Ankuśarāya. In 1630 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore captured this place.

THE ARASAS OF GERUSOPPA :

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sāḷuva Krishnadēva was one of the rulers of Gērusoppa. His country extended up to Bhaṭkal and Gōkarṇa. He gave the village Lottavalli to Narasakini to worship God Lakshminarasimha in Bhaṭkal in 1550 A. D.

After the death of Krishnadēva, his Queen Bhairadēvi conducted the administration. After Bhairadēvi's death, her sister, Bhairadēvi II, succeeded her. After Bhairadēvi II, Chikka Channa Bhairadēvi became ruler of Gērusoppa. She fell in love with one Lingaṇṇa who murdered a Brahmin sanyasin of Gōkarṇa to accommodate the Lingayats. It is said that Chikka Channa Bhairadēvi appealed to Venkaṭappanāyaka of Keḷadi against her lover. When Venkaṭappa of Keḷadi came with an army, Lingaṇṇa murdered his wives and committed suicide. Venkaṭappa took Bhairadēvi to Ikkēri and installed one Lakshmidēvi at Gērusoppa as Queen.

Malik Kafur, a General of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, invaded Gērusoppa. He was aided by a large number of Pāḷayagars of the neighbourhood. He destroyed the old fort of Śivēśvara and built a new fort, Hosakōṭe. He garrisoned the country of Gērusoppa. He was defeated by the armies of Venkaṭappanāyaka of Keḷadi at Asineruvu. Malik Kafur barely escaped with his life and requested the people to help him. He told the people that he had come from Bijapur. The people agreed to help and to build a new fort at Mahābalapura (Gōkarṇa). After the departure of Malik Kafur there was much confusion. Bijapur sent another army to restore order. We hear of a large number of Hindu and Muslim Nāyaks, who were Pāḷayagars, under the control of Bijapur. Portuguese officers were employed to inspect the forts. In 1663 A. D., Raghuchandra Konkaṇa Sanyasi drove the Muslims out of Gērusoppa on behalf of Keḷadi and it became part of the Keḷadi Kingdom.

THE ARASAS OF BILAGILA :

The small village Bilagila to the north of Shimoga was a prominent Pāḷayapaṭ in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Bilagila become Svētapura, or Masura. The first two Arasus were Mundaṇṇa, and Veeraṇanidhi Narasimha. The latter was given the rulership of Penukonḍa by Krishnadēvarāya in 1520. The first important feudatory is Veeraghanṭe I, the son of Narasimha, who drove out the Muslim invaders from Bijapur. His son, Veeraghanṭe II, defeated Bhairavadēvi of Gērusoppa. Ghanṭe II drove back the Bijapur armies who had attacked Keḷadi. He married the daughter of Venkaṭappa of Ikkēri and got the title 'Vikrama Kanṭheerava', from his father-in-law. Ghanṭe III assumed the title 'Destroyer of Tarikere'. The next ruler was Mauna Ghanṭe who saved Keḷadi from being destroyed by

Bijapur. The last rulers of the Ghanṭe family were Veerabhadra and Basavēndra. The principality was merged into the Keḷadi Kingdom by about 1700 A.D. These Ghanṭes were staunch Veeraśaivas.



The Pāḷayagars were as a class brave persons and always maintained a standing army. Each one of them had remarkable physical prowess. They introduced the system of recruiting citizens for the militia. The families of the dead soldiers were maintained at the expense of the Pāḷayagar. They built strong forts at strategic places which were impregnable. Some of the Pāḷayagars trained their armies on the European model with the help of the French and Portuguese officers. The Pāḷayagars of Ikkēri and Gērusoppa also maintained good navies. Sivappanāyaka was famous for his ideal system of revenue settlement. Every Pāḷayagar had a good Council of Ministers. Though the Pāḷayagar was the supreme authority, he never went against the public opinion of his realm. The village administration was according to the Bārābalūti system. The Pāḷayagars built tanks, temples and maintained groves. They thought that it was their duty to construct villages, choultries, and other works of public utility. They married a large number of wives who followed the sati system. Generally, the Pāḷayagars were Bēḍas and worshipped Narasimha, though in later times they became Lingayats. Some Pāḷayagars like Mudiyappanāyaka of Hāgalavāḍi were philosophers. There was a large number of Pāḷayagars in Mysore before the rise of Haidar Ali. Haidar like a storm swept away the Pāḷayagars and his son completed the work begun by his father.

THE WODEYARS OF MYSORE

We have dealt in the last chapter with a number of kingdoms that flourished in Karnataka during the Vijayanagar and post-Vijayanagar periods. We shall now take up for consideration the history of the Wodeyars of Mysore who played an important part in Karnataka after the battle of Tālikōṭa, or Rakkasa-Tangiḍi, and, in a way, continued the Vijayanagar tradition. Their forebears established a principality in South Mysore at the beginning of the 15th century. They, however, emerged into prominence in the two centuries following the battle of Rakkasa-Tangiḍi. Even after the British established their rule in India, the Wodeyars ruled over a large territory under British suzerainty and helped to preserve all that was best in the cultural tradition of Karnataka and India.

The origin of the Wodeyars of Mysore is traced to two young brothers, Yadurāya or Vijaya and Krishnarāya of Yādava lineage who are said to have come to the outskirts of Mysore in about 1399 A.D. They soon attracted notice. It was a critical time in the affairs of the tiny principality. Chāmarāja, the Chieftain of Hadināḍ, had died, and his wife and daughter were at the mercy of the usurper, Māranāyaka. Agents of the bereaved family contacted the two brothers and planned the overthrow of Māranāyaka of Kārugahaḷḷi, a village near Mysore.

The brothers heartily fell in with the proposal. With a select band of followers, they attacked the usurper and killed him. The heiress was given in marriage to Yadurāya, and he was made ruler of her father's territory.

That was in 1399 A.D., Yadurāya is said to have ruled over the same principality for twenty-four years. Out of gratitude to the deity of Mēlkōṭe whose blessings, he thought, had brought him a kingdom, Yadurāya is said to have built a fortress on the hill with four gate-ways, and named it 'Melukōṭe'—the Fort on the Hill. He also made his grateful obeisance to Śrī Chāmunḍeśvari on the Hill at Mysore. About this time, it is said, he met a Jangamsvāmi of the Veeraśaiva faith and became his disciple. Thus the Royal family from the earliest days developed a broad outlook towards all forms of Hindu faith. Yadurāya was succeeded by the elder of his two sons, Hiriya Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Wodeyar.

The young ruler was just fifteen years old when he came to the throne. He ruled the country for thirty-six years. He was succeeded by his son, Thimmarāja Wodeyar, who ruled from 1458 A.D. to 1478 A.D. On his demise Chāmarāja Wodeyar II ruled from 1478 A.D. to 1513 A.D., and then his son

Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III ruled for forty years from 1513 A.D. to 1533 A.D. He built the big tank behind the Temple on the Chāmunḍi Hills.

So, for 154 years, this small principality which was the nucleus of the Mysore State enjoyed an unbroken continuity of peaceful well-being.

Thimmarāja Woḍeyar, the son of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III's son succeeded him in 1553 A.D. and, distinguishing himself among the rival chieftains of the neighbouring country, assumed the title of 'Birudentembara Gaṇḍa' (Lord of all Title-holders).

His youngest brother, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar the Bald, succeeded him in 1572 A.D. It is stated that, when he was on a visit to the Chāmunḍēśvari Temple on the Hill, lightning struck his immediate vicinity, but he escaped unscathed while his hair only got singed. Hence the designation, 'The Bald'. His rule lasted only four years.

His son, Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Woḍeyar ruled for less than two years. He was made to retire owing to his incompetence. His brother, Rāja Woḍeyar, was made ruler by the elders of the Kingdom in 1578 A.D.

As we have to accord the honour of having founded the Yādava Dynasty in Mysore to Yadurāya, so to Rāja Woḍeyar has to be accorded the honour of enlarging a modest chieftainship into a sizeable kingdom, and of securing for its ruler a proud and historic throne.

During the period 1565-1610 A.D., Mysore was among the tiny principalities subordinate to the Vijayanagar Emperor through the Viceroy (Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara at Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Mysore was regarded as a 'seeme' or a unit consisting of a number of villages.

The rulers of Mysore, like all local chiefs, had to render allegiance to the Viceroy at Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa, to pay him an annual tribute, and to contribute a quota of forces in times of war. The chieftains of Mysore had evaded payment of tribute and were trying to assert their independence. They systematically encroached upon the neighbours, and strengthened themselves by building forts. Rāja Woḍeyar thus became the master of a principality of thirty-three villages yielding 25,000 varahas per year by 1608 A.D. A new epoch in the history of Mysore was begun by his acquisition of Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa from the local Vijayanagar Viceroy.

Beginning his reign in the year 1578 A.D., Rāja Woḍeyar ruled for forty years. Gifted with both military talent and political acumen, he rose from the headship of 33 villages and command of 300 soldiers to a position when he could face the mighty force of the Vijayanagar kings.

During the reign of Emperor Venkaṭa II, the Viceroy at Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa was Tirumala, the nephew of the Emperor. The relations between the Viceroy

and the Emperor were not cordial. Rāja Woḍeyar made use of this discord to turn out the Viceroy from Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa in 1610 A.D. He appealed to the Emperor Venkaṭapati, and obtained from him a charter conferring upon him the right to rule over the Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa dominion.

Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa was made the Capital and Rāja Woḍeyar sat on the jewelled viceregal throne, To cope with the increased military and civil obligations he found it necessary to appoint a Daḷavoy, who was also Sarvādhikari, or Chief Administrator. Beṭṭada Arasu, a nephew of his, was appointed to the combined office. Every village was provided with officials for supervision and protection, and for collection of revenue.

Fine warrior and remarkable administrator that he was, he was also a man of piety, devotion, and literary culture. He improved the temples at Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa, Mysore and Mēlkōṭe, and made gifts of land for their maintenance.

He also inaugurated, in 1610 A.D., the celebration of the Navarātri Festival on a religious as well as a spectacular scale, which greatly helped to add to the lustre of royalty.

Rāja Woḍeyar died in 1617 A.D. All his sons being already dead, his grandson, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, succeeded him, and worthily maintained the high standard of expansionist rulership set up by his grandfather. At the time of accession he was only fourteen, and consequently the administration rested in the hands of Daḷavoy Beṭṭadarasu. The Mysore ruler recognized the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar sovereign, but that Empire was weakening. The Daḷavoy engaged in successful campaigns against the neighbouring chieftains, and the State expanded on all sides.

Chāmarāja Woḍeyar ruled for 20 years, till 1637 A.D. The Kingdom had been extended during the period, on the north up to Channapaṭṇa and Nāgaman-gala, in the east and south-east up to Maḷavaḷḷi and Dannāyakanakōṭe and in the west and north-west up to Periapāṭṇas. and Chennarāyapaṭṇa. Kāryakartas, or Commissioners, were appointed for the internal administration of the extended territories. The army became the second estate of the Kingdom, and permanent arrangements were made to secure an annual supply of elephants to form the back-bone of the army. In 1635 A.D., an armoury was established for storing captured arms and for manufacturing new weapons of increased power and efficiency.

He gave protection to all the three prevailing faiths, Saiva, Vaishnava and Jaina, restored the channels of the river Kaveri, built the bathing ghat and the tank at Mēlkōṭe. He was an athlete, horseman, musician, and lover of literature. The Kannada works, *Aśva Sastra*, *Hayasāra-samuchchaya*, and *Brahmōttara Khaṇḍa* were written in his reign. He wrote *Chamarajōkti-Vilāsa*, a Kannada version of the *Vālmiki Ramayana*.

He died in 1637 A.D. and was succeeded by his uncle, Rāja Woḍeyar's posthumous son, Rāja Woḍeyar II, who was then 27 years old. The Daḷavoy was Vikramarāya, with whom he did not get on well. After a brief reign the King died in 1638 A.D.

His successor was the celebrated Raṇadheera Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar, a descendant of Beṭṭada Chamarāja Woḍeyar. His sword-play and his Physical prowess have become legendary. Hearing from pilgrims that the court-wrestler at Tiruchirapalli had got his loin-cloth tied across the city gate-way and every one had to pass underneath it in acknowledgment of his eminence, Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar went there *incognito*, tore off that cloth, challenged the wrestler to single combat, and defeated him.

The period of Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar's reign was even more turbulent than was normal in those days. Southern India was like a slow-boiling cauldron. The Vijayanagar Kingdom had become 'the sick man' of India. The Sultanates of Bijapur and Gōlkonda hemmed it on either side, and were seeking to tear it like wolves surrounding a dying lion. The Moghul Empire was trying to extend its sway down south, and was forcing into subjection both Muslim and Hindu rulers alike. The Nāyaka of Madura was also stretching his arms for pieces of territory. Sivappa of Ikkēri, Chennaiah of Nāgamangala, Nanjunda Mudaliar of Periapattṇa, and other smaller barons were all persons to be dealt with in a large or a small way. And Mysore's new ruler was one who loved battle and revelled in victory.

It was, nevertheless, a hard time for the ruler. He had to be always on the alert, find means to outwit the enemy, and be prepared for the worst. But good luck attended on Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar throughout, and at the close of his reign he was able to present a competent administration, a well-organized army, and a considerably extended territory. Its northern boundary had been extended to Channapattṇa and Turuvekere. In the east it ran alongside the Bijapur Kingdom. In the south it reached up to Satyamangalam, and in the west it had been extended up to Coorg. [Kanṭheerava supported the Vijayanagara Emperor, Srīranga, to the best of his ability. When it was no longer possible to support a defunct cause, Kanṭheerava declared himself as independent.

He was a clever tactician and a ruler of vision, besides being an able warrior. The Daḷavoy, with an army under command and a hand in the civil administration, were practically *de facto* rulers, and, if kept too long in office, were a danger to the King. Therefore none was kept too long. During his twenty years' rule, there were ten Daḷavoy !

He developed Rāja Woḍeyar's system of civil administration in the expanded State, and squeezed out persons who were rich and mischievous. He

established a mint and issued coins bearing his name. He was deeply religious and a liberal patron of arts and letters.

Notable among the works written during the reign are *Bēhāra Gaṇita* by Bhāskara, a mathematical work dealing with compound interest, square measure, chain measure, and mint mathematics, *Mārkaṇḍēya Rāmāyana* by Timmarasa, and *Kaṇṭheerava Narasarāja Vijayam* by Gōvinda Vaidya. He passed away in 1659 A. D., in his 45th year.

His cousin, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, succeeded him, and had to face troubles from the start. The death of a strong ruler was a signal for neighbours to take recourse to arms. Ikkēri Sivappanāyaka of Bednūr invaded the State and besieged the Capital. Dēvarāja Woḍeyar was able to repel him, and even overrun his territories. The Nāyaka of Madura invaded from the south. But the new Ruler drove him back, and wrested Erode and Dhārāpuram from him. To mark his contempt for his defeated enemies, he got made, out of the booty of jewels recovered from them, two jewelled sandals which he wore on special occasions. The rest of the booty he distributed as presents to the army, and for good works, such as extension of temples and construction of tanks and choultries. He also constructed the thousand stone steps to the Chāmunḍēśvari Hills, and half-way up the Hill the beautiful granite image of the giant bull was erected.

The reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar saw the beginning of European contacts with Mysore. In 1671 A. D., Flacon, a French agent came from Tellichery to Mysore to negotiate a trade treaty, says Orme, the historian. Dēvarāja Woḍeyar died after a reign of 13½ years in 1673 A. D.

If Kaṇṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar, while formally remaining loyal to the Vijayanagar Empire, asserted the virtual independence of the Kingdom of Mysore, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar went a step further and claimed the inheritance of the Empire itself for Mysore as its political heir. He died adored by his subjects for his benevolence and solicitude for their welfare. He was succeeded by his nephew, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. His name has remained embalmed in people's memory as a most distinguished Ruler of the dynasty. Chikkadēvarāja assumed the titles 'Karnataka Chakravarti,' 'Apratimaveera' and 'Tenkaṇarāja'.

Born in 1645 A.D., he ascended the throne in 1673 A. D., in his 28th year. Within five days of accession he had to lead his army to face an invasion by Chokkanāthanāyaka of Madura. He achieved complete victory and returned to the Capital. Next followed a war with Ikkēri, then with Bijapur, and then in 1677 A.D., there was the invasion by the redoubtable Śivāji himself. Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar withstood and repulsed them all. He himself then conquered Māgaḍi, Madhugiri, Koraṭagere and other areas in the north. In 1682 A.D., there was a second invasion of Mysore by the Marathas under Sambāji, through his Generals Dādāji, Jathāji and

Nimbāji. They were put to utter rout, much booty was taken, and the three Generals were slain.

In 1686 A.D., Chikkadevārāja Woḍeyar had not only become firm in his position as the sovereign of Mysore, but also was an imperial authority in the south. In 1687 A.D., he acquired Bangalore by purchase for three lakhs of rupees from Kasim Khan, the Mughal General. The most important event during the last years of his reign was his embassy to the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb. The Rāja of Mysore had risen in the estimation of the Emperor by arresting the progress of the Marathas. The Rāja desired to win the continued good will of the Emperor and keep his Kingdom free from Maratha encroachments. The embassy was sent under the leadership of Karaṇik Lingappiah.

To save Mysore from a possible invasion by the Mughals, after the death of Kasim Khan (1698) who was friendly to Chikkadēvarāja, was an important underlying motive in sending the embassy. Though the embassy did not make any profound impression on the Emperor it had a spectacular effect. The prestige of Mysore was enhanced locally. The Ruler of Mysore was considered a power friendly with the Mughal Emperor and secure from internal and external troubles.

Chikkadēvarāja's domestic policy was no less spectacular. He appointed a Council of Ministers which comprised of Viśalāksha Paṇḍita, Tirumaliengar, Shaḍaksharaiah, Chikupādhyāya, and Lingaṇṇiah. Viśalāksha Paṇḍita was Premier from 1673 till he was murdered in 1686. Tirumaliengar succeeded him and held office till 1704. ✕ A postal system was established throughout the territory. Land and other taxes were codified, and no one was allowed to grow enviably rich. The central Administration was divided into 18 departments, and village welfare was organized. Official remuneration was paid half in currency and half in food-grains, and it was decreed that no official should spend more than his income. The annual income of the State being 7,20,000 pagodas, the Finance Minister had to deposit 2,000 pagodas in the State Treasury by noon every day. The Mahārāja would not have his breakfast till then. By careful husbandry, the Ruler accumulated nine crores of pagodas in the treasury, and was acclaimed by his subjects as 'Navakōṭi-Nārāyaṇa'.

Just as he systematized the administration, he regulated trade and commerce among his subjects, fixing up weights and measures, introducing regulated markets, and defining standards. He settled 12,000 weavers in Bangalore, and arranged for the export of their products. In Srirangapaṭṭaṇa he expanded the manufacture of military equipment, including cannon and gun-powder. He constructed dams across the Kaveri, and built the canals, 'Chikkadēvarājanāla' and 'Dēvarājanāla', bringing large tracts under irrigation.

Hearing that the Maratha Prince of Tanjore had taunted that his Kingdom had several well-known temples while the Mysore Ruler had only one temple of note at Mēlkōṭe, he caused fine temples to be constructed: Svētavarāha at Mysore, Gōpālakrishna at Haradanahaḷḷi, Varadarāja at Varkod and others, and made grants for their maintenance.

Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyār's reign of nearly 32 years came to an end in 1704 A.D. The period of rule of the successors of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar down to 1761, may be conveniently termed as the Daḷavoy regime, or the regime of the commanders-in-chief of Mysore. As long as the strong hand of the King controlled the affairs of the State, the Daḷavoy was only a secondary figure in the politics of the Kingdom. With a few exceptions, his services to the cause of the country were laudable.... The *Bhāshāpatra* (Deed of Promise) and the *Nambuge Nirūpa* (Order of Assurance), the two important political documents executed in 1758 A.D. by Krishnarāja Woḍeyar II in favour of Kaḷale Nanjarājaiya, prove clearly the evil of excessive devolution of power on the Commander-in-chief, advantage of which was taken by Haidar Ali in 1761.

Chikkadēvarāja's son, Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar II, succeeded him and ruled for ten years, and in 1714 A.D., was succeeded by his son Doḍḍa Krishnarāja Woḍeyar. In 1724 the Nizam, the Nawabs of Arcot, Sira, and Cuddapah, and of Kurnool and Savanoor, Lingappa of Ikkēri, and Ghōrpaḍe of Gooty made a combined attack on Mysore, and had to be bought over. Next year Peshwa Bāji Rao I invaded, but met with a stout defence, and was forced to retreat, exclaiming, "It is not Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa, but Phirangipaṭṭaṇa" (the town of cannon).

Then the Mysore army in turn invaded Sāvanadurg and Māgaḍi, and went as far as Salem and Ratnagiri, and brought a lot of booty. Doḍḍa Krishnarāja Woḍeyar died in 1732 while only 30 years old. A notable medical work of his time is *Sakalavaidya-samhita-sarārṇava*.

As the King left no issue, his wife adopted a kinsman, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Ankanahaḷḷi. Conflict arose between the Prince and Daḷavoy Devarājiah, and in June 1734 the Daḷavoy made the King captive, and imprisoned him and his wife at Kabbaladurga.

The Dowager Queen Devājammaṇṇi then adopted a boy and installed him as Immaḍi Krishnarāja Woḍeyar. The Mahārāja was yet a boy, and all power was in the hands of Daḷavoy Dēvarājiah and his brother, Sarvādhlkāri Nanjarājiah. It was a bad time in India. The Moghul Empire was crumbling, and the Nizam, the Peshwas and the Deccan Nawabs were all war-minded. No State was secure, and the common people suffered greatly.

In 1746, the Mysore army invested Dēvanahaḷḷi which was held by a Pāḷayagar. The siege lasted 9 months, and succeeded at last on account of the talents

of a young soldier, Haidar Ali, who was destined to play a great part in Mysore affairs.

The French under Dupleix and the English under Clive now entered the South Indian scene, taking sides, and measuring their strength against each other. In Srirangapaṭṭaṇa, the Mahārāja was only a nominal ruler, and Dēvarājiah and Nanjarājiah were all-powerful. In 1756 there was a plot to remove them; but it was discovered and Nanjarājiah stormed the Palace and in the presence of the Mahārāja, cut off the ears and noses of the partisans. There was a mutiny in the army, and Nanjarājiah entrusted Haidar Ali with the task of quelling it. He succeeded in doing so, and when the Marathas invaded the State in 1757 he repulsed them. He came to report of his success to the Maharaja, when he was honoured in the open Darbar and hailed as 'Fatteh Haidar Bahadur'. That marked the end of Nanjarājiah's power, and of Haidar Ali's rise.

In 1760 A.D., the English at Madras addressed the Mysore Ruler for alliance against the French. But the French won over Haidar Ali to their side, and the Palace was powerless to counter it.

Thus began the conflict between the British and Nawab Haidar Ali which lasted nearly forty years, with shifting fortunes, to the end of the century.

The careers of Haidar and Tipu are dealt with in the next section. We shall here deal with the further fortunes of the Woḍeyar family.

In 1759, the Dowager Mahārāṇi arranged for the marriage of the Mahārāja. She chose as bride Kaṭṭi Gōpalarāja Urs' daughter, Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi, who later proved the saviour of the Yādava Dynasty. Soon after this the Dowager Dēvājammaṇṇi died, and the Mahārāja Krishnarāja Woḍeyar II also passed away, leaving Mahārāṇi Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi widowed at the age of 24. Krishnarāja Woḍeyar had left two sons, and Nawab Haidar Ali, overlooking seniority, got the younger installed on the throne. He was four years old, and died in his eighth year, in 1770 A.D.

Then Mahārāṇi Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi through Pradhan Tirumaliengar moved Haidar Ali to instal the superseded elder heir, Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. He too was short-lived, and the throne again became vacant in 1776 A.D. Nawab Haidar Ali selected a boy from one of the collateral families, and ordered his adoption and installation, and denied even the guardianship to Mahārāṇi Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi.

It marked the utter powerlessness of the Royal family, and the dictatorship of Haidar Ali. But Mahārāṇi Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi was not the person to acquiesce quietly and succumb. She took secret counsel with loyal supporters, and sent agents to the Marathas for aid against Haidar Ali. They did not succeed

in their mission. Then she sent emissaries to Lord Piggott, the Governor of Madras. His successor, Lord Macartney, in 1782 A.D., made a treaty with Mahārāṇi Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi underaking the suppression of Haidar Ali and the restoration of the supremacy of the ruling dynasty.

Ten days after the conclusion of the treaty, Haidar Ali died and his son Tipu Sultan stepped into his place. He came to suspect the contact of the Palace with the British, and wreaked vengeance on the Mahārāṇi's participants. The invasion by the British was half-hearted and unco-ordinated, and Macartney concluded peace with Tipu.

Consequent on Maharani Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi's persistent urgings, General Meadows of Madras made careful preparations, and marched against Mysore. Governor-General Lord Cornwallis himself came down to supervise the operations.

The invasion was a thorough success, but on Tipu begging for peace with humiliating terms, the British were satisfied and retired. This disappointed Mahārāṇi Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi and also General Meadows. He tried to shoot himself, but survived. Then he left for England promising to work there for the cause of Mysore.

In 1796 Chāmarāja Wodeyar died, leaving a two-year old son who became later known as Mummaḍi Krishnarāja Wodeyar.

The subsequent history of the Wodeyar family belongs to the modern period and will be dealt with in the next chapter.

HAIDAR ALI

We have seen in the account of the Wodeyars of Mysore in the previous chapter how Haidar became virtual ruler of Mysore in 1761. He desired to consolidate the Kingdom and for this purpose went about liquidating the Pālayagars who ruled over small regions and who aspired to sovereign authority. Though unlettered, Haidar had great talents both as a warrior and as statesman. He saw the struggle for power between the foreign nations, the English and the French, who had settled down on the eastern coast of the South Indian Peninsula. Haidar did not wish these foreigners to establish themselves as a political power in the

country. Under him Mysore became the most powerful and extensive kingdom in all South India.

Haidar and Tipu were two of the most colourful and heroic personalities in South Indian history in the latter half of the 18th century, and deserve separate treatment.

Haidar Ali stands out in the history of Karnataka as a man of action who rose from humble circumstances to a position of eminence by dint of his ability and military talents.

Details about his ancestry are obscure. His father Fateh Muhammad was a soldier of fortune serving one chieftain after another and rose to prominence as a commander of 400 foot and 100 horse in the service of Dargah Quli Khan of Sira. After the death of the Nawab he attached himself to his son Abdul Rasul Khan who held the Jāgir of Doḍḍaballāpur.

Fateh Muhammad had two sons by his younger wife, Shahbaz and Haidar. Haidar, the younger son, was born at Būdikōṭa, near Kolar in 1721 A.D. His early years were full of trial and tribulation. While he was only seven years old, he lost his father who was killed in a battle between Tahir Khan, the Subedar of Sira, and Abdul Rasul Khan. As Fateh Muhammad had left some debts, his family, which was at Doḍḍaballāpur, was badly ill-treated by Abbas Quli Khan, son of Abdul Rasul Khan, who beat and imprisoned Haidar and his brother and plundered their belongings to recover the debt. Alarmed at this treatment, Haidar's mother sent information to Haidar Saheb, a nephew of her husband, who was an officer in the service of the Mysore Army. Haidar Saheb appealed to Dālavoy Dēvarāj, borrowed the necessary amount for the payment of debts and secured their release. Haidar Saheb then brought up the two brothers, Shahbaz and Haidar like his own children and taught them the use of arms and horsemanship. On the death of Haidar Saheb, Shahbaz succeeded to his command and Haidar attached himself to his brother as an obscure soldier. His early misfortunes deprived him of the advantages of education and he remained wholly illiterate till the end of his life.

In 1749 A. D. the Mysore army laid siege to Dēvanahallī, a frontier outpost of Mysore. Haidar then accompanied his brother as a volunteer horseman. It was at this siege that his talents as a soldier were first revealed. The great daring displayed by this young soldier attracted the notice of Dālavoy Nanjarāja, who soon gave him the command of 50 horse and 200 foot. This started Haidar's meteoric career, which eventually ended with his becoming the *de facto* ruler of a great part of South India.

He accompanied the Mysore army under Berki Venkatarao despatched by Nanjarāja in 1760 A. D. to help Nasir Jung in his struggle against Muzaffar Jung. In the war that followed, Nasir Jung was treacherously murdered by the Nawab

of Cuddapah. During the confusion that followed his murder, Haidar with the help of his Beḍar (hunter) followers captured a large part of Nasir Jung's treasure (two camels laden with gold coins) and returned to Srirangapaṭṭaṇa. He had also gathered 500 muskets and 350 horses from the battle-field. Before his return to the Capital, he visited Pondichery and admired the discipline of the French troops. So far, the British had not done much to impress him. On his return to the Capital, with the treasure he had obtained, he increased the strength of his troops, and organized and drilled them with the help of French deserters.

In 1751 A. D. Haidar accompanied Nanjarāja on his Tiruchirapalli campaign. Though it ended in disaster and humiliation for Nanjaraja, Tiruchirapalli proved to be Haidar's nursery and training ground. It provided him with a first-hand knowledge of the European mode of warfare. He could see for himself the brilliance and daring of Clive and the ability and spirit of Lawrence. The courage and perseverance which Haidar showed in the campaign won the admiration of his master and paved the way for his further advancement. When he returned to Mysore from Tiruchirapalli, Nanjarāja appointed him in 1755 as the Faujdar, or the Military Governor, of Dindigul to put down the refractory Pāḷayagars and restore peace in that part of the Kingdom. Haidar was equal to the task. At Dindigul he increased his army and accumulated wealth.

Meanwhile, conditions in the Capital were deteriorating. The relations between the Daḷavoy and the reigning Rāja were strained. There were also serious differences between the Daḷavoy brothers relating to matters of State policy. The wasteful Tiruchirapalli campaign and the repeated incursions of the Nizam and the Marathas, who were brought off by large sums of money, had drained the resources of the State and brought it to the verge of bankruptcy. The pay of the troops, in consequence, was in arrears and they were in a state of constant mutiny.

Hearing about the state of affairs in the Capital, Haidar proceeded there from Dindigul, for he was regarded as the only man capable of facing the situation and restoring normal conditions. He soon pacified the army by discharging the arrears of pay and warded off the invasion of the Marathas who threatened the Capital in 1758. He forced Nanjārāja into political retirement and this meant virtually the end of the Daḷavoy regime. Finally, he overcame, by his resourcefulness, strong determination and courage, a conspiracy by his own Dewan, Khandē Rao. In alliance with the courtiers and the Rāja, Khandē Rao had made an attempt to overthrow Haidar, being apprehensive of his rapid rise to prominence and power. After defeating his rivals, Haidar grasped the supreme reins of Government and made himself master of the State in 1761.

The usurpation was complete. It was a *coup d'état* largely justified by the political crisis brought about by the weaknesses of the secluded Rāja and the vicious incapacity of the hereditary Minister. Nothing but the vigour of Haidar's

rule could have saved Mysore at that time from her international and external crises and preserved her independence and integrity.

Haidar respected the Rāja as a pageant. He allowed the annual Dasara festival to continue, and himself participated in it. He never assumed openly any marks or attributes of legal sovereignty and there is not the least evidence to show that he ever aspired to the throne. 'He thought it polite to call himself the Rāja's Prime Minister and General'. The inscriptions of the period generally refer to him as the 'Kāryakarta of the Kingdom', i.e., Regent. (*Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1924, pp. 56-58, Ins. No. 61, dated 5th Nov. 1764). This was in sharp contrast to the attitude of his son, Tipu who called Mysore 'Khudādād Sircar' (Kingdom given by God), proclaimed himself Pādshah, and himself sat on the throne.

It was a critical time in the history of India, when Haidar came to power in Mysore. Politically it was the time when the Mughals were on the decline, the Marathas were rising into prominence, and European powers just transforming themselves from trading companies into political powers with territorial authorities. The Nizam who had established himself in the Deccan regarded himself as the successor to Mughal sovereignty in the south, and frequently invaded the territories to the south and demanded tribute. He was a self-seeking, and an undependable ruler who often changed his loyalties. The Marathas after the fateful battle of Pāṇipat of 1761 directed their energies to the south and were trying to expand at the expense of the Nizam and other kingdoms and were a constant menace to them. Lastly, there were the French and the English who tried to exploit the prevailing political disunity and rivalries among Indian powers to their own political advantage. They were unpredictable factors and, ultimately, the real danger to the independence of the country came from the British.

After establishing himself securely in power, Haidar embarked upon an extensive career of conquests. Although he suffered some reverses because of the three Maratha invasions of Mysore (1764-72 A.D.), he had succeeded by 1778 in extending the boundary of Mysore in all directions. As a result, Mysore emerged as a major power in South India. His most formidable adversaries were the British, the E.I. Company's Government at Madras. In spite of boundary disputes, the 'Trichinopoly fraud' and other provocations, Haidar sincerely desired for peace, friendship and good neighbourly relations with them. But the intrigues of Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, and often the wrong, short-sighted and the vacillating policy of the Madras Government made peace impossible. When the first Anglo-Mysore War broke out (1767-69), the Nizam and the Marathas joined the British. But Haidar skilfully broke up the alliance and isolated the British.

The war ended with the English as the supplicants for peace. Haidar dictated the terms of peace at the very gates of Madras. But, strange to say, it was a

moderate peace and one of the terms of peace was that the English should go to the assistance of Haidar Ali in the event of an invasion of his territory by the Marathas. When the Marathas actually invaded Mysore in November 1769 and when Haidar implored for their help, the English failed to keep their promise. This convinced Haidar that the English were not to be trusted. He told the English envoy, Mr. Gray, who came to plead for friendship on the eve of the crisis of 1769, that he would never make friendship with persons who were void of shame and truth. (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 443.)

What was the attitude of Haidar towards European powers in India in general? Haidar was naturally hostile to the political aspirations of these astute foreign traders. To him the European nations in India were factors of merchants and, as such, they should mind their business and wish well the Government that protects them (Forrest, *Bombay Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 157). He did not wish the English or the French or any other foreign nation should retain any kind of inland footing in the country. (*Memoirs of Tipu Sultan with a preliminary sketch of the Life of Hydar Ali Cawn*, by an officer in East India Service, Pp. 27-8.)

Haidar's relations with the English reached a critical stage in 1780 owing to the accumulated offences of the latter against Haidar. He joined a confederacy of Indian powers organized in 1780 to bring about the extirpation of the British power in India. Who exactly inspired and originated this confederacy, which made the Indian powers forget for a time their differences and unite for a common cause, is a matter on which the available historical material does not throw full light. G. S. Sardesai feels that Nana Fadnavis was the mainspring of the grand Alliance. (G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, Pp. 94-5). According to Prof. N. K. Sinha, it was on Haidar's initiative that Nana formed the confederacy. (N. K. Sinha, *Haidar Ali*, Pp. 178-80). The Nizam himself claimed that he was the author. (*Calendar of the Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 64. Also see p. 214). It has also been suggested that Sindhia was its sole author who took a keen interest in the matter after Raghunatha Rao's escape in June 1779. (Dr. B. Sheik Ali, *English Relations with Haidar Ali*, p. 456). Probably, the confederacy originated with Nana and was joined by the Nizam, Sindhia, Mādhaji Bhonsle and Haidar, who had all their grievances against the English. The confederates drew up a plan of warfare according to which they were to attack simultaneously British possessions everywhere and bring about the expulsion of the English from India. It was agreed that the Poona Government was to attack Bombay and its dependencies, their chiefs Sindhia and Bhonsle to invade Bengal, the Nizam to undertake the subjugation of the Northern Circars and Haidar Ali to direct all his forces towards Madras and the South. According to the plan of warfare, Haidar swept down the Carnatic like an 'impetuous torrent' and reduced the English affairs in the South to a critical position, while the other members of the confederacy rarely acted according to the plan. The confederacy was ultimately a failure owing to the duplicity of the

Indian allies and the skilful and masterly diplomacy of Warren Hastings. Haidar till the end continued the war against the English and spurned the terms of the Treaty of Salbhai. As opposed to this, Col. Mark Wilks attributes to Haidar the following statement which Purniah seems to have narrated to him many years after the fall of Tipu: 'I have committed a great error. I shall pay dearly for my arrogance. The defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land but I cannot dry up the sea and I must be weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting'. (Col. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South*, Vol. II, pp. 373-4). It pictures Haidar as a defeatist and he is supposed to have regretted having gone to war against the English. This is incredible and it seems to be a later invention meant to glorify British arms and British diplomacy. Haidar was stubborn in his opposition to the English and his spirit of hostility against them was inherited by his son Tipu.

Haidar died in the midst of war on December 7, 1782 at Narasingarayana-pet, near Chittoor, at the age 60. The body was first buried at Kolar in the tomb of Fateh Muhammad. It was afterwards removed to Srirangapaṭṭana and was buried in the grand mausoleum built by Tipu.

Haidar Ali occupies a unique place in the annals of Mysore. He found his country threatened by crises owing to internal lawlessness and recurrent invasions of the neighbouring powers. But when he died, Mysore had no invading armies to fear, her independence and integrity had been preserved, her frontiers had been extended, her territories had been consolidated and she had been elevated to the position of one of the most formidable powers in India. The Kingdom of Mysore then extended as far as the river Tungabhadra and the Krishna, and included Malabar, Coorg, Canara, Honavar and Mangalore, and, in the south, territories below the ghats. The Kingdom yielded a revenue of one crore and ten lakhs of varahas as contrasted with forty lakhs during the rule of his predecessors.

Haidar was a great soldier, conqueror, administrator and statesman. No doubt, he rarely won any decisive battle against the English or the Marathas. He generally avoided pitched battles and adopted the tactics of 'worrying and weakening' the enemy. He was known for his great courage and intrepidity as a soldier and for his strategy as a leader of armies. He maintained a powerful standing army comprising of infantry, cavalry and artillery organized and drilled on the European model. He realized the importance of a navy, and laid the foundation of a naval power to guard the shores. As an able administrator he provided the Kingdom with a strong and settled government and promoted the well-being of the people. Mysore administration under Haidar had, according to western observers, a vigour hitherto unexampled in India. In reorganizing administration he respected established practices and local customs. He was averse to making great innovations in public administration. He was indifferent to the

HAIDAR ALI

niceties of religion and generally followed a remarkably tolerant religious policy. The author of *Haidar Nama* justly calls him 'Daiva Brahmadvēsha rahita' one who was devoid of prejudice and hatred towards Gods and the Brahmins. (*Haidar Nama*, Mss. p. 187). He divorced religion from politics and secularized the State. He had also his vices and faults. He was occasionally cruel, unscrupulous, drunken and debauched.

Despite his faults and limitations, Haidar Ali left a deep impression on the history of Mysore and of India in the eighteenth century, as a warrior and a statesman.

TIPU SULTAN

Tipu Sultan, was born at Dēvanahaḷḷi on Friday, 20th November, 1753. Though himself illiterate, Haidar provided Tipu with suitable education, and, in addition, taught him horsemanship and the use of arms. From the age of fifteen, Tipu began to accompany his father in military campaigns, and distinguished himself in the first Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69) and the Maratha-Mysore War (1769-72). When the second Anglo-Mysore War started in July 1780, Tipu helped Haidar in bringing about the rout of Baillie. He then captured Arcot, Satghur, Ambur and Tiagar; and although he failed to seize Wandiwash, he inflicted a crushing defeat on Braithwaite in Tanjore on 18 February, 1782. After this he was ordered to proceed to Malabar, which had been invaded by the English. But while he was operating there, he heard the news of his father's death on 7 December, 1782. He, therefore, at once marched to Chuckmaloor, situated on the Pennar, where the main army lay encamped.

After a month of joining the army, Tipu heard of the advance of General Stuart. He at once set out and defeated him near Wandiwash. He, however, could not follow up his victory, because he had to proceed to the west coast where the English had occupied the province of Bednur, including the important port of Mangalore. Tipu recovered, one by one, a number of places, and besieged Mangalore. Meanwhile, negotiations had started, and a treaty of peace was signed at Mangalore on 11th March, 1784, by which Tipu and the English restored each other's territories which they had conquered in the course of the war.

Taking advantage of the conflict with the English, a number of chiefs had declared themselves independent of Mysore. Tipu, therefore, decided to

chastise them. He first attacked the Rāja of Balam (near Manjarabad) and defeated him. He then invaded Coorg, and suppressed the rebels. He next sent an army against the Desai of Nargund, who, confident of Maratha support, had not paid tribute for a number of years. But in doing this Tipu brought himself in conflict with the Marathas.

Nana Fadnavis had recognized the conquests of the Maratha territory lying south of the Krishna made by Haidar during the years 1774-78. Nevertheless, after the Treaty of Salbai, he had demanded the restoration of these lands from Haidar, but had met with a refusal. Tipu also, when pressed with the demand, gave the same reply. Nana, therefore, decided to overthrow Tipu, and for this purpose sought the alliance of the Nizam. The latter was easily won over, for he was jealous and afraid of Tipu's power. Moreover, Haidar had occupied Cuddapah, Kurnool and other places belonging to him and he was anxious to recover them. Nana and the Nizam, accordingly, met at Yadgir in December 1785, and decided to destroy Tipu's power. Tipu's attack on Nargund furnished Nana with a *casus belli*.

The allied troops began operations on 1st May, 1786, and occupied Badami and other frontier forts. As soon as Tipu heard of the invasion, he at once set out with a large army. He first attacked Adoni and occupied it. He then crossed the Tungabhadra, and conducted a successful campaign against the allied forces for about nine months. However, by the treaty of peace which he concluded in April 1787, he agreed to surrender Nargund, Kittur and Badami, the very places for the defence of which he had drawn the sword. The reason why he made this sacrifice was because he wanted to win over the Nizam and the Marathas against Cornwallis who had started intrigues against him.

The English had never reconciled themselves to the Treaty of Mangalore, which they regarded as a 'humiliating peace'. Moreover, of all the Indian States, the Kingdom of Mysore was the strongest, the best governed and the most prosperous, and was, therefore, in the way of English schemes of expansion. When, therefore, Cornwallis became Governor-General, he decided to reduce Tipu's power. Tipu's attack on the Rāja of Travancore, who was an ally of the English Company, having furnished Cornwallis with a pretext of war, he set about organizing a confederacy. He succeeded in driving home to the Marathas and the Nizam that Tipu was their most dangerous enemy and, therefore, they must defeat him and recover the territories which Haidar had seized from them. Tipu through his agents tried to counteract the intrigues of the English at Hyderabad and Poona, but without success. His emissaries were outwitted by the English agents.

So long as the English fought alone, Tipu defeated them, and even invaded the Carnatic. But after they were joined by the Nizam and the Marathas, he began to lose ground. He was, in the end, besieged in his Capital

of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa and compelled to sign a humiliating peace. By this he had to cede half of his Kingdom and pay an indemnity of thirty-three million rupees (22 March, 1792).

Although the Treaty of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa sapped the economic and military resources of Tipu, he succeeded, within a few years, in making his Kingdom strong and prosperous. Wellesley, who came to India as Governor-General, pledged to a policy of aggrandizement, could not tolerate the existence of any powerful State, and so made up his mind to overthrow Tipu. On the pretext that Tipu had despatched an embassy to Mauritius to obtain troops, and had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French authorities in the island directed against the English, Wellesley declared war against him, and refused any compromise short of his submission to a subsidiary alliance. Since Tipu was not prepared to become a vassal of the Company, Wellesley instructed his Commander-in-Chief, General Harris, to invade Mysore. Tipu was defeated at Siddēśvara and Maḷavaḷḷi, and then Srirangapaṭṭaṇa was besieged. He defended his capital bravely and died fighting (4 May, 1799).

A careful study of Tipu Sultan's career will show that he was neither a religious bigot nor a cruel tyrant as represented by many English writers. Instead, he was an enlightened ruler who treated his non-Muslim subjects generously. He appointed them to positions of authority, gave them complete freedom of worship, conferred grants on temples and Brahmins, gave money for the consecration of images, presented the temples with gold and silver articles, and once even ordered the construction of a temple. That he treated his non-Muslim subjects of Malabar harshly cannot be denied, but this was not due to their religion but because of their refractory conduct. He treated his Muslim subjects with equal harshness when they were guilty of similar crimes.

Tipu was a man of simple habits, eating simple food and leading a strictly model life. Of dignified appearance, he impressed all those who came in contact with him. He was interested in science and learning and patronized music and dancing. He was a good administrator, possessing imagination, initiative and capacity for hard work and succeeded in making Mysore the most prosperous of the Indian States. He built a chain of fine roads throughout the Kingdom, and constructed tanks and dams for irrigation. He fashioned a fine army on the European model, and applied European methods to his administration. Also inspired by the European example, he introduced new industries in Mysore, promoted trade and commerce, established factories at Cutch, Masqat and Jeddah, and sent commercial missions to the rulers of Oman, Persia and Turkey. Tipu was fearless in danger and a skilful General, but he was a poor diplomat, and was always outwitted by his enemies. Though just, he was harsh and thereby alienated some of his officers who were easily won over by the English. Rash and impetuous, he failed to comprehend

the forces that were arrayed against him ; and being of an independent, proud, and obstinate nature, he refused to come to terms with them. The result was his downfall.

SIDE LIGHTS ON TIPU'S CHARACTER AND POLICY :

Tipu means 'tiger'. The tiger was adopted by Tipu as an emblem. His throne was shaped like a tiger, carrying the head of a life-size tiger in gold. Tiger heads formed the capital of the eight pillars supporting the canopy. His own uniform and that of his soldiers was covered with tiger stripes, and this was also engraved on his guns and other articles. He is declared to have said that he would rather live two days as a tiger than two centuries as a sheep.

In his determination to drive the British out of India, he tried to secure French aid, and appealed to Turkey, Kabul, the Peshwa, the Nizam and the Mughal Emperor.

From sunrise till midnight he devoted his time to public affairs. He wrote with his own hand the rough draft of every despatch.

We can form some idea of Tipu's day-to-day administration from his letters to his subordinate officers.

In his letter to Mohiyuddin Ali Khan, dated 31 August 1785, Tipu advised him to attend office regularly :

"It has been reported to us that you sit constantly at home without ever appearing at the Catcherry. This is not well ; you must pass a proper portion of your time daily in the Catcherry and then diligently apply yourself to the affairs of the Sircar, without suffering any one to come to you at your own house on public business." Tipu instructed Monsieur Rally on 11th December 1788 :

"You must allow no more than a single shop to be opened in your camp for the vending of spirituous liquors and over that you must place a guard for the purpose of preventing the sale of spirits to any but the Europeans belonging to you, it being a rule in our victorious army that no shop of this kind shall be permitted to be established."

To Monsieur Cossigny, Tipu wrote on 29th December 1786:

"There is a book which comes from Europe and which treats of the thermometerget this book translated into Persian and send it to the Presence."

On the 2nd of February 1787, Tipu ordered the Foujdar of Calicut to boycott the English merchants :

TIPU SULTAN

“You must give the utmost strict orders to all the merchants and other inhabitants of that place neither to buy any goods of the English factor who is come thither, nor sell grain, nor any other articles whatsoever to him. How long in this case will the above named remain? He will in the end despair of making either sales or purchases and depart from thence.”

We can understand the foreign policy of Tipu by studying the mandate of Haidar Ali: “My son, I leave you an Empire which I have not received from my ancestors. A sceptre acquired by violence is always fragile.....you have nothing to fear as regards the internal affairs of your State; but it is necessary to carry your vision very far. India, since the death of Aurangzeb, has lost her rank among the Empires of Asia. This fair land is parcelled out into provinces which make war one against the other; the people, divided into a multitude of sects, have lost their love of their country. The Hindus softened by their pacific maxims, are little able to defend their country, which has become a prey of strangers. The Mussalmans are more united and more enterprising than the feeble Hindus. It is to them should belong the glory of saving Hindustan. My son, combine all your efforts to make the Koran triumph. The greatest obstacle you have to conquer is the jealousy of the Europeans. The English are to-day all powerful in India. It is necessary to weaken them by war. The resources of Hindustan do not suffice to expel them from the lands they have invaded; put the nations of Europe one against another. It is by the aid of the French that you could conquer British armies, which are better trained than the Indians’. The Europeans have surer tactics; always use against them their own weapons Remember above all that valour can elevate us to a throne but it sufficeth not to preserve an Empire. While we may seize a crown owing to the timidity of the people, it can escape us if we do not make haste to entrust it to their love.”

This is, indeed, a memorable letter.

These instructions and the maxims of his father became the guiding principles of Tipu’s policy. He became a champion of Islam and the greatest enemy of the British. He tried to enlist the support of the home government of France by sending an embassy to the Court of Louis XVI at Versailles. He sought for military help, and wished to bring technicians in various arts and crafts, ship-builders, glass and mirror makers, engineers and others, so that arts and crafts in Mysore might be developed. He concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with France against the British.

He sheltered a large number of Frenchmen who were driven out of Pondicherry. The agents of the French revolutionaries were entertained in his Court and they publicly preached the French revolutionary doctrines in Mysore. A Jacobin Club was established in Srirangapatana and the French tri-colour flag was hoisted. In 1798, Tipu sent another embassy to the Isle of France (Mauritius).

Though it brought no results, this embassy provided the pretext for the fourth Mysore War.

Tipu's conduct towards the English became severe, because General Matthews and Col. Campbell were mainly responsible for the defection of Shaik Ayaz, the Governor of Bednur, with a large treasure.

The stories regarding Tipu's ill-treatment of English prisoners of war have no authentic foundation. The earliest reference to the treatment of prisoners by Tipu is by Francis Robson (1786), an English Captain.

"Tipu Sahib ordered all the prisoners brought to him (Col. Braithwaite and others), when, after examining them, they were sent into the village, accompanied by one of his French surgeons to dress those who were wounded.....Tipu sent them fine calico cloth to make them clothes coarser cloth for bandage and 30 pagodas." Captain Baird was kept in a prison house and not in a dungeon.

We have the testimony of Lt. Roderick Mackenzie, who wrote in 1794, regarding Tipu's treatment of the Hindus : "However bigoted to the tenets of the Koran, the vast number of Hindu temples recently decorated throughout his dominions authorize an assertion that his enthusiasm gave way to his ambition, and that his zeal to propagate the Mussalman faith, did not occasion so many instances of barbarity, as his rage for conquest, and an innate cruel and revengeful disposition. Although parsimonious in a high degree, numbers of his confidential Hindu servants, who during the war fell into our hands, acknowledged him a lenient and indulgent master."

The letters of Tipu addressed to the Svāmis of Śringēri (*M. A. R.*, 1916) bring out his attitude towards the Hindus. They are addressed in the most respectful language. Tipu gives expression to the high regard in which he held His Holiness and entreats him to pray for the welfare of himself and his Kingdom and send him blessings. ".....People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age, in accordance with the verse, 'People do wicked deeds laughing: they will enjoy the fruits of the same weeping.' Treachery to gurus will undoubtedly result in the destruction of the line of descent. An order is enclosed to the Asaf of Nagar directing him to give on behalf of the Government 200 'rahati' in cash and 200 'rahati' worth of grain for the consecration of Goddess Śārada.....Please pray for our prosperity and the destruction of our enemies. "

In 1793 Tipu wrote : "You are the Jagat Guru. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and that the people may be happy. Please pray to God for the increase of our prosperity.

In whatever country holy personages like yourself may reside, that country will flourish with good showers and crops.....”

Further he presented silver vessels to the temples at Kāṭale, Mēlkōṭe and Srirangapaṭṭana (*M.A.R.*, 1917) and Nanjangud.

KARNATAKA AND THE MARATHAS

The political history of Karnataka during the 17th and 18th centuries has a great deal to do with the Marathas on the one hand, and the British on the other. We have already had incidental references to Maratha invasions and raids in dealing with the history of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, Haidar and Tipu. It would be instructive, however, to get a connected picture of the Maratha expansion into Karnataka and this will be dealt with in this section.

Karnataka's relations with the Marathas from the 17th to the 19th centuries underwent two main changes—the first one of passive acquiescence, from 1637 to 1758, and the second one of active resistance, from 1758 to 1792. The underlying force operating in both cases was the same, that of regional integration leading to the formation of a politico-cultural unit. This was neither a deliberate nor a conscious movement but a natural historical process.

During the first phase, integration took place under the shadow of ‘alien’ Maratha authority and there was little or no resistance against the ‘alien’ elements. The ‘city states’ of Bangalore, Hosakōṭe, Kōlar, Doḍḍaballaṭṭapur and Sira, which, like many others, had come into existence in the era of local independence and regional anarchy following the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1565, were first united during the years 1637-1644 under Shāhji, who held a fief under the Bijapur Sultan. After the fall of Bijapur in 1688, they came under Mughal sway as parts of the Mughal Subah of Sira, or of the dependency of Mysore. The Mārathas first appeared in Karnataka when the Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa Sultans tried to compensate themselves for the loss of territories in the north as a result of the Moghul attacks. Shāhji, the father of Sivāji, was sent under the command of Ranadulla Khan, by the fanatic Muhammad Adil Shah to

enhance the glory of Islam. Shāhji took part in the two expeditions of 1637 and 1640. In the first expedition (1637) the Kingdom of Bednur was sacked.

Shāhji took Bangalore in 1639 from Kempegowḍa and made it his headquarters. He was appointed as Governor with a Court. He defeated Kantheerava Narasarāja of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa.

Shāhji assumed royal splendour and held court in Kolar and Baḷḷāpur. He transplanted many Maratha families from Maharashtra for military and administrative work. He introduced the Marathi language and the Maratha system of revenue and accounts. He planted a miniature Maharashtra in Karnataka. The people of the southern lands looked upon Shāhji's rule as a providential continuation of the old Vijayanagar tradition carried on in its essential spirit by a Hindu leader. Sivāji stayed in Bangalore for some time in 1640. Shāhji died at Chennagiri in the Shimoga District, where his tomb still exists. Shāji swooped down on Karnataka and the south and tried to restore Hindu rule, reviving in a way the Vijayanagar tradition, where Sriranga VI, the titular Emperor, had failed to achieve because of the intransigence of Nāyakas of Madura.

In 1719, the Marathas obtained from the Mughal Emperor the right of collecting *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over the Mughal Subahs and dependencies in the south, and started the series of *Mulkgiri* expeditions to enforce this right. These expeditions continued right up to the end of the century. Peshwa Bāji Rao led two expeditions (1725 and 1727) and Bālāji Rao four expeditions (1753-1757) against Karnataka and Mysore and collected *Khandāni* without meeting much resistance.

After 1758 commenced the period of active resistance. Gōpala Rao Paṭwardhan, who invaded that year, was harassed and forced during the next year to raise his siege of Bangalore and to vacate the territory occupied by him against payment of a relatively small sum. Haidar Ali, who organized this resistance, achieved prominence for the first time and soon began preparing for his usurpation three years later. Strangely, it was another Maratha invasion this time (1760-61) under Visaji Krishna Binivale, which provided him the opportunity. Visaji Krishna entered into a secret agreement with Khandē Rao and the Rāja of Mysore and got Haidar locked up in the fort of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa. But Haidar escaped to Ānēkal and from there to Bangalore, where the Marathas failed in their attempt to dislodge him and eventually returned on payment of a paltry sum of three lakhs of rupees.

Shortly thereafter, Haidar assumed full powers in the State and started his offensive against the Marathas. Between 1761 and 1763 he conquered almost the entire Karnataka region which was either held by the Marathas or was dependent on them. This new territory, which was larger than his original dominion, comprised Sira, Doḍḍabaḷḷāpur, Chikkabaḷḷāpur, Hosakōṭe, part of Gooty, Bednur,

Bankāpur and the whole of northern Karnataka, including Dharwar, Hubli and Sonda. The chiefs of Chitradurga, Raidurga and Harpanahalli agreed to pay him homage.

This necessitated another Maratha invasion, this time under the personal command of Peshwa Mādhava Rao in 1764. The Peshwa's forces overran northern Karnataka and engaged Haidar at Raṭṭehalli and, later, at Ānavatti. Peace was made in March 1765 on Haidar agreeing to restore northern Karnataka and to pay the arrears of *Khandani* to the Marathas. Two years later the Peshwa repeated his invasion and regained the territories of Sira, Doḍḍballāpur and Hosakōṭe. In 1769, he led his third invasion, but retired the next year leaving Triambak Hari to continue the fight. Triambak Hari defeated Haidar at the battle of Chinkuraḷi (Mōti Talao) and invested Srīrangapaṭṭana which, however, he failed to capture. In May 1771, he withdrew on receipt of the usual *Khandani*.

It was the determination of Peshwa Mādhava Rao to end the usurpation of Haidar Ali in Mysore. He undertook a systematic campaign of occupation and garrisoning Mysore territories. He liberated the Rāṇi of Bednur and his son, and took them under his protection at Poona. In his second campaign of 1770 the Peshwa had almost succeeded in his objective. Unfortunately, a fatal malady compelled the Peshwa to return to Poona. That he could not finally destroy Haidar Ali's over-grown power was the only regret that preyed on the dying Peshwa's mind at the end of his short and eventful career.

After the death of Mādhava Rao in 1772, Haidar wrested the initiative and entered into a secret treaty with Raghunatha Rao at Kalyāṇḍurg whereby the entire Karnataka territory south of the Krishna was transferred to him in return for support to Raghunatha Rao against the ministerialist party at Poona. Haidar soon occupied the territory thus transferred, and signally defeated a Maratha force under Panduranga Rao in January 1777. A stronger force led by Paraśurām Bhāu and Haripant Phāḍke and aided by the Nizam's troops in 1777-78 was rendered ineffective through defections within the Maratha army and recalled to Poona by intrigues at home.

Haidar's position by this time was so strong and the position of the Marathas so precarious that in February 1780 they were forced to acquiesce in the loss of their Karnataka possessions and to enter into a treaty together with the Nizam and Mādhōji Bhonsle of Nagpur for an offensive alliance against the English. The diplomacy of the English, however, succeeded in breaking this grand alliance in May 1782, when the treaty of Salbhai was concluded with the Marathas. In July 1790, the Marathas along with the Nizam combined with the English in invading Mysore and succeeded in recovering, at the end of the war in 1792, the entire territory north of the Tungabhadra.

After 1792, although Mysore troops took part in the Maratha wars of 1803 and 1817-18 on the side of the English, direct political relations between Mysore and the Marathas had practically come to an end. The territorial position remained as settled in 1792, and Karnataka remained divided for the next century and a half, one half of it in association with Maharashtra proper. But the idea that Karnataka formed one unit remained in the minds of men to be achieved in course of time.

RELIGION AND CULTURE

The latter half of the 18th century was an era of great political instability amounting to anarchy in several parts of India, including the south. The Moghul Empire was breaking up; the Maratha chieftains were indulging in internecine struggles. Ambitious adventurers were attempting to set up their rule over local areas and, in most cases, proved a menace to the peaceful life that had existed for centuries in the countryside, enjoying the protection afforded by the benevolent Emperors that ruled in the past. People now lived in perpetual fear of depredations and raids and the unwelcome attentions of moving bands of troopers infesting many parts of the country. Life and property were insecure. It was in such a situation that the British, who had now developed imperialist designs, found it easy to make headway. They set one group against another, and with their better military organization and ideas of modern civil governance, gradually planted their rule in one region after another. It was no wonder that the common people welcomed rulers who held out hopes of peace and order.

Religion and culture could not be expected to flourish with vigour in such disturbed conditions. Nevertheless, religious faith is so deep-rooted and is such a vital factor in the life of the people of India, that they responded to the message brought to their doors by wandering minstrels and mystics and found solace in it. It may also be noted that this was the period which gave birth to the great trinity of musical composers born in Tamilnāḍ, who made imperishable contributions to Karnataka music. Religious mysticism, which flows like a perennial subterranean current manifested itself in a few rare souls dotted over the land. They shed light amidst the encircling gloom and kept alive the higher values of life so far as the common people were concerned.

We shall consider briefly some of these religious movements of the period in Karnataka.

THE HARIDASAS OF KARNATAKA

The Haridāsas of Karnataka were preachers of devotion to God and made a distinctive contribution to the religious life of Karnataka. They conveyed great

and sacred truths in Kannada in a very simple and clear style so as to be understood by the common people.

Already by the 13th century, the Śivaśaraṇas, the devotees of Śiva, drawing their inspiration from Basavēśvara and other mystics, had begun composing vachanas in simple chaste Kannada—preaching devotion to God and great moral precepts to the people at large.

The followers of the great Madhvachārya preached his doctrine of a knowledgeable devotion to God, through the medium of melodious songs called 'dēvaranāmas'. As R. D. Ranade says in his *Pathway to God in Kannada Literature*: 'The Karnataka mystics hold a very high position among the mystics of the world', and in the detailed and graphic description of mystical realization, 'the Karnataka saints are unexcelled.' (p. 11)

Śrī Narahari Teertha (c 1300 A.D.), the disciple of Madhvachārya, may be regarded as the founder of the Haridāsa movement, though we have been able to discover only a few of his songs in Kannada.

One of the heads of Madhva maṭhs who had settled down at Muḷbāgal (Kōlar District—about sixty miles from Bangalore) by name Śrīpādarāya (about 1450 A.D.) was among the first to compose such songs in considerable number and popularize them. His early life in the Tamil country may have influenced him in this direction, as the songs in Tamil of the saints of Tamil nāḍ, both Śaiva and Vaishnava, enjoyed great vogue among the common people there.

'Haridāsa' means a devotee or servant of God, Śrī Hari, i.e., Vishnu. The word here particularly refers to those devotional poets, who composed songs in Kannada in praise of their Lord. Śrīpādarāya is well-known as the grandfather of Haridasas ('Haridāsa pitāmaha'). He made a bold attempt to compose songs in simple Kannada, expounding the difficult and highly philosophical teachings of Madhva in simple and clear language. The step he took was bold because it meant breaking new ground. People believed that such sacred thoughts should not and could not be expressed in a 'prākṛita bhāsha' (common language of the masses). But as the head of an important religious maṭh, he sponsored the movement and gave it the stamp of authority. The Kannada language thus got enriched with songs that are of perennial value.

Śrīpādarāya not only composed many songs, but with great fore-thought trained several disciples and started a line of Haridāsas. His chief disciple was Vyāsarāya (1449-1537 A.D.), who was held in high esteem by seven Emperors of Vijayanagar in succession.

Śrī Vyāsarāya composed songs in Kannada, with his 'ankita' (*nom-de plume*) 'Krishna' or 'Śrī Krishna', and gave a great impetus to the Haridāsa movement.

The chief among Haridāśas—Śrī Purandaradāśa and Kanakadāśa were his disciples. Śrī Vādirāja and Śrī Vijayeendra, who are great names in the Madhva world, were also among his chief disciples.

Vyāsarāya has composed a song in which the ideals of a Haridāśa are explained, and Śrī Purandaradāśa is accepted as an ideal Haridāśa. Purandaradāśa had not renounced family life. He lived with his wife and children, but renounced the vast riches he had. His learning and devotion to God were very great and his renunciation, in particular, was unparalleled.

Purandaradāśa composed many songs in which he exhorted people to make the best of their lives. He wanted them to swim through and win. Human life was a precious gift not to be thrown away and treated as an illusion. His songs are full of the zest for life.

The great Vādirāja, the contemporary of Vyāsateertha, was a prolific composer and writer. He is renowned as a great leader of both the Vyāsakūṭa and the Dāsakūṭa. (The Vyāsakūṭa comprised learned paṇḍits who carried on their expositions and religious disputations through the medium of Sanskrit; and the Dāsakūṭa was made up of the singers of Kannada songs, which they sang from door to door, thus carrying the message of devotion to God (bhakti), knowledge of His glories (jnāna) and the need for detachment (vairāgya) through the Kannada language). Among Vādirāja's Kannada works are *Vaikunṭha Varṇane*, *Lakṣmī Śōbhāne*, *Swapna pada*, *Kichaka Vadha* and *Gundā Kriya*, with the 'ankita' of 'Hayavadana'. Mention has also to be made of Rāghavēndra Teertha of Mantrālaya who inspired many Haridāśas. He was a profound scholar and musician, and has written works on Dvaita philosophy. Only one Kannada song of his has come down to us and it is popular.

The centre of activity of the Haridāśas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was Vijayanagar (Hampi) and near by places, and Śrī Purandaradāśa and Kanakadāśa were the chief figures.

The next stage was set in the 17th and the 18th centuries and this time the centre was Raichur and surrounding places, Chikalaparive. Mānvi, Vēṇisōmapur, Uttanūr, Lingsugūr, Bāgalkōṭ, Bādāmi, and so on. The famous names of this age were Vijayadāśa, Gōpāladāśa, Jagannāthadāśa, Śrī Prasanna Venkata-dāśa, Praṇēśadāśa, Śrī Mōhanadāśa and others.

Most of the Haridāśas have composed songs, short and long, called dēvaranāmas. Kanakadāśa and Jagannāthadāśa are the two Haridāśas who have some noteworthy literary and philosophical works also to their credit. Mention should be made of *Mōhana Tārangiṇi*, *Naḷacharitre*, and *Haribhaktisāra* of Kanakadāśa; and Jagannāthadāśa's *Harikathāmr̥itasāra*, a renowned classic in simple and elegant Kannada and a testament of Madhva theism. It is also a musical, literary and

metaphysical masterpiece. There are many Haridāśas who have composed songs in hundreds and thousands and there are many others, who, though they have not created any literature as such, belong to this cult and have thereby realized their spiritual aims through this means. Research made so far has revealed that there are about two hundred Haridāśas from whom has flown this stream of sacred devotional and mystical literature.

Both Purandaradāsa and Vijayadāsa were prolific composers. Purandaradāsa himself has said in one of his songs that he has composed four lakhs and seventy-five thousand songs. It is said that Vijayadāsa composed 25,000, to round off the figure. Sri Varadēndra Haridāsa Sāhitya Māle of Lingsugūr has published most of the compositions of Vijayadāsa in several volumes.

Many of these songs were not reduced to writing by the authors. They were impromptu outpourings as and when they were inspired. Many of the songs were stimulated by particular contexts. In consequence, we have lost much of this literature. There is ample scope for fresh discovery and research in this field.

The Haridāsa movement has contributed a great deal to Kannada language and literature. It has preached the tenets of the Dvaita philosophy (Tattvavāda of the great Madhvāchārya) quite exhaustively, but in a very simple and clear style through the medium of sweet songs. They, therefore, make a direct appeal and reach the hearts of the masses to satisfy and give solace to them. It is this quality of the Haridāsa literature that has made it great and ever green.

Farther Heras wrote, "Indeed the statements of the Haridāśas of Karnataka run parallel with the Upanishadic doctrines....."

"Haridāśas profess that God is independent from the world, different from man, and far superior to him. He is the efficient cause of the Universe and everything moves at His own initiation. He is dwelling in all things and is, as it were, actually working in all of them. His universal activity is beautifully compared with the playing of the flute. Everything is found in God. Hence His servants (Haridāśas) must not entertain any fear in their hearts. The utterance of His divine name is of a marvellous effect in the spiritual life of man."

Haridāśas made an effort to place a complete code of morality and religion before the public. They condemned formalism and ritualism in religion and a too arduous pursuit of worldly prosperity. They preached, instead, devotion to God and the recognition of spiritual values. They preached also that the better life was not for a few people, but was for all and should be striven after by all.

The songs of Haridāśas depict their personal experiences, while treading on the path of moksha (salvation), through the dreary desert of samsāra (cycle of worldly existence). These experiences are varied, for the joys and sorrows or the failures and uncertainties experienced by one are different from those of another.

Haridāśas are rarely pessimistic. The darker and more tragic aspects of mundane existence do not seem to be obstacles, in their spiritual seeking. A true Haridāśa has absolutely no fear nor failure.

The Haridāśas attach supreme importance to bhakti, though they agree that karma and jñāna (action and knowledge) are necessary. In fact, these three follow one another. The Haridāśas are imbued with a spirit of equanimity, dispassionateness, unusual love and kindness towards mankind, and they are like the torch-bearers to those who still wander in the dim darkness of dreary samsāra. Their experiences and expressions give solace to many and a passer-by may rest himself and quench his thirst by drinking the sacred waters of their most sublime and immortal songs.

Haridāśas interpret the world not as a pool of poison designed to destroy humanity, but as a strong ladder of evolutionistic steps to help the soul on to a higher goal of happiness. God creates the world to afford ample opportunities to the different kinds of souls classified as sāttvika, rājasika and tāmasika, for the evolution of the latent faculties to full bloom according to their capacity. The souls are graciously allowed by God the chance of properly utilizing the resources graciously provided by Him to the best possible advantage. They are God's trust to human souls. The only way to achieve this object is to cultivate the spirit of detachment from the world, and contemplate on the benevolent nature of the Almighty and All-independent God. The Haridāśas declare that fleeing away through fear from worldly misery is no remedy to escape from the bondage of samsāra. They want men to live the life of heroes and fight ignorance with courage, with unflinching faith in God, Śrī Hari, and detachment from the selfish worldly pleasures, which ultimately bring only misery.

The Haridāśas through their works tone up the sāttvik (the purely spiritual) element in man. Their teachings give utterance to the essence of the Veda and the Upanishads. We notice in their teachings the philosophical truths duly illustrated by Purāṇic episodes. Their main purpose is to preach introspection and to realize the presence of God dwelling in us and finally to attain 'aparōksha jñāna' (direct vision) and mōksha (liberation).

'Regard everything you do as service to Śrī Hari; there is no place where He is not.' 'Do not fear, oh, men: have no doubt that He protects every one.' Such statements of assurance of the Haridāśas help to set at rest despair and fear in life.

The spiritual urge awakened by the Haridāśas in every member of society according to his capacity is, indeed, the highest benefit that they have bestowed on the common people of all classes and creeds in the Kannada country.

Some of the Haridāśas were great mystics. As such, they analyse every aspect of such experience from different angles and record their precious experience in their songs, which are of enduring value and beauty.

Haridāśas have effectively expounded the three important aspects of Indian spiritual effort—bhakti, jñāna and karmā (devotion, knowledge and action), though they have laid great emphasis on bhakti. But they have shown also that bhakti without the full knowledge of God is not perfect.

There is a wonderful fusion of music and poetry in the works of the Haridāśas. There is great variety in their form and prosody—pada, suḷādi, ugābhōga, tattva-suvāli, ślōka, kanda, vachana, vṛittanāma, dvipadi, tripadi, choupadi, shaṭpadi, aṣṭapadi, ragaḷe and yālapada. We find a vast variety in the subject-matter also—biographical, religious, philosophical, social, ethical, ritualistic, meditative, and so on. It was a Haridāśa (Purandaradāśa) who composed the famous 'Piḷḷāri Geetas', the learning of which has become the firm foundation of Karnataka music even to-day.

As a writer says, "The sight of the Haridāśas walking on foot from place to place with their tambura, singing keertanas, despising comfort and rest, suffering hardship and privation, exhorting people to lives of truth, virtue and devotion to God, conveying their teachings through the attractive means of stirring music, was perhaps the most inspiring sight that human eye could light upon. The gentle message of their songs had a direct appeal which no heart susceptible to noble impulses could ever resist."

VEERASAIVISM — POST-VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD

The grand heritage of the Veeraśaiva faith established by pre-Vijayanagar saints and scholars was distributed later to Keḷadi, Mysore, Coorg, Svādi, Biḷagi (Shimoga Dist.) and other centres of political importance. These

centres were the seats of vassal kings (Pāḷayagars) subordinate at first to Vijayanagar. They became independent after the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, but continued the same cultural and political traditions. The centres mentioned above helped the Veeraśaivas, who, in turn, helped the growth of these powers. Art, literature, music, etc., also developed along with philosophy.

The religious practices of Veeraśaivism were influenced by traditional and political forces. Two divergent lines are discernible. One trying to affect the Vedic school in rituals and ceremonials, and the other abiding by the spirit of the vachanas. The latter school, while going counter to some of the basic beliefs of the Vedic religion, unfortunately appeared as a rival to it.

“Lingayetism was the State religion of the early Woḍeyars of Mysore and Ummattur from 1399-1640 and of the Nāyakas of Keḷadi from 1550-1763 A.D. Their principal Maṭha in the Mysore country is at Chitradurga,” says E. P. Rice (in his *History of Kannada Literature*, p. 51). Sri K. D. Swaminathan says: “Veeraśaivas were an influential religious sect in the Kingdom. In the mediaeval period, the States sometimes encroached upon the private life of citizens. The kings (of Ikkēri), controlled and patronized Maṭhas, not because they wanted to be the ecclesiastic heads but only to maintain the social solidarity of the Kingdom.” (*Nāyakas of Ikkēri*, p. 165).

All these go to show that the Nāyakas of Ikkēri were staunch adherents of Veeraśaivism.

About the Woḍeyars of Mysore, mention may be made of Chikkadēva-rāja Woḍeyar who is sometimes spoken of as a Veeraśaiva. Members of the royal house of Mysore up to this day have been known to be patrons or adherents of the Veeraśaiva faith.

Before the 20th century, philosophical writings in Sanskrit or Kannada were mostly in poetry. We may mention the names of Sarvajna, Shaḍakshari, Sappaṇṇa and Sampādanekāras (writers with a mystic bent). After the dawn of the 20th century, a vast volume of prose literature was produced in the South Indian languages bearing on Veeraśaivism.

Sarvajna justifies his name by the shake he gave to the entire country and by the vigorous reformation he brought about through his simple but forceful triplets. Sarvajna, Mogge Māyidēva, Nijaguṇa etc., Muppina Shaḍakshari—these saint-singers remind us of Vēmana (Telugu), Nāmdev and Tukārām (Marathi) and the Nāyanmārs (Tamil).

The vast output of Veeraśaiva literature between the 16th and 20th centuries comprise purāṇās, champūs, vachanas, nandyas, kāvyas, (vilāsas), śatakas, ragaḷes, ṭeekas, psalms, prayers and charitas, etc. Though containing much

repetition, they all expound and tend to maintain the sublime moral and philosophical values of the Veeraśaiva faith.

If the post-Vijayanagar period witnessed no epoch-making or spectacular features as in the earlier periods, it still kept the light of learning and culture burning bright, and to this end, poets, philosophers, Maṭhs, and other Institutions, made valuable contributions.

JAINA CULTURE — POST-VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD

Jainism flourished in Karnataka till the sixteenth century A. D., under the patronage of several South Indian dynasties, such as the Gangas, the Chālukyas, the Chōḷas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. But it gradually lost the pride of place as a religion patronized by kings owing to the revival of Hinduism. In the Deccan, the Kalachuris were the last royal patrons of Jainism, after whom it ceased to have royal patronage. Not only were some of the Jainas converted later to Hinduism, but their temples were also re-christened and the idols changed. In some cases Muslims too took a hand in this process.

Jainism retreated to the Mysore State (old) from where it had spread originally all over Karnataka.

Under Vijayanagara rule, Jaina religion and culture flourished although the rulers were Hindus. Bukka I, Bukka II, Harihara, Dēvarāya, Virūpaksha and Krishnadēvarāya were all patrons of Jainism. Krishnadēvarāya (1509-1529 A.D.) gave gifts, for instance, by way of endowment to the Trailōkyanātha Jinālaya in the Chingleput District, now in the Madras State.

After the fall of Vijayanagar in the battle of Rākkasa-tangaḍi, the Nāyaks of Ikkēri and Bednūr assumed a hostile attitude towards Jainism. The Nāyaks rulers defeated the Jaina princes in Bārakūr and Bhaṭkal. The town of Bārakūr was rendered desolate and many precious Jaina monuments were destroyed. The Bhairarasu dynasty of Kārkaḷa disappeared as a result of the onslaught of the Nāyaks of Ikkēri and Bednūr. From the rulers of Mysore, however, Jainism continued to receive patronage.

Jaina contribution to Kannada literature in the sixteenth century is by no means poor. Jaina art and architecture also continued to progress to some extent in this period. It was in 1604 A.D., that the Gommaṭa statue at Vēṇur was erected by Timmarāja, a descendant of Chāvunḍarāya of the Ganga dynasty. But, as before, Jaina art was dominated by its religious motive in that it depicted only the lives of its saints and not of its other heroes. Not that heroism was lacking in the Jaina rulers of the time. Abbakka, the women ruler of the principality near Mangalore, and been among the earliest of the Indian rulers to resist western invasion. She repulsed the Portuguese invasion of South Kanara at least twice in the sixteenth century.

During the period of British rule, till 1857 A.D., Jaina influence waned, the Jaina princes were deprived of their principalities in return for some pittance of a pension. The Jainas could no more afford to spend on works of architecture and art as before. The creative power of the Jaina writers seems to have fallen to a low ebb in the nineteenth century.

THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN KARNATAKA

We have already seen how a considerable portion of north Karnataka was directly under Muslim rule since the middle of the 14th century, of the Bahamani Sultans, the Sultans of Bijapur, and later of the Mughals or their agents from Gōlkonḍa. After the rise of Haidar and Tipu in the 18th century, south Karnataka, including the old Mysore State, was under Muslim rule for nearly four decades. Thus the Muslims, though only a minority in Karnataka, wielded great political power over many parts of Karnataka in mediaeval times, which, for our purposees in reviewing the history of Karnataka, we may assume ended with the end of the 18th century, *i.e.*, the conquest of Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa by the British and the death of Tipu.

We shall now consider in this section the role played by Islam in Karnataka, and its influence on the language and culture of its people.

The contact of Islam with South India began in the 8th century at the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Parts of the Karnataka region came under Muslim military domination in the days of the Delhi Sultanate, though it was a temporary phase. It was only after the birth of the Bahamani Kingdom in 1347, with

Gulbarga as Capital, that constant and effective contact of Islam operated in Karnataka.

Under the Bahamani rule of about 200 years, north Indians, both Muslims and Hindus speaking Western Hindi, Persians, Turks, Arabs and people of the east coast of Africa settled in Karnataka in good numbers. In course of time the north Indians, the Siddis of Africa and the local converts together formed a separate political and cultural group. They were called the Dakhani as distinct from the foreigners, the Persians, Turks and Arabs. Their language was Dakhani. It was western Hindi, which, under the influence of Persian, Arabic, Gujarati and Marathi, had taken a definite shape and was absorbing local Kannada words too. Urdu language and literature of north India developed later. The Dakhani language and literature developed and attained a high status under the patronage of the successors of the Bahamanis, the Adilshahs of Bijapur (1490-1686 A.D.) and the Qutubshahs of Gōlkonda (1518-1687). Great Dakhani writers, like Malik Khushnud, Rustami, Nussati, Siva, Miran Hashimi of Bijapur and Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, Wajhi, Ghawwasi and Ibn-i-Nishati of Gōlkonda flourished under the patronage of the Adilshahi and Qutubshahi dynasties. When Aurangzeb destroyed these Sultanates in 1686 and 1687 and founded the province of Hyderabad, this Dakhani literature lost its patronage. After some time, Urdu took its place as the literary tongue, though the Dakhani language continued to be spoken, as it is now, by the common man in Karnataka.

In the Karnataka region, immigrants from Persia and Turkestan were received with open arms both by the Bahamanis and the Adilshahi Sultans. Bahamani art turned for its inspiration to contemporary Persia, so much so that it may be regarded as an integral colonial offshoot of the latter. Almost all the architecture of the Bahamanis is Persian. Only the small tomb of the founder of the dynasty, Hasan Zafar Khan, still adheres to the Tughlaq tradition. Thereafter all the royal and aristocratic tombs at Gulbarga and Ashtur, near Bidar, are of the Persian type of the later fourteenth century. The Zami Masjid of Gulbarga (1367 A.D.) goes back to the Masjid-i-Jami of Isfahan, and the Madarasa, or College, of the Timurid period is represented by that of Mahmud Gawan (1471 A.D.) at Bidar. The Persian palaces with their broad 'Diwans' (Durbar Hall) survive in the ruins of the palaces at Bidar. This Persian architecture influenced the secular architecture of Vijayanagar as in the Lotus Mahal, the Garden Palace of Vijayanagar, built in early 16th century, and employs recesses and foliated arches of the Persian type. The large palace in the fort at Chandragiri (17th century) has the same features.

After the fall of the Bahamanis, the Adilshahs attracted more Persian immigrants, mostly from Shiraz and Isfahan in the early sixteenth century. In the same century after the battle of Rakkasa-tangaḍi in 1565 A.D., the Vijayanagar Empire was all but destroyed. After this began a revolution in style. The unemployed artists, masons, singers and dancers of Vijayanagar began a mass

emigration towards the north, and in Bijapur they gave a new interpretation to the fashions of Persia and Turkey. For example, the Persian dome underwent a great change. Instead of being somewhat more than hemispherical and slightly pointed, it became an immense bubble growing from a wreath of lotus petals, and crowned by an inverted lotus flower, as in the case of the great dome of the Göl Gumbaz of Bijapur.

In the art of painting, Bijapur followed the Persian school, which was flourishing in Persia under the patronage of Shah Abbas, the Great. The copy of *Naurasnamah*, a Hindi work in poetry of Ibrahim Adilshah II, which was prepared for him by the famous Muhammad Khalil II, has certain artistic peculiarities of this age. The background on each page is a painting in gold of slender flowering trees with overhanging boughs, and among these are two birds in flight, swift, light and slender.

The industrial arts of 'damascening', ivory inlay, and lacquer work were introduced in the Karnataka region by the Persian immigrants. Demascening, which was introduced in the last days of the Bahamani rule, is the art of encrusting one metal on another in the form of wire, which, by undercutting and hammering, is thoroughly incorporated with the metal which it is intended to decorate. This art is limited to encrusting gold and sometimes silver wire on the surface of iron, or steel, or bronze. This system of ornamentation takes its name from Damascus. Damascening in silver is called 'bidri', from Bidar, where it is principally practised even now.

The inlay of ivory on sandal-wood and rose-wood was developed by Persian Muslims in the Adilshahi age. It is still flourishing in Mysore, and the artisans are mostly Muslims of Persian origin. Among the existing examples of fine workmanship are the doors of Haidar Ali's Tomb in Lal Bagh, Srirangapatna. Floral patterns of Persian origin are employed mostly, as in the case of bidriware.

Lacquered papier-machie works of Persia is very famous ; and Kashmiri Muslims have become its nearest imitators. But lacquered turnery and wooden toys were introduced into Karnataka by Muslims in the days of the Adilshahs, and Channapatna is still famous for it.

Muslims introduced a number of plants from Arabia and Persia. The coffee plant is one such introduced in Karnataka by the Sufi saint, Baba Budan of the Budangiri Hills in the Chikmagalur District, most probably in the twelfth century, from south Arabia. The coffee industry is now one of the most flourishing industries of Karnataka.

Aloes-wood or luban, began to be imported from Arabia under the Bahamanis and the famous 'udbatti', or agarbatti, industry of Mysore is one of its results.

Silk, for which Mysore is famous, was introduced in Mysore by Tipu Sultan. Rāmanagaram and Channapaṭṇa are still the well-known centres of silk production.

While Islam played an important role in Karnataka in the introduction of arts and crafts based on Persian models and brought into being a new literature, the Kannada language also did not remain free from Persian influences. A large number of Persian words belonging to the field of public administration entered Kannada, such as sanad, jagir, inam, taraf, dewan, fujdar, quiledar, bakshi, jamadar, tahsildar, amil, shiqdar, sirishtadar, tari, khushki, jamabandi, etc. In the same way, in business and legal proceedings, specially those of courts of justice, words of Persian origin abound in Kannada, such as adalat, munsif, zamin (jamin), kānoon, dawa, vakil, nāzir, arzi (arjee), girau (girawi), mahazar, umidwar, waza (vaja), bilqalam (bikkalam), dastavaz, etc. The vocabulary of the royal court was also enriched by such Persian words as darbar, huzur, nazar, qilat, chobdar, amari, etc. In the same way words of apparel such as rumal, izar, kamaraband, qamis, sherwani, etc., and words denoting kinds of food such as pulav, biryani, kabab, qurma, halwa, barfi etc., entered Kannada through Persian. So also a number of other words such as zanana, bazaar, qismat, shouq (shauki), zabardasti, bikkul, qimat, fasal (phasal), rubru, fazihat (phajeeti), namoona (namoone), zaroori (jaroori), raza (rajā), zid (jid), dawat (dawati), siyahi (shai), laiq (laik), bēwarsi, kārkhāna, tarjumā (tarjima), tarāzu (taraju), faqir (phakeer), sawar (sawāri) etc., were absorbed into Kannada. Most of these words show the cultural influence of Islam in Karnataka.

In the field of religion, Islamic influences found their way into Karnataka through the teachings of Sufi saints and devout Muslims who had settled on the west coast of the Deccan as early as the eighth century A. D. In the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries quite a number of them were in the employ of local kings.

CHRISTIANITY IN KARNATAKA

Christianity came to India, though not to Karnataka, long before the European powers stepped into the country, and may well be counted among the ancient religions domiciled in India. But after the Portuguese adventure on the western

coast, and the enterprise of the British, the Dutch, the French and the Danes to establish their centres of trade on the eastern coast, Christian missions began to turn their attention to India, from the 17th century. The flag followed trade, and along with the flag came the Church. The British ultimately dominated the scene, and though their rule was avowedly secular, Christian influence through numerous activities, educational and medical, developed as an important factor in Indian society. Proselytization was by no means rare.

The story of the advent of Christianity into Karnataka is an interesting one and we shall now turn our attention to it.

It is a matter of history that in the vast Vijayanagar Empire founded in 1336 A.D. with the avowed object of the protection of Dharma in the generic sense, 'Jews', 'Christians' and 'Muslims' and all sects and creeds enjoyed equal religious liberty, as noted by foreign travellers. It is no wonder, therefore, that even a small principality like that of Sivappanāyaka of Keḷadi, which came into prominence after the fall of Vijayanagar, had 30,000 Christians. It, therefore, behoves us to know the origin and growth of Christianity in India.

After the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus, his disciples went to different places and directions to share, as commanded, their experience of the Gospel, *i.e.*, the 'Good News' of what God's redeeming love has done for man through Jesus Christ.

There is evidence of commercial connections between Palestine and India from very ancient times. St. Thomas, one of Christ's twelve disciples, came, according to tradition, to India in 52 A.D., and established Churches in Malabar and elsewhere, before his martyrdom in 72 A.D. At the request of the churches in south India, Pantaneus came from Alexandria in 189 A.D., to minister to these churches. A Council of Churches was held in Nice in 325 A.D. with Bishop Johannas, as representative of the churches in India. Another strand was added when a Syrian merchant, Thoman of Cana, brought from Jerusalem Bishop Joseph and other priests and four hundred Christians to Cranganore (Mahādevāpaṭṇam) in 345 A.D. Yet another stream flowed in when the Nestorians with Bishops from Persia came in the 6th century. Later, an attempt was made by the Catholic Church to bring these Churches under her supremacy, when Bishop Jordanus came in 1330 A.D. with a Papal Bull (Authority).

The Dominicans preached the Gospel first in the Mysore State in 1335 A.D. A tombstone at Ānēkal in the Bangalore District testifies that Christians were there in 1400 A.D. The Pope's hands were strengthened when the Portuguese gained power in the east with the arrival of Vasco-da-gama in Cochin in 1492 A.D., and St. Francis Xavier's arrival in 1542 A.D. The Roman Catholic form of Christianity spread rapidly. But the methods adopted by the civil authorities and Church dignitaries, both inside the existing

Churches and outside, unfortunately, do not seem to have been above board. Protestant Missions which came in later do not also seem to have fully escaped the criticism of having adopted some objectionable methods. Consequently, suspicions and bitterness seem to persist to this day. Thus the various forms of Christianity, of different strands, were introduced into India by the middle of the 16th century.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, there was a kind of civil war or internal conflict among the various Churches. Archbishop Menezes reached Goa in 1592 A.D., with the Papal Bull and Decree and the backing of the Portuguese Viceroy. The Archbishop visited the churches, secured the support of the Rāja of Cochin, called a Synod of Church representatives in Udayamperur in 1599 A.D., and succeeded in bringing them under the Papal authority. But with the decline of Portuguese power, some Churches revolted and regained their independence.

As regards the propagation of the Christian faith, it may be noted that at the invitation of the Sultan of Bijapur, the Archbishop of Goa sent to him some learned Jesuits. The Franciscans preached the Gospel in the Mysore State in 1587 A.D. A Jesuit, Robert-de-Nobili of Italian nobility, arrived in India in 1605 A.D., and soon mastered Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. He read the Hindu scriptures, adapted himself to the Indian mode of life and dress, and ate vegetarian food. He went about preaching in a light yellow robe. A notable measure of success attended his zealous work at Madura, Vellore and Gōlkonḍa, though his work is open to the criticism that he allowed into churches some unchristian customs and practices like caste distinction between converts of high caste and converts of low caste. In 1637 A.D., a Brahmin oratorian of Goa known as Matthew-de-Castro was the first Indian to be consecrated Bishop. He served as Vicar-Apostolic of Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa.

The Theatines came to India in 1640 A.D., and went in due course to Bijapur and to Gōlkonḍa and founded a number of churches.

In the early period, the Pope appointed three Vicars-Apostolic in India, Bijapur in 1637 A.D., Malabar in 1657 A.D., and Kanara in 1671 A.D., with instructions to minister to the Catholics and to open missions in the neighbourhood. A special mention may be made about the Christian work done in Tumarikoppa, a village in the Dharwar District. This village became partly Christian from about 1750 A.D., and Carmelite Tertiaries from Goa ministered to them. It is not unusual to find with some of the residents there old palm-leaf volumes containing the life of St. Mary.

The history of modern Missions is usually regarded as starting early in the 19th century with William Carey of the Baptist Mission. But the real history must begin a century earlier. In 1705 A.D. the Danish King Frederic IV sent two German missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plutshau. Rev. Christian

CHRISTIANITY IN KARNATAKA

Frederic Schwartz of the same University joined the Danish Mission at Tranquebar in 1750 A.D. The Mission work flourished a good deal under him. He was the first Protestant missionary to do evangelistic work in Mysore. In those days there was much of political turmoil in South India, but both friend and foe, native and alien, fully trusted him in difficult and delicate matters, such as restoring mutual understanding and effecting reconciliation. Haidar Ali was much impressed by his integrity and uprightness and his benevolent nature. He, therefore, sent an official order to his servants saying, 'Let the venerable Padre go everywhere without hindrance, since he is a holy man.' He was loved and respected by one and all, both high and low. The Rāja of Tanjore adopted a boy and, at the time of his death, he put the young prince under the care of this missionary. When Schwartz died, the prince expressed his gratitude in memorable words as an inscription on his tomb :

"Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of orphans, the widows' support ;
Comfort in sorrow of every sort;
To the benighted, dispenser of light,
Doing and pointing to that which is right.
Blessing to princes, to people, to me ;
May I, my father, be worthy of thee—
Wisheth and prayeth thy Saraboji."

Schwartz thus embodied in himself the true spirit of Christ.

The decline of the Danish power and the mounting supremacy of the British against their rivals in India coincided with the birth of modern Missions as shown below, in different years :

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. London Missionary Society | 1809 A.D. |
| 2. Wesleyan Mission | 1818 „ |
| 3. Basel Mission | 1833 „ |
| 4. American Evangelical Lutheran Mission | 1842 „ |
| 5. S.P.G. Mission | 1842 „ |

A few other small Missions like 'The Gospel Society' and the 'Liepzig Society' are also reported to have carried on their activities.

A remarkable feature of these modern Missions is that they had no official support from their respective Governments, but were voluntary agencies depending on the support of the peoples of those countries. These missionary bodies encountered a five-fold opposition :

1. From some Church dignitaries in Great Britain.
2. The Directors of the East India Company in England.
3. The Company's officers in India.

4. The subordinate personnel in the Company's service, and
5. The Foreign residents in India.

The opposition was motivated by different considerations. For example, the East India Company's policy was based on commercial interests, which required the Indians to be left alone with their life, manners and religious beliefs. But the Parliament, while renewing the Charter of the Company in 1813 A.D., asked the Company to permit the Christian teachers and preachers to go to India. Accordingly, the Christian teachers and preachers were permitted to go to India, but without any royal or Government patronage.

The missionary enterprise mainly comprised of three-fold activities on the pattern of the ministry of Jesus Christ—preaching, teaching and healing. They were but the points of contact with the needs of the people. Therefore it is no wonder that they were the pioneers also of benevolent activities designed to promote the social, educational, economic and industrial welfare of the people in this country in general, and Karnataka in particular.

We may proceed to consider the work done at various places in Karnataka.

BELLARY :

This was the first mission station of the London Mission in the Kannada area. Rev. John Hands opened it in 1810 A.D. It was in Bellary that the first Religious Tract Society in India was established in the year 1817 by Hands. He translated nearly the whole Bible into Kannada and also got Kannada types cast and opened a printing press. Rev. Reeves wrote the first English-Kannada Dictionary. An English School was started in 1846, which grew into the Wardlaw College.

BELGAUM :

The London Mission established its station there in 1820 A.D. Eight years later Rev. W. Beynon was transferred to that place from Bellary. Primary, and English teaching schools were established by him. The English School, the first of its kind in Belgaum, was developed later into the present-day well-known Beynon-Smith High School. The London Mission handed over their work in the Belgaum area subsequently to the Methodist Mission.

BANGALORE :

The London Mission started its work in 1820 A.D. in Bangalore amongst the Tamilians. Rev. W. Cambell worked from 1827 amongst the Kannada-

speaking people. A boarding school and a Theological Seminary were also established. Rev. B. Rice laboured in all branches of missionary activities, worked as a Secretary of the Bangalore Bible Tract Society, opened an English teaching school and revised the Kannada Bible, besides making a valuable contribution towards deciphering the palm-leaf volumes and inscriptions on stones. Mrs. Sewell established the first Kannada day school for girls in 1840 A.D.

MYSORE :

The Wesleyan Mission commenced its work in Mysore in 1820 with their headquarters in Bangalore. Rev. T. Hudson worked amongst the Kannada-speaking people and built an English teaching school in 1835, which runs even to this day. He soon opened new centres in Gubbi, Kunigal and Tumkur, Hassan and Shimoga. A Mission Press was started in 1840. Four founts of superior types were also prepared.

MANGALORE, DHARWAR, KARWAR, MALABAR AND COORG AND OTHER AREAS :

In these areas, the Basel Mission laboured a good deal. The first three of its missionaries, Hebick and others, arrived in Mangalore in 1834 and made it their headquarters. They started their mission stations in the Dharwar District in 1837. And in due course, Hubli, Betegēri, Malasamudra Gulēdagudda and Bijapur were covered, besides small out-stations like Unakal and Shagoti etc. They laboured in north Karnataka and built churches and an English school. Their work extended to the Nilgiris and Coorg and even to Malabar. They built churches, started schools, Primary to High Schools, started industrial and commercial enterprises, such as weaving, book-binding etc.

KANNADA — (1565 - 1760 A.D.)

The history of Kannada literature covering the period of two centuries from 1565 to 1760 A.D. has to be more in the nature of a chronicle of individual achievements of poets, rather than a narration of literary movements, for the history of Karnataka during this period presents a sad and tragic picture of the disruption and decay of the Vijayanagar Empire, on the one hand, and a dim but hopeful picture, on the other, of the newly emerging Kingdom of Mysore, believed to have been founded by Yadurāya and Krishnarāya in 1399 A.D. With the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565 A. D., the development of Kannada literature as a whole was retarded to a great extent in the absence of royal patronage. It was a turning point in the history of Mysore when Doḍḍadēvarāja, ruler of Mysore, destroyed the semblance of the suzerainty of Śrīrangarāya, the last scion of the Vijayanagar royal family at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa in about 1669-1670, and the last vestiges of the Vijayanagar Empire vanished. This event paved the way, for the consolidation of the Kingdom of Mysore during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, who was himself an author and a great patron of letters.

We may briefly recount here the patronage that was given to Kannada literature by petty rulers and chieftains, which sustained, as it were, the literary activity of the country to an appreciable extent, until Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and his successors took upon themselves the royal duty of fostering literature.

TULUVA KINGS :

Bāhubali (c. 1560), a native of Srīngēri and a Jaina poet, wrote *Nāgakumāra Charite* in sāngatya metre at the instance of Bhairavēndra, ruler at Kelavane in the Tuḷu country. It is a long poem containing nearly 3,600 stanzas and extols the greatness of a purāṇic personage, Nāgakumāra, who attained salvation by renunciation of worldly things. Chandrama (c. 1646 A. D.) composed *Gommatēśvara Charite* at the instance of his patron, King Immaḍi Bhairavarāya, in commemoration of the installation by him of the colossal Gommaṭa stone image at Kārkaḷa in 1646 A. D. Another work of some magnitude, which is also in sāngatya metre and which merits special mention, is *Rāmachandra Charite*. This was left unfinished by Chandraśēkhara (c. 1700), a court poet of Lakshamaṇa Bangarāja of Tuḷunad, and was taken up and completed by another poet Padmanābha, as desired by his patron-chief, Chennarāya Sāmanta of Moolike (the present Moolki of South Kanara?). The entire work consists of 5,208 stanzas and relates the story of the *Ramayana* according to the

Jaina tradition, made famous by the poet Nāgachandra in the twelfth century. A couple of other works by Jaina poets of the region are also written in sāngatya metre. The fact that all the above Jaina poets of this region chose to write in the simple and melodious diction of the sāngatya style testifies to the popularity of that metre during this period, and to the impact that might have been made on the literary style of the day by that great work *Bharatēśa Vaibhava* of Ratnākara.

Like the Tuḷuva kings, the Chautas also were patrons of letters. During Chennamāmbē's reign, Tirumalasāmanta's treasurer wrote *Padmāvati Charite* in sāngatya metre, and during Abbakkadēvi's reign, Paṭṭābhiraṃma wrote *Ratnaśekhara Charite* (in 1761 A. D.) at the behest of Chennammādēvi, the Queen of Chandraśekhara Chikkarāya.

UNDER THE PALAYAGARS :

The Pālayagars were petty rulers of tiny kingdoms or principalities, very often consisting of a single township or a few hamlets clustering round a township. It is noteworthy that some of them were themselves authors. Sringāra Kavi, son of Bommarasa of Rasāvaḷi (c. 1600 A. D.) was the author of a lexicon called *Karnataka Sanjeevana* ; Krishnarāja of Salya wrote *Vivēkābharāṇa* and other works ; Basavappanāyaka of Ikkēri (1697-1714 A. D.) is mentioned in *Keḷadinripavijaya* as having written *Sūkti Sudhākara* a 'Vastuka Kavya'. A good number of Pālayagars of this period encouraged authorship. Sūrya Kavi, the author of the lexicon *Kavi Kṛṇṭhāhāra* was patronized by Venkaṭādrināyaka of Bēlur (1626-1643 A. D.). Sōsale Rēvaṇāchārya wrote commentaries on Sanskrit works at the instance of Mudiappanāyaka of Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi (c. 1623). Mallikārjuna Kavi, commentator of *Basavapurāṇa* in Sanskrit, wrote under the aegis of Immaḍi Chikka Bhoopa of Bijjavara (1593 A.D.). Tirumalabhaṭṭa wrote *Sivageete* (as narrated in *Padmapurāṇa*, under the patronage of Venkaṭappanāyaka of Ikkēri (1582-1629 A. D.). Chennayya composed *Padmini Parinaya* at the behest of Veerarāja of Kaḷale, who was himself the author of *Vaidya Samhita Sāra*. Dēvarāja, son of Veerarāja was the patron of Rangayya, the author of *Tulā Kāvēri Māhātmya*. His youngest brother Nagarāja, himself an author of a number of works, extended patronage to Nūronḍa, author of a *Soundara Kāvya* (the story of Nambianṇa, the central character of *Nambianṇana Ragale* of Harihara), and to Venkatēśa, author of *Hālāsya Māhātmya*, a work in champu style.

More than a hundred works, of unknown authorship, varying in theme and style, are known to have been written during this period. Some of them may be selected for mention in order to get an idea of the range of the subject matter of those works. They are :

Kāvya Sāra, (c. 1700), an anthology of about 285 select pieces of poetry ; *Biḷigiyarasara Vamśāvaḷi* (in champu style), a chronicle of some rulers of Īsūru ;

Harischandra Sāṅgatyā (c. 1700); *Krishna Kathe*, containing 2,500 stanzas; *Ganga-Gōwri Samvāda*; *Kuśa-Lavōpākhyāna*, a prose work; *S'ankara Ramayana*, containing 3,000 stanzas; *Keḷadinripavijaya* (c. 1750), in champu style; *Sankara Samhite*; *Mahānavamiyapada* (c. 1750), a poetical composition describing the highlights of the Mahānavami Festival (Daśara), which was on the lips of the people of Mysore some fifty years ago; *Kuśa-Lava Kāḷaga* (Yakshagāna or folk drama). Of the above, *Keḷadinripavijaya*, which describes the victories of the ruler of Keḷadi ranks with *Kanṭheerava Narasarājaviyaya* and *Chikkadēvarāja Vamśāvali* in historical importance.

It would be convenient to divide the period covering the two centuries of Kannada literature (from 1565 to 1760 A. D.) into three broad divisions, with the reign of Chikkadēvarāya Wodeyar as the central period. While no fresh religious influences gave rise to new literary movements or forms during this period, the literary traditions which took shape during the times of the Vijayanagar Empire came to be established and continued in this period. We notice a marked decline of the Jaina influence on literature. Veeraśaiva influence is on the wane, though there seems to be no reduction in the number of the Veeraśaiva writers as such. There is a gradual but marked rise in the Brahminical writings of the period. From the point of view of literary forms, the 'mārga' (champu) style, the favourite form of the Jaina poets of the past receded into the background, and the popular metres of the 'dēśi' style like 'shaṭpadi', 'sāṅgatyā', 'tripadi' and 'ragaḷe' found favour with all the poets. The vachanas of the Sivaśaraas and the 'padas' of the Haridāsas, who flourished during the 13th and 16th centuries respectively, were not so widely cultivated. The 'Yakshagāna', probably an age-old indigenous rural musical drama under different names in different regions of the Kannada country, seems to have been accepted by writers as a literary form. From the point of view of content or subject-matter, Saiva and Vaishnava purāṇic stories, episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, are generally the themes chosen by the poets for their narrative (varṇaka) poems; occasionally from Jaina Purāṇas, if the poets were Jainas. Bhakti found literary expression in a good number of 'Satakas', 'Sōttras', panegyrics of victories and achievements of ruling princes—semi-biographical and semi-historical in character, like '*Kanṭheerava*] *Narasarāja Vijaya* and *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvali*, are a new feature. Treatises in verse on astrology, medicine, elementary mathematics, added to the variety of the writings of the day. The stream of literature continued to flow, maintaining its volume and gaining in breadth, but losing somewhat of its past depth and force. It is remarkable that as many as 250 poets flourished during this period and the late R. Narasimhachar has listed nearly 125 works of unknown authorship belonging to various categories in his monumental Kannada work, *The Lives of Kannada Poets*.

As already observed, the works in 'shaṭpadi' dominate the field; next in order some works in 'sāṅgatyā', probably made popular by *Bharatēśa Vaibhava* of Ratnākara. Both these literary forms lent themselves easily to narrative,

purposes and *gamaka* or musical recitation. Hence the popularity of *Channabasava Purāṇa* and *Jaimini Bharata*, like *Kumāra Vyāsa Bharata* in *shaṭpadi* metre. The writing of *Champu Kavya* presupposes scholarship of a high order both in Kannada and Sanskrit, and it was but natural that it should have been revived during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja, who encouraged scholarship along with poetical talent.

PRE-CHIKKADEVARAJA PERIOD :

Among nearly a score of *shaṭpadi* works of this period, two stand out prominently by virtue of their literary merit. One is *Jaimini Bhārata* of Lakshmiśa and the other *Channabasava Purāṇa* of Virupāksha Paṇḍita. Both are composed in 'Vārdhaka *Shaṭpadi*'. While the date of the composition of *Channabasava Purāṇa* is definitely known to be 1584 A.D., that of *Jaimini Bharata* is still uncertain. However, Lakshmiśa may reasonably be placed somewhere between 1500 A.D. and 1600 A.D.

Lakshmiśa, generally believed to be a native of Dēvanūr in Kadur Taluk, was an ardent devotee of Lakshiramaṇasvāmi, the presiding deity of the place, to whom he dedicated his work. He chose for his Kannada rendering the *Jaimini Bharata* in Sanskrit, which relates the story of the Horse-sacrifice performed by Yudhishṭhira with the help of Lord Krishna. The Kannada *Jaimini Bharata* is not a translation of the Sanskrit work, though Lakshmiśa has closely followed it. He has made some welcome omissions but very few departures from the original and has displayed imagination and originality in the matter of description and delineation of characters, such as the character of Seeta in the story of 'Lava Kuśa'. He has high-lighted the treatment of Krishna Bhakti found in the original and made it the running *motif* of his work. This has endowed it with an artistic unity; otherwise, it would have been a mere cluster of unconnected stories. As a result, all the heroes of these stories, Yavanāśva, Sudhanva, Babhruvāhana, Chandrahāsa and others have become ardent Vaishnava devotees. The work enjoys immense popularity even to this day. Lakshmiśa well deserves the epithets 'upamālōla', and 'nādalōla' (Reveller in similes and melody). His is the superb art of story-telling in verse.

Channabasava Purana by Virupāksha Paṇḍita is one among the many *Veeraśaiva Purāṇas* written by *Veeraśaiva* poets.

Channabasava Purāṇa presents for the first time an appealing and imaginative treatment of the life and work of Channabasava, who is here surrounded by a legendary halo and elevated to the status of an 'avatar'. To quote E. P. Rice: "Channabasava is regarded as an incarnation of Siva. The work relates his birth, and his greatness at Kalyāṇa; but is mostly taken up with the instruction he gave to Siddharāma of Sonnalige on the entire body of Virasaiva lore, the creation, the wonderful deeds (*lila*) of Siva, the marvellous efficacy of Saiva rites,

and stories of Saiva saints. It has, consequently, been very popular among Lingayat readers. It is also very useful to the historian of Kanarese literature, because it gives much help in determining the approximate dates of the early Virasaiva saints and poets." (*History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 68).

A few other purāṇic works in the Brahminical tradition of Kumāra Vyāsa and Lakshmiśa deserve notice. Gōpa Kavi wrote *Chitra Bharata* in vārdhaka shaṭpadi in 1581 A.D., and *Nandi Mahātmya* in kusuma shaṭpadi some time later. The former tells the story of the *Mahabharata* and is replete with skilful manipulations of figures of speech, and hence its qualified name. The theme of the latter work is not attractive, but the poetic treatment is of a more mature variety. Nāgarasa (c. 1650 A.D.) has made a faithful rendering of the famous *Bhagavad Geeta*. *Akrūra Charitre* by Sōmanātha Kavi (c. 1600 A.D.) and *Prahlāda Charitre* (c. 1605 A.D.) by Narahari extol Vishnu Bhakti through well-known stories. *Ramayana* as told by Mārkaṇḍēya to Yudhisṭhira is the theme of a work in vārdaka shaṭpasdi by Timmarasa (c. 1650 A.D.), while the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* of *Valmiki Ramayana*, containing the story of the Horse-sacrifice performed by Sri Rama has been rendered into Kannada by Tirumale Vaidya (c. 1650) and also by another writer, Yogindra.

Among the Veeraśaiva Purāṇas mention may be made of *Soundara Vilāsa* in vārdhaka shaṭpadi by Aṇṇāji (1600 A.D.), which tells the story of a 'purātana' Siva Bhakta, Sōundarēśa or Nambiaṇṇa; *Sivādhikya Purāṇa* in vārdhaka shaṭpadi by Basavalinga (c. 1611), the main purpose of which is to extol the superiority of Siva Bhakti over Hari Bhakti by means of an imaginary story. Siddhananjēsa (c. 1650 A.D.) has written two works in vārdhaka shaṭpadi, *Rāghavānka Charitre* and *Gururāja Charitre*. The former is a semi-biographical account of the famous Kannada poet Rāghavānka (c. 1200 A.D.) who is credited with having devised the shaṭpadi metre; the latter contains short biographical accounts of 'nūtana' (modern) Siva Bhaktas, as also of many Veeraśaiva Āchāryas and poets. This work has been found useful in determining the dates of some Veeraśaiva poets. *Praudharāya Kāvya* of Adriśya Kavi (c. 1580) consists of stories of Saiva saints as related to Praudhadēvarāya, King of Vijayanagar (1419-1449 A.D.), by one Jakkaṇārya, in order to wean him from listening to the Brahminical *Mahabharata*, and to convince him of the superiority of Veeraśaivism.

WORKS IN SANGATYA METRE:

While the Brahmin and Veeraśaiva poets appear to have monopolized, as it were, the writing of Shaṭpadi Kavyas, Jaina poets seem to have preferred the sāngatya metre for their works. There are, however, works by Brahmin and Veeraśaiva poets also, in sāngatya metre, the important ones among them being (1) *Karṇa Vrittānta Kathe* by Pradhāni Tirumalārya (c. 1600 A.D.), (2) *Kaṇṭheerava Narasarāja Vijaya*, containing nearly 3,000 verses by Gōvinda Vaidya (also called

Bhārati Nanja (c. 1648. A. D.), (3) *Śiva Gaṇagaḷa Charitra*, another voluminous work, by Sāntavira Dēśika (c. 1650) (4) *Harīśhandra Sāngatya* by Halaga (c. 1650 A. D.) and *Kumati Rāma Kathe* by Ganga which repeats the story of '*Kumāra Rāmana Kathe*' by Najunḍa (c. 1525).

SOME JAINA POETS : Noteworthy among the Jaina poets who have generally devoted their works to the exposition of Jaina Dharma through stories and otherwise are the following, with the remarkable exception of Pandmarasa (c. 1599 A.D.) who wrote *Śringāra Kathe*, a purely imaginray story with the sentiment of love pervading the work (as the name itself suggests). He has, suprisingly enough, praised Lord Śiva at the commencement of the work, (1) Payaṇṇa Vratī (c. 1660 A. D.), has written *Samyaktva Kaumudī*. This is a collection of stories illustrating some important rites of Jaina Dharma leading to the path of salvation. (2) Panchabāṇa's *Bhujabali Charitre* (c. 1614 A. D.) tells the story of Bhujabali, younger brother of Bharata, the songs of Vrishbhādēva, the first Jaina Teerthankara. The re-anointing ceremony of the colossus of Bhujabali at Śravaṇabēḷagoḷa in 1612 A.D., is also described in this work. (3) *Bijjaḷarāya Charite* by Dharaṇi Paṇḍita (c. 1650 A.D.) is a work of some historical significance. It relates the story of Bijjaḷa, the Kalachurya King of Kalyāṇa (1156-1167 A.D.) and, incidentally, narrates some events of the life of Basavēśvara, his Prime Minister. The account of Basavēśvara as described in this work is a Jaina version, and hence likely to be coloured to some extent.

GRAMMAR, PROSODY AND RHETORIC :

We owe to Jaina scholarship some outstanding works on Kannada grammar, prosody and rhetoric, which helped to standardize Kannada language and literature through the centuries. *Sabdānuśāsana* (1604 A.D.) by Bhaṭṭakaḷanka, a linguist and a scholar, is an exhaustive grammar of the Kannada language in pithy Sanskrit 'sūtras' with an elaborate Sanskrit commentary in the same language. It is a monumental work in its own right, next in importance only to *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa* of Kēśirāja. One has only to remember that grammatical and scholarly studies at a higher level in Kannada and other Indian languages are being conducted in English at the moment, before commenting on the propriety of Bhaṭṭakaḷanka writing his work in Sanskrit, the *Lingua franca* of those times. The main object of Bhaṭṭakaḷanka in writing his work in Sanskrit was to indicate the claims of Kannada for serious attention and study on an equal footing with Sanskrit. The treatise of Bhaṭṭakaḷanka appears to be more scientific than that of Kēśirāja and deserves more attention from scholars than it has received so far.

Chandassāra is a work on prosody written by Guṇachandra (c. 1650 A. D.), which seems to follow *Vṛttaratnākara* in Sanskrit. *Navarasālankāra* by Timma

(c. 1660 A. D.) is an exposition of poetics written in champu style, prominence being given to the treatment of the nine 'rasas' or poetic sentiments. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to previous rhetoricians like Nāgavarma, Sāḷva and others. There were a few lexicons also written during this period. Mention may be made of *Nānārtha Ratnākara* (giving the various meanings of important Sanskrit words) by Dēvōttama and *Karnataka Sanjeevana* by Srīngara Kavi (c. 1600 A.D.), which is a Kannada-Kannada lexicon in 35 vārdhaka śaṭpadi verses.

CHAMPU AND PROSE WORKS :

Works in the champu style are few and far between in this period. The reason is not far to seek. Works in śaṭpadi and sāṅgatyā metres, written in comparatively simple language and easy-flowing style scored over the heavy and scholarly champu style in mass appeal. Some Veeraśaiva poets seem to have made efforts to revive the champu style of writing. But success did not attend their efforts. It required a scholar-poet of the calibre of Shaḍaksharadēva to achieve success in a medium which had fallen into disfavour. Shaḍakshari was fully competent to undertake the task of giving once again the Champu Kāvya its pride of place which it enjoyed during the 12th and 13th centuries. He was a precocious genius and, as the head of a Veeraśaiva maṭha in Danugur of the Yeḷandur Taluk, he had the opportunity of acquiring profound scholarship both in Sanskrit and Kannada. He composed works of literary excellence in both the languages. He wrote three Champu Kavyas in Kannada, viz., *Rājaśekhara Vilāsa* (1657), *Vrishabhēndra Vijaya* (1671) and *Śabara Śankara Vilāsa*. The third work describes the fifteenth 'Leela' (playful deed) of Śiva, the well-known 'Kirtātārjuniya' episode of the *Mahabharata*; the second one narrates the story of Basavēśvara. Is is his earliest work, *Rājaśekhara Vilāsa*, that has made the name of the poet-immortal in the history of Kannada Literature and scholarship. It shares with *Jaimini Bharata* the unique distinction of being regarded as the most popular among the classical works in Kannada. It elaborates with some modifications the Kannada version of a Tamil story (written by Piḷḷai Nāyanār) as narrated by Gubbi Mallanārya in his *Bhāvachintāratna* (1513). The story is otherwise known as *Manu Chōḷa Kathe*; though the object of the story is to illustrate the power of Panchākshari, the entire series of miraculous events hinge on the high sense of justice of the King. By introducing some clever deviations in the story, Shaḍakshari brings the son of the the King, Rājashekara, to the forefront and makes him the hero of the story, without letting the objective of the narrative to suffer in any way.

An important prose work of the period is *Bhairavēśvara Kāvya Kathā-sūtra Ratnākara* (1672). Its author Sāntalinga Dēśika tells us that his aim is to elaborate in prose the stories contained in *Bhairavēśvara Kāvya* of Kikkeri Nanjunḍa (c. 1550). But, in fact, he has enlarged the scope of his work and has included

other stories drawn from various sources. The work contains 81 stories and 618 'vākyas'. The historical importance of this compendium consists in the fact that it gives valuable information regarding many Veeraśaiva writers and their works.

DEVOTIONAL SONGS :

The tradition of propagating Vishnu Bhakti by Haridāśas through padas, or devotional songs seem to have come to a standstill after Kanakadāsa. (The contribution made by later Haridāśas has been dealt with elsewhere in this volume). The next important person we come across is Vādirāja (1480-1600), a contemporary and a student of the famous Vyāsarāya who was held in high esteem by Emperor Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar. Vādirāja was the head of the Sōde Maṭha near Sirsi and a Sanskrit scholar. He wrote about 16 works in Sanskrit. His Kannada works are: (1) *Vaikunṭha Varṇane* in the form of sāṅgatyā verses explaining the beauty of the essence of Madhva philosophy; (2) *Swapna Gadya* in bhāminī śaṭpadi metre, giving expression to philosophic revelations in a dream; (3) *Lakshmiya Śōbhāne*, a collection of 112 songs in praise of Goddess Lakshmi; (4) *Bhārata Tātparyā Nirṇaya Tike*, being a commentary in Kannada of the famous Sanskrit work of the same name by Madhvāchārya; and (5) Devotional songs (padas) in praise of Vishnu, 'Hayavadana' is the 'ankita', *nom-de-plume*, of these songs.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS :

We come across a few śatakas in this period, the most important of them being *Ratnākarādhiśvara Śataka* (1614 A. D.) of Hamsarāja, a Jaina poet. It contains 125 didactic 'vrittas', extolling the virtue of vairāgya (or detachment from the world) and dealing with the nature of the soul.

Vaidyasārasangraha (a work on Ayurveda) of Chennarāja (c. 1570 A.D.) and *Behāra Gaṇita* (simple arithmetic) of Bhāskara (c. 1650 A. D.) represent the non-literary works of the period.

CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYAR AND HIS COURT POETS :

WORKS OF CHIKKADEVARAJA (1672-1704) :

Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, one of the most distinguished rulers of Mysore, was a contemporary of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor. The consolidation of the expanded territory over which he ruled was almost complete when he succeeded Doḍḍadēvarāja in 1672. Aurangzeb, was preoccupied with facing the newly emerging Maratha Kingdom and the Sultans of the Deccan, hus, except for

some trouble from the neighbouring Sultanate of Bijapur, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was left in comparative peace, so that he was able to devote all his time to peaceful activities like administrative and economic reforms, and literary pursuits. Chikkadēvarāja seems to have been influenced to a great extent by Tirumalārya (or Tirumalayyangaṛ), his companion in study in his early days and, later on, his Court Poet and Minister. This probably accounts for the fact that many of the authors (if not all) patronized by the King were of Śrī Vaiṣṇava persuasion. This influence naturally radiated all around and continued even after the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The King himself is credited with having written several works. The most famous among them are *Geeta Gōpala* and *Chikkadēvarāja Binnapaṃ*. He was undoubtedly assisted in his literary work by Tirumalārya. There is reason to surmise that Tirumalārya himself might have written the above two works and ascribed the authorship to his benevolent monarch and patron. Both the works are characterized by deep devotional sentiment and lyrical beauty. Both expound the main tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy in chaste old Kannada, and contain references to the conquests of the ruler. *Geeta Gōpala* is a collection of songs, reminiscent of '*Geeta Gōvinda*' of Jayadēva, the famous Sanskrit work; each song is preceded by a brief substance of the piece in prose; *Chikkadēvarāja Binnapaṃ* is written in prose. It contains 30 'binnapas,' or prayers, addressed to Lord Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri. They contain the essence of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, which is more pronounced in this work than in the former.

TIRUMALARYA (1646-1706 A.D.):

He belonged to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava sect, and was at first a Court Poet, and later, Minister of the King. He is the author of two historical works, *Chikkadēvarāja Vijaya* and *Chikkadēvarāja Vamsāvali*; he is also known to have written *Chikkadēvarāja Śatāka*, which is not extant. *Chikkadēvarāja Vijaya* is a champu, and is composed in the best style of that tradition. Unfortunately, the work that has come to light is incomplete, and contains only six chapters dealing with the history of Mysore rulers up to Chikkadēvarāja. *Chikkadēvarāja Vamsāvali* also is incomplete to some extent. Apart from its value as a book of history treating the growth of the Mysore Kingdom from its beginnings, it has an honoured place as one of the landmarks in the development of prose in Kannada. *Apratimavira Charita* is the third work of Tirumalārya; it is a treatise on rhetoric, drawing freely on ancient Sanskrit works on the subject. The individuality of the work consists in the illustrative verses eulogising the heroic deeds and noble qualities of the monarch, Chikkadēvarāja. This work also contains historical references.

CHIKKUPADHYAYA (1672):

Chikkupādhyāya was another Minister of the King. He was a prolific author and has to his credit nearly 30 works in champu,

sāngatya and prose. Many of his works commence with a description of the ancestry and victorious deeds of Chikkadēvarāja. In almost all his works, he sets out to propagate the Śrī Vaishnava faith in some form or other. Many of them are translated from Sanskrit originals; among these may be mentioned *Vishnu Purāṇa* in its two versions, one in champu and the other in prose. *Divyasūri charitre*, which is considered to be the best among his champu works, is a history of the twelve 'Alvars' (Vaishnava saints), including Ramanujacharya; this work, along with two others, viz., *Arthapanchaka* and *Tirūvōymōḷi* are translated from Tamil. Many of his works are 'Māhātmayas' devoted to edifying the glory of Vaishnava sacred places of pilgrimage like Sriranga, Srirangapaṭṭaṇa, Kanchi, Melukōṭe, Tirupati etc.

SINGARARYA (c. 1680):

Singarārya, brother of Tirumalārya, is mainly to be remembered as having written the first drama extant in Kannada Literature, entitled *Mitravindā Gōvinda*, a free adaptation of the Sanskrit drama 'Ratnāvaḷi' of Śrī Harsha. The author has tried to give a Vaishnava colour to the romantic tale of the original by substituting the puranic characters, Krishna and Mitra-vindā, instead of the imaginary characters of Udayana and Ratnāvaḷi; the other characters are also accordingly altered.

HONNAMMA (c. 1680):

She is among the few women writers of note in Kannada Literature before the beginning of the modern era. She was popularly known as Sanchiya Honnamma on account of her occupation of carrying the 'bag of betel leaves and nuts' for her lord the King. An unlettered Vokkaliga woman with inborn literary talent, she appears to have attracted the notice of the King and to have, at his instance, received literary education under Singarārya; later on, under his encouragement she wrote *Hadibadeya Dharma* in sāngatya metre. It purports to inculcate to womenfolk the 'duty of a faithful wife', with appropriate anecdotes, illustrations and sayings culled from the ancient epics and the *Manu Smṛiti*. The homely pen-pictures of a dutiful wife which are conjured up here and there by her narration are charming and endow the whole work with a suffused poetic beauty. This work is memorable for its felicity of expression in sāngatya metre and delicacy of feminine feeling. Srirangamma (c. 1685) also seems to have been encouraged by Chikkadēvarāja in her literary endeavours. She wrote *Padmini Kalyāṇa* in sāngatya metre, describing the divine wedding of Lord Śrīnivasa with Padmāvati.

HELAVANA KATTE GIRIAMMA (c. 1750):

Though she belongs to a later date, she may appropriately be mentioned here. She was a Brahmin writer who wrote *Chandrahāsana Kathe* and *Uddālīka Kathe* in sāngatya, and *Seetā Kalyāṇa* in the form

of songs. *Chandrahāsana Kathe* closely follows the story of the Chandrahāsa episode of the *Jaimini Bharata*, and was till very recently popular among women-folk.

OTHER WRITERS :

Ranganātha, or Mahālinga Ranga as he is usually known, wrote *Anubhavāmrīta* (c. 1675) in bhamini śaṭpadi. For the first time we come across a work which expounds Vedānta or the Advaita philosophy of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya. His profession of love for the Kannada language is almost infectious, and reminiscent of the famous declarations of Harihara, Nayasēna and Āṇḍayya in this regard. The language of *Anubhavāmrīta* is simple, the style lucid, and the exposition of the abstruse philosophy direct and attractive. It is no wonder that it has become a standard text on the subject for those who do not know Sanskrit. Mahālinga Ranga had a follower in Chidānandavadhūta (c. 1750 A. D.) whose *Jñānasindhu* expounds the same philosophy in an elaborate way, more or less in the same style.

SARVAJNA (c. 1700)

We know very little of the life of this saint-poet. His date is still a matter of conjecture, and so is his religion though he appears to be a Veeraśaiva. But he is one of the outstanding poets of the period, if poet he may be called, for he is not a poet in the conventional sense of the word. He was unconventional in every respect. He appears to have taken to the life of a wandering minstrel with the begging bowl, by his own choice, and to ministering to the spiritual needs of the man in the street. The two thousand verses in 'tripadi' metre that bear his signature do not narrate any story; nor do they propagate any particular creed or philosophy as such. If any philosophy could be discovered in his verse, it is the philosophy of humanism for the common man; if any religious belief could be attributed to him, it is the religion of the uninhibited human soul. He laughs at superstitions, smiles at human foibles, cavils at hypocrisy and jeers at bigotry. At times, he is highly reflective and introspective, but is generally susceptible to the sweet things of a simple life. On the whole, this is his own robust philosophy of life. His verses are, no doubt, didactic all through; but in essence the expression is poetic. The unity that binds all these stray verses, which, of course, could be grouped under different subject heads like God, fate, religion, morals, social virtues, etc., is the unique personality of Sarvajna himself, the stamp of which is unmistakable in every verse he uttered. He can be compared to Vēmana of Telugu Literature and Tiruvalluvar of Tamil Literature. //

Some important minor poets who may be mentioned before closing this section are : (1) Vēṇugōpalavaraprasāda (c. 1680), author of *Chikkadēvarāja Vamsā-*

vaḷi which describes the family history of the Mysore rulers, in champu style; (2) Chidānanda Kavi (c. 1680), author of *Munivamśābhyudaya* in sāngatya metre, containing an account of Jaina saints of the Konda Kundānvaya line, (3) Mallarasa (c. 1680), author of *Daśāvtāra Charite* in champu style, (4) Paṇḍita Mallikārjuna (c. 1687) author of *Sankara Dāsimayya Charite* in bhamini śaṭpadi, the story of a Śiva Bhakta, (5) Venkatārya śishya (c. 1700), author of *Krishna Gōpi Vilāsa* in sāngatya metre, (6) Timmarasa (c. 1700), author of *Kshētragaṇita*, a short treatise on Geometry in verses of 'kanda' metre, and (7) Sappanna (or Sarpabhūṣaṇa), a Veeraśaiva poet, the author of *Kaivalya Kalpa Vallari*, a collection of songs in the tradition of the songs of Haridāśas, but devoted to an exposition of Veeraśaiva philosophy.

POST-CHIKKADEVARAJA PERIOD :

Literary activity after the demise of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, i.e., in the first half of the 18th century, began to decline on account of lack of patronage under his successors ; the latter half of the 18th century was not at all favourable to authorship, as the Kannada country was subject to frequent attacks from alien armies. It almost came to a stand-still when the throne of Mysore was occupied by the Muslim rulers, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. Revival of literary activity had to wait till the assumption of rule by Mummaḍi Krishnarāja Woḍeyar (1794-1868).

The Dāsa Sāhitya, or the literature in song of Vaishnava devotees, has been dealt with elsewhere.

OTHER WRITERS :

The remaining writers of the period were content with retelling the *Ramayana*, *Bharata* and Purāṇic stories, if they were Brahmins, and stories of Śivabaktas if they were Veeraśaivas, in a mechanical way. However, mention may be made of (1) Lakshma Kavi (c. 1723), who wrote a condensation of the *Mahabharata* story and *Rukmāṅgada Charite*, both in the vārdhaka śaṭpadi metre, (2) Babbūru Ranga (c. 1750), author of *Ambikā Vijayā*, which narrates the story of the killing of Rakta Bijasura by Ambikā or Pārvati, in bhāmini śaṭpadi and *Paraśurama Ramayana*, the story of Paraśurāma, the seventh avatār of Vishnu, in vārdhaka śaṭpadi metre, (3) Konayya (c. 1750), author of *Krishnārjunara Sangara* in bhāmini śaṭpadi, (4) Timmamātya (c. 1750), the author of *Rāmābhyudaya Kathākusuma Manjari* (also called *Ānanda Ramayana*) in bhāmini śaṭpadi, containing not only the story of the *Ramayana* but also the stories of Varāha and Narasimha, incarnations of Vishnu, and an account of the conquests of Rāvaṇa.

COMMENTARIES :

Nittooru Nanjayya, a Veeraśaiva (c. 1725), is even today a familiar name for his 'Tike', or commentary on the famous grammar of old Kannada by

Kēśiraja. This commentary is usually included in the printed editions of the grammar. Jakkaṇamātya (c. 1750) wrote a commentary on *Saundaryalahari* ascribed to Sankarāchārya. This work has been recently published by the Oriental Research Institute at Mysore.

Kannada Lilāvati (a treatise on Mathematics) and *Ratna Śāstra* (dealing with the nature of gems) by Bala Vaidyada Cheluva (c. 1715) and *Vaidya Samhita Sārārṇava* (a book on the Ayurvedic system of medicine) by Veeraracha (c. 1720) are noteworthy among the books on the secular sciences.

In conclusion, it may be said that, on the whole, Kannada literature produced during the two centuries covered in this section recorded steady and satisfactory progress, occasionally reaching to heights of commendable eminence.

SANSKRIT — XVII AND XVIII CENTURIES A.D.

After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire, the centre of literary activity in Sanskrit shifted chiefly to Keḷadi and Mysore. The Pāḷaygars, the Nāyakas of Surpūr, the rulers of Gadvāl, Ānegondi and, a little later, the rulers of the 'Southern Maratha' States became the patrons of Sanskrit literature.

Apart from royal patronage, the religious institutions, such as the three Vaishnava Maṭhs and the eight Maṭhs at Uḍupi, the Advaita pīṭhas at Srīngēri, Kūḍli, Sankēśvar and Kānchi were great centres of learning and stimulated writing on the respective schools of Vedānta.

It is difficult to classify Sanskrit writers on a regional basis, since scholars moved from place to place as they were patronized by the rulers of the different parts of the country, and learnt at the feet of different religious heads. Moreover, a work in one part of the country stimulated the writing of its criticism in another part of the country, particularly in the field of Vedānta, or served as a model for similar work. Therefore, a mention of the related works is essential to appreciate the course of literary development during the period. A few works which have either stimulated the writers of Karnataka or were stimulated by them are, therefore, also mentioned in the brief survey given below.

In the field of Vedic studies, Dēvarāja's *Nighanṭu Vyākhyā* written at Srīrangam is a very learned exposition of Yāska's *Nirukta*. *Kramadīpikā* of Narahari explains the phonetic peculiarities in 'kramapāṭha'. *Paribhāṣachandōdarpaṇam*

deals with Vedic metre. A few more sub-commentaries on the *R̥gbhāshya* of Śrī Madhvāchārya were written during this period. Important among them are Śrī Rāghavēndra's *Manjari*, Srinivasa's *Rigarthōddhāra*, Satyanāthayati's *Prakāśa*, Ārōgya Hari's *Ṭippaṇi*, Kēśavabhaṭṭāraka's *Vivritti* and Chalari's *Ṭippaṇi*.

The Smṛiti and Nibandha literature was considerably enriched by the famous *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamalākara. Nārāyaṇa wrote his *Dharmaṇvavritti*, elaborately explaining the Śrauta and Smṛta duties. Viśvanātha's *Viśvaṇvaprakāśa Paddhati* also serves the same purpose. Several treatises of this type were written during this period in the Karnataka and Maharashtra regions, and also by the Pandits at the court of the Tanjore Nāyaks. Besides these general *Dharmaśāstra* works, Nibandhas particularly useful for Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and Vaiṣṇavas were also written. *Smṛiti Ratnākara* of Harita Venkaṭāchārya is a Śrī Vaiṣṇava religious law-book of this type. *Āhnikakaustubha* of Śrīnivāsa, *Āhnikapaddhati* of Chalari and *Nibandhachūḍamaṇi* of Tirumalārya are Vaiṣṇava religious law-books.

To the literature of Pūrva Mīmāṃsa, the family of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa contributed a good deal. Kamalākara himself wrote commentaries on *Tantravārtika* and *Śastradīpika*. His brother Dinakarabhaṭṭa wrote *Śastramālā* on the lines of *Śastradīpika*, on which Anantabhaṭṭa wrote a *Nritti*. Vijayīndra wrote *Upasamhāra Vijaya* and *Pishṭapaśumimamsa*. Rāghavendrayati's *Bhaṭṭasamgraha* is an elaborate commentary on the Jaimini's *Sūtras*. Anantāchārya's *Vidhisudhākara* discusses the scope of Vidhi, while *Tantravilāsa* of Laxmanapandita contains the refutations of the conventional 'siddhāntas' of some of the adhikaraṇas. Rāghavānanda Sarasvati's *Mīmāṃsa-sūtrādidhiti* is a commentary on the *Sūtras*. Venkaṭasūri's *Adhikaraṇamālā* is a summary of some of adhikaraṇas. Thus the traditional explanation of Jaimini's *Sūtras* as well as the Vaiṣṇavite adaptation of the Mīmāṃsa doctrines continued during this period.

The commentatorial literature on Vedānta is particularly rich during this period. In the field of Dvaita, Yādavārya of Yekkunḍi in the Belgaum District, wrote a gloss on *Nyāyasudhā*, the famous commentary of Jayatīrtha on *Aṇuvyākhyāna*. He criticizes Appayya Dīkshita in this work. He has also written glosses on *Tattvasamkhyāna* and *Tattvōdyōta*. Kambhālūru Rāmachandra Teertha has commented upon *Tattvavivēka*, *Aitarēya Bhāshya* and *Sudhā*. He received a Copper Plate Grant from Immaḍi Kempē Gowda. Narayaṇachārya, probably of the Bijapur District, wrote *Advitākālānala*, a criticism of Appayya Dīkshita's *Madhvantra mukha mardana* and *Vishnutattva vivēka*, a refutation of *Śivatattva-vivēka*. Sudhindrateertha was both a poet and a philosopher. His *Sadyuktiratnākara* is a commentary on *Tarkatāṇḍava*, Vidyādhiśateertha, the most celebrated pontiff of the Uttarādi Mah after Raghuttama, wrote *Vakyārthachandrika*, a gloss on the first five 'adhikaraṇas' of *Nyāyasudhā*. This was completed by his younger brother Pāndurāṅgi Kēśavabhaṭṭāraka. Vidyādhiśa was a contemporary of Rāṅgōjibhaṭṭa and had a philosophical debate with him at the court of Veakaṭappanāyaka of

Keṣadi. He has also commented upon some of the Prakaraṇas. *Nyāyāmritakanṭha-kōddhāra* of his father Ānandabhaṭṭāraka is a criticism of *Advaitasiddhi*. Kēśava-bhaṭṭāraka has commented upon all the ten Prakaraṇas. *Nyāyasudhā* and *Chandrika*. Viśvēśvarateertha of the Pejāvara Maṭh has written a gloss on *Aitarēya Bhāshya*. The most illustrious commentator of this period was Rāghavendrateertha. Over forty works were written by him. *Parimaḷa*, i.e., his gloss on *Sudhā* is the most outstanding of his works. His glosses on *Tarkatāṇḍava*, Prakaraṇas and *Upanishads* are distinct contributions to Dvaita literature. Satyanāthayati was another powerful writer. He has about twelve works to his credit, of which three works: *Abhinavachandrika*, *Abhinavatāṇḍava* and *Abhinavagadā* are most important. Bidarahaḷḷi Srinivasateertha of Honnāḷi in the Shimoga District was a highly gifted commentator. He has written brief commentaries on twenty-four out of the thirty-seven works of Madhva. Vanamālimiśra of Triyugapura near Brindāvan was an ardent advocate of Dvaita. His *Chandamārula* is a thorough-going criticism of Advaita doctrines. *Nyāyāmrita Saurabha* and *Saugandhya* are replies to Gauḍa Brahmānanda. A few more works are also ascribed to him. Three members of the Chalari family have contributed a number of compendiums and glosses on Dvaita works. Sumateendratirtha's *Bhāvaratnakōśa* is a gloss on *Geetā Bhāshyaṭika*. Satyapriyateertha, Satyadharmateertha, Kāśi Timmaṇṇāchārya of Mysore and Pāndurangi Narasimhāchārya of Masur, Dharwar District, have also contributed to the literature of Dvaita scholasticism.

The exponents of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy during this period also wrote several new commentaries, digests and expositions of Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrines. Parakālayati wrote a gloss on *Śrī Bhāshya* called *Mitākshara*. His *Vijayindra-parājaya* is a criticism of Vijayendra's *Paratattvapraśāśika*, Ranga Rāmānuja, a disciple of Parakālayati, has several works to his credit. *Mūlābhāva prakāśika*, *Śārīrakaśāstradīpika*, *Nyāyasiddhānjanavyākhyā*, *Vishayavākyadīpika* and *Rāmānuja-siddhāntasāra* are important among these. Srinivāsa's *Brahmavidyākaumudi* is a gloss on *Śrī Bhāshya*, while Suddhasatāvalakshmaṇārya's *Gurubhāvaprakāśika* is a sub-commentary on the *Śrī Bhāshya*. Sriśaila Srinivāsa's *Tattvamārtāṇḍa* is a digest of *Śrī Bhāshya*. His other works are: *Bhedadarpaṇa*, *Siddhāntachintāmaṇi*, *Saradarpaṇa*, *Virodhānīrodhsā*, *Jijnāśidarpaṇa*, *Nayadyumaṇidīpika* and *Samgraha*. Dēśikāchārya's *Prayōgaratna mālā*, Purushottama's *Subōdhini*, Saṭhagōpa's *Bhashyavyākhyā* is a simple and expository commentary. Srinivasa of Saṭhamarshanagōtra criticizes the theory of 'Anandatāratamyā', in his *Ānandatāratamyakhaṇḍana*. Srinivasasudhi's *Brahmajnanānirāsa* records his debate with Tryambaka Paṇḍita. Narasimhadēva wrote *Bhedādhikkaranyakkāra*, *Namisaradhikkāra* and *Siddhāntanirṇaya*. Narasimhasūri's *Śārīrabhāvādhikarāṇa-vichāra*, *Tatkritunīyāvichāra*, Ranganāthachārya's *Ashtādaśabhēdāvichāra*, and *Purushārtharatnākara*, Vedānta Rāmānuja's *Sarvadarśanaśīrōmaṇi* and *Divyāsūri-prabhāvādīpika*, Ayaṇṇa's *Vyāsātātparyanirṇaya*, Gōpālachārya's *Śatakōṭidūshaṇaparihāra* belong to this period. Annayārya, brother of Sriśaila Srinivasa wrote *Saptatīratnamālikā*, *Vyāvahārikatva khaṇḍasāra* and *Mithyātvakhaṇḍa*. Anantārya's *Nyāyabhāskura* is a refutation of Gauḍa Brahmānandi.

Advaita Philosophy was expounded and vindicated by a large number of able writers during this period. The foremost among these was Appayya Dikshita. He is credited with more than a hundred works. His *Vedanta-kalpataru-parimaḷa* is a sub-commentary on Bhāmati. *Siddhāntalēśasamgraha* is a compendium of the various schools of Advaitic thought and *Madhvatantramukhamardana* is a criticism of Dvaita doctrines. Gauḍa Brahmānanda defended *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusūdhana Sarasvati against the criticism of Tarangiṇi. Rāmāchārya. Even though both Madhusūdhana and Gauḍa Brahmānanda belonged to North India, they provoked the best talents in Karnataka in producing polemical works. Svayamprakāśa wrote a commentary on *Advaitamakaranda*. His disciples Mahādeva Sarasvati and Arhandayati wrote *Tattvānusandhāna* and *Rijuprakāśika* respectively. The latter wrote his work at the request of Immaḍi Jagadēkarāya. His discipie Kalahastyādhvari is the author of *Ratnakṛśaparakāśika*. Krishānanda Sarasvati wrote *Siddhāntasiddhanjana*. Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita's *Dvaitakaustubhakhaṇḍana* is an attack on Dvaita Philosophy. Subrahmaṇya's *Bhashyārthanyāyamāla*, Gōvindānanda's *Ratnaprabhā*, Hari Dikshita's *Vedanta sutravritti*, Dēvarāmabhaṭṭa's *Adhikaraṇamālā* are the commentaries on *Sutra Bhāshya* during this period. Rāghavānanda, Viśvadēva and Rāmateertha commented upon *Samshēpaśārīraka*. Lakshminarasimha, son of Kondabhaṭṭa, wrote his *Abhōga*, a commentary on *Drigdrisya Vivēka*. Nārāyanaśarma's commentary on *Bhēdādhikkāra*, Dharmarājādhvarin's *Vedāntaparibhāsha* and a few commentaries on *Siddhāntabindu* are notable additions to Advaita literature during this period.

Even though Nyāyaśāstra was studied with great zeal in Karnataka, very few books were written on Nyāya. Krishna-bhaṭṭa's commentaries on *Panchavādas* deserve special mention. A few commentaries on *Tarkasamgraha* of Aṇṇambhaṭṭa and *Tarkābhāṣya*, i.e., *Padārthasāgara*, *Tarkachandrika*, *Tarkakaumudi*, *Tarkaratnāmbōdadhi*, etc., were written to help beginners. A large number of krōḍapatras, i. e., higher parishkāras, are found in manuscripts.

In the field of general literature not much of originality or fine poetry is to be found in this period. Some additions were, no doubt, made to the already existing mass of traditional and conventional poetry. However, a few biographical poems of religious heads and devotional poetry are the special features of this period.

Anantāchārya of Mysore wrote an interesting poem, i. e., *Yādava-Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviyam*, which describes the stories of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhāgavata* simultaneously. This is on the same lines as that of the same title by Chidambara, who had the model of Dhananjaya and Kavirāja before him. Shaḍaksharadēva's *Kavikarṇarasāyana* is an enchanting poem of 10 cantos available only in fragments. He was a master of both Kannada and Sanskrit and his Kannada works *Rajaśēkharavilāsa* and *Sabaraśamkaravilāsa* are highly appreciated.

He has also composed a few stōtras (hymns) in Sanskrit. *Veerabhadravijayachampu* of Ekāmbaraśāstrin gives an account of Kempe Gowḍa chiefs. He was at the court of Mummaḍi Kempe Gowḍa. Surpur Venkaṭāchārya and his son Anṇayāchārya were the court-poets at Surpūr. Venkaṭāchārya has three works to his credit, i. e., *Bāṇāsuravijaya*, *Sringāraturangiṇi* and *Abhinavaśringārarasamanjari*. Anṇayāchārya has written. *Rasōdara* Pānduranga's *Vijayapurāṇakathā* contains an account of Bijapur and its Mussalman sovereigns. Pradhāni Venkaṭabhūpati of Mysore has written several small plays: *Rukmiṇisvayamvara*, *Kukshimbharihhaikshya*, *Kāmakalāvilāsa*. *Vibudhadānava* are some of his works. Sudhindrayogin's *Subhadra Dhananjaya* is available only in fragments. *Sumatindrajayaghōṣaṇē*, *Subhadrapariṇaya* and a commentary on *Ushāhāraṇa* are the works of Sumatindrateertha. A series of biographical poems of Madhva saints were written during this period: *Jayateertha Vijaya* by Samkarshaṇa, *Jayateertha Vijayābhi* by Kṛishṇa, *Jayindrōdaya* by Srinivasa, *Vyasayōgicharita* by Sōmanātha, *Vyāsavijaya* by Ratnākara, *Vidpādhisavijaya* by Janārdana, *Rāghavēndravijaya* by Nārāyaṇa, *Satyanāthābhyudaya* by Samkarshana, *Satyabōdhavijaya* by Kānchi Kṛishnācharya, *Satyasandhavijaya*, *Satyasandhālamkara* and *Guruchandrakālōdaya* belong to this class of poems. *Guruvamśakathakalpataru* of Bhimadaivajna of Bijapur sketches the life of all the Madhva saints up to Satyasandha. *Guruvamśakathāvaḷi* is also a work of the same type available only in fragments. *Kṛṇkapadhyudaya* of Rāmācharya gives the history of Sārasvata Vaishṇava Maṭhas. *Tattvaguṇādarśa champu* of Anṇayārya is modelled on *Viśvagnṇādarśa* of Venkaṭādhvarin. This work describes the comparative merits of the tenets of Saivism and Sri Vaishnavism in the form of a dialogue between Jaya and Vijaya. *Sivalingasūryōdaya* is a drama by Mallari Ārādhyā glorifying the tenets of Veeraśaiva religion. *Hamsasandēśa* by Parakalayati, *Yakshōllāsa* by Kṛishnamurti, *Sukasandēśa* by Rangāchārya, *Mēghapṛatisandēśa* by Ramasastri, *Gitagangādhara* by Chandraśekhara Sarasvati, *Gītārāghava* by Rāmākavi are some of the lyrics of this period. *Sāntivilāsa*, by Subrahmaṇya, *Nitiśataka* by Venkaṭarāya, *Panchatantrasamgraha* by Srinivāsāchārya are some of the didactic poems. *Venkaṭēśachūrṇika* by Tirumalārya *Sivādya-sāhasra* by Narasimha, *Sivāshṭapadi* by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, *Sivādhikyaratnāvaḷi* and *Bhaktādhikya Kathāvaḷi* by Shaḍaksharadēva, *Srinivasadayavilāsa* and several other devotional poems were also written during the period. In rhetoric, apart from Appayba Dikshita's well-known works, *Sudhindrayogin's Alankāramanjari*, *Alankāranikasa* and *Sāhitya Samrajya*, Sumatindratirtha's *Mudhudhara*, Krishna Brahma Parakālayati's *Alankāramāṇihāra* and *Lochanālōāsa*, *Alankāramāṇidarpaṇa* by Venkappa Pradhāna, *Alankārasūra* by Narasimha, *Utpṛēkshamanjari* by Varadācharya, *Rasakaumudi* by Śrīkanṭha, *Alankārakaumudi*, *Kavisamayōllāsa* and *Nāṭakaparibhāsha* are notable additions. *Nanjarāja Yaśobhushaṇa* by Narasimha Kavi is a work on the lines of *Pratāparudrāyaśōbhuhāṇa* on rhetoric. The chapter dealing with drama contains a drama *Chandrakālākalyāṇa* by way of illustration.

On technical subjects like lexicography and grammar also a few works were written during this period. Lingabhaṭṭa's *Amarkōśa Vivṛiti* is a commentary

both in Kannada and Sanskrit on *Amarakōśa*. Satyapriyateertha's commentary on Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is available only in fragments. Chalarī Sēsha's *Kridantapradīpa* and *Taddhitapradīpa* are parts of his *Suśabdapradīpa*. His *Sābdika Kanṭhābharāṇa* is only reported. Gajēndragaḍkar Rāghavendrācharya's *Prabhā* is a commentary on *Kaustubha*, while *Tripathaga* is on *Paribhāshenduśēkhara*.

Several commentaries were written on the Purānas, particularly on *Bhāgavata*. Among these, the commentaries of Yādavārya, Srinivasateertha, Satyābhinava, Narahari and Satyadharma deserve mention. *Bhāgavatasārōddhāra* of Vishnuteertha is a digest of *Bhāgavata*. The Virāta and Udyōgaparvas of the *Mahābhārata* were commented upon by Navaratna Narahari and Satyadharma. Vaidyanātha Dīkshita's *Rāmāyaṇadīpika* and Satyadharmateertha's *Rāmāyaṇaṭippaṇi* are glosses on the *Ramayana*.

The above survey is only a brief account of Sanskrit literature produced during the 17th and 18th centuries. This will show that after the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire, even though royal patronage was considerably reduced and the scholars were scattered, the growth of Sanskrit literature continued, thanks to the heads of the religious institutions and the distinguished dignitaries of this period. The inherent love for knowledge in the Indian community also contributed to this growth and Sanskrit learning was kept up. There was an appreciable output of scholastic and expository literature.



CHAPTER XIV

THE MODERN PERIOD POLITICAL HISTORY

BRITISH DOMINATION:

The modern period of Karnataka History may be said to begin from the conquest of Mysore by the British and the death of Tipu.

Haidar and Tipu were the two Indian rulers who put up the stoutest resistance to British domination in South India in the second half of the 18th century. But British diplomacy thwarted Haidar's efforts, and he was out-manoeuvred. His son Tipu, though as intrepid and as great a lover of freedom as his father, could not succeed where his father had failed, poor diplomat that he was.

The political events in Karnataka about this time had become a tangled mess of alliances and misalliances, and of the petty ambitions of local rulers playing for security and self-aggrandizement. It is, therefore, difficult to give a unified history of the country in this period of transition in a clear-cut manner. But two or three major political trends may be broadly described so far as Karnataka is concerned.

Firstly, the British had laid aside their role as a trading company by the end of the 18th century and come out openly as conquerors of the country. Secondly, the expansion of Maratha rule had extended to the south by the beginning of the 18th century. From 1720, Maratha rule became stabilized in north Karnataka, as already seen in the last chapter. North Karnataka thus came to be called the Southern Maratha country almost till recent times.

Then there was the Nizam of Hyderabad who was nibbling at portions of north Karnataka territory, formerly under Bahamani rule, and was being resisted by the Marathas, who had always been determined opponents of Muslim aggression from the north, east, or south. The Nizam was alarmed at the growing power of the British, but he feared more the expansionist activities of Tipu. The British had succeeded in enlisting this fear to their own advantage.

Thus, when the modern period of Karnataka history commenced about the beginning of the 19th century there was Maratha rule in the north, that of the Nizam in the north-east of Karnataka, and British domination in south

Karnataka. Both these powers, the Nizam and the Marathas, however, could not, in the nature of things, continue to exist independently. The British conquered important parts of their territories and managed to subjugate them.

NORTH KARNATAKA :

The political vicissitudes through which North Karnataka (north of the Tungabhadra) passed may be briefly recounted. Ever since the extinction of the Yādava dynasty and the establishment of the Bahamini Kingdom by the middle of the 14th century, the Karnataka region north of the Tungabhadra, comprising roughly the Bijapur District and Hyderabad Karnataka, passed under Muslim rule, first of the Bahamini Sultans for nearly 150 years and later the Adil Shahi of Bijapur and of the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar from the beginning of the 16th century. The rise of the Vijayanagar Kingdom south of the Tungabhadra brought no respite to their condition, except that parts of the Dharwar region were under the rule of feudatories owing allegiance to Vijayanagar. Yet they lived under the constant menace of Muslim pressure from the east. The doab between the Krishna and Tungabhadra continued to be a bone of contention between the Muslim rulers and the Vijayanagar Kings and the former were constantly pressing to the south. The rise of Sivaji in the middle of the 17th century brought the Bombay Karnataka districts under the sphere of Maratha influence. But after Sivaji's death in 1680, the Moghuls again invaded this territory. Bijapur fell to the Moghuls in 1786. The struggle between the Marathas and the Moghuls continued for many years. But the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 changed the situation in favour of the Marathas.

Baji Rao Peshwa had overrun Karnataka and marched as far as Srirangapattana in 1726. The Nawab of Savanur who owed allegiance to the Nizam resisted the Marathas and, by a treaty signed in 1747, was allowed to keep Hubli Bankapur and Hanagal, while the Peshwa retained control over Dharwar Navalgund, Gadag and parts of Ranibennur. The Nawab of Savanur tried to set himself up as an independent ruler, and the Marathas and the Nizam then joined to subjugate him. Haidar's invasion in 1764-5 into this region and his overtures to the Savanur Nawab proved fruitless. But in 1776 he defeated the Marathas and entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Nawab by giving his daughter in marriage to the Nawab's son. Haidar died in 1782. Tipu followed his father's example and captured Kittur and Nargund. This made the Nizam and the Marathas enter into an alliance against Tipu in 1786.

When the British defeated Tipu with the help of the Marathas and the Nizam in 1792, he was deprived of half of his territories, those on the west, south and east of Mysore were taken by the British, while the Marathas retained their hold on the North Karnataka area with the Tungabhadra as their southern boundary. To the Nizam's share fell the area north-east of the old Mysore

State and the Kannada districts of the Hyderabad State. Tipu lost half of his Kingdom and his cup of humiliation was full when the British carried away his two sons as hostages.

The allies, chiefly led by the British, finally succeeded in extinguishing Tipu's power seven years later, as we have seen already.

This resulted not only in the consolidation of British rule in South India but to the partitioning of Karnataka into different administrative units.

THE PARTITION OF KARNATAKA :

A Partition Treaty was drawn up to apportion territories seized 'by right of conquest' among the allies. The Nizam was given the present Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, which, however, were ceded by him in 1800 in lieu of maintaining a British force in his dominions in accordance with the new British policy in India. These districts came thus to be known as the 'Ceded Districts'. The Marathas who had also been in the 'conquering army' were given the territories north of the Tungabhadra river, roughly the Bombay Karnataka Districts, except North Kanara which, being a coastal district was retained by the British, who also took South Kanara and all the areas west, south and east of the Old Mysore State for themselves. Kanara was a single district and it was only in 1862 that a division was made, and the area north of Kundapur was called North Kanara and made over to the Bombay Presidency British administration. The British took care to see that they retained under their control the entire sea-coast. They would not trust it to the custody of any of their Indian allies as they had bitter memories of Tipu's efforts to enlist the support of sea-faring powers like the French in his struggles against the British. The area left over after being parcelled out among the Nizam, the Marathas and themselves was the old Mysore State which the British decided to make over to the ancient Hindu family which had been dispossessed by Haidar and Tipu nearly 40 years earlier.

The motives underlying this partition are set forth in a letter written by the Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General of India, at the time (7th June, 1799).

"To have divided the whole territory equally between the Company and the Nizam, while it would have afforded strong grounds of jealousy to the Marathas, would have aggrandized the Nizam's power beyond the bounds of discretion and would have left in our hands a territory so extensive, as it might have been difficult to manage, especially in the present state of the Company's service at the Presidency. To have divided the territory into three equal portions allowing the Marathas who had taken no part in the expense or hazard of the war, an equal share in the advantages of the peace, would neither have been just to

the Nizam, politic, in the way of example to our other allies, nor prudent in respect of aggrandizement of the Maratha Empire. To have given the Marathas no larger a territory than is now proposed, while the Company and the Nizam divided the whole of the remainder to the exclusion of any central power, would have been liable nearly to the same objection as that stated against a total exclusion of the Marathas from all participation. The establishment, therefore, of a central and separate power in the ancient territories of Mysore appeared to be the best expedient for reconciling the interests of all parties."

After dismissing the claims of Tipu's sons to any share in the dominion 'conquered', the letter proceeds:

"If I were to look to moral considerations alone, I should certainly no every principle of justice and humanity, as well as of attention to the welfare of the people have been led to restore the heir of the ancient Raja of Mysore to that rank and dignity which were wrested from his ancestors by the usurpation of Hyder Ali."

RANI LAKSHMIAMMANI :

There was in fact, more to it than the 'moral consideration' referred to above. The adherents of the old royal family had not taken Haidar's usurpation lying down. Attempts had been made to put back Haidar in his place as the Commander-in-Chief and no more. But these did not succeed on account of the resourcefulness and energy displayed by Haidar who easily quelled all such efforts. But some months before his death a determined effort was made by the Queen Lakshmiammanni, widow of Raja Chikkakrishna Raja Wodeyar who ruled from 1734-1766. Chikkakrishnaraja Wodeyar's sons, Nanjaraja (1766-70) and Chamaraja Wodeyar (1770-1776) both enjoyed titular authority only for a few years. In 1776 Haidar picked up a young boy from a collateral family and installed him on the throne as Khasa Chamaraja Wodeyar (1776-1797). Lakshmiammanni had lived through all these revolutionary days. She was determined to enlist British help to get the Mysore throne restored to its rightful heirs. She had sent emissaries to the Madras Government. A Treaty was duly concluded in 1782, by which the British undertook an invasion of Mysore to put down Haidar and reinstate the old Hindu dynasty on the throne. Lakshmiammanni had undertaken to pay for the expedition sums amounting on the whole to 10 lakhs of canteroy pagodas when the enterprise came to a successful conclusion ; the sums to be paid after each stage of the expedition was reached were also stipulated.

The restoration of the old Hindu dynasty was part of a policy to consolidate British rule in India and maintain balance of power among the allies who had joined in the 'war of conquest', rather than honouring the terms of a Treaty concluded with Rani Lakshmiammanni. It is noteworthy that this venerable

Dowager Queen was a signatory to the Treaty that was drawn up to reinstate Krishnaraja Wodeyar, then only three years old, on the throne of his ancestors. Strangely enough the Treaty formerly entered into with this Dowager Queen hardly figures in the diplomatic transactions of the period.

Maharani Lakshmiammanni passed away in 1810. A year later passed away Minister Purniah who administered the State for over 10 years after the restoration. When the young King Krishnaraja Wodeyar III came of age, he was thus deprived of the sage guidance of both these venerable advisers and well-wishers.

Sir Barry Close was appointed Resident and Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) commanded the Fort of Srirangapattana with a British garrison. Purniah profited by their counsel in restoring order, and initiating administrative measures of a progressive character. The Mysore troops and the English garrison were used to put down disorder and insurrections that took place in and around the borders of the State, like the insurrection of Dhoondia Waugh, a Maratha freebooter, in 1799-1800, the insurrection of Krishnappa Nayak, the Palayagar of Ballam (Manjarabad) in 1800, the Maratha War in 1803, the disturbances at Chittoor (1804-5) and Vellore (1806).

The first part of the young ruler's reign ended with Purniah's retirement in 1811. Purniah was given the Yelandur Jagir in 1807 for his meritorious services to the State. He was a man of extraordinary and versatile gifts, who distinguished himself both in times of war and peace. He won golden opinions from the European officers, both civil and military, and laid the foundations of a progressive administration in Indian-ruled India of that time. Mysore acquired even from the British the reputation of being a well-governed State.

The Mysore army, particularly the cavalry, rendered signal service to the British Government in putting down the Pindaris who had become a menace in the northern parts of the State and beyond in 1816 and in the affair at Kittur in 1824, in which Rani Chennamma put up a heroic resistance against British domination.

BRITISH RULE AGAIN :

In 1830, trouble started in the Nagar area in the north-west corner of the State. This was an area which had been under the rule of the Nayaks of Keladi and had not developed much allegiance to the Mysore ruling family. One Buid Basavayya, a pretender, started the trouble and headed a peasant revolt. The Mysore troops and the subsidiary force moved to the region and put down the insurgents. A Commission of Enquiry was instituted, but before its findings were known or considered, Lord William Bentinck decided on taking over the Mysore State under British administration. The order dispossessing Krishnaraja Wodeyar III was delivered in 1831 during the time of the Dasara festivities. The ruler

submitted with dignity to this decision, and the Mysore State came to be administered by British Commissioners from 1831-1881.

Though dispossessed, Krishnaraja Wodeyar was loved and respected by the people on account of his great personal qualities. He was a generous patron of learning and was well-acquainted with Kannada, Sanskrit, Marathi and Persian. Being without issue he kept up a grim struggle for the right of adopting a heir and restitution of the State to the rule of the old dynasty. He succeeded in his efforts a year before he passed away in 1868. Chamaraja Wodeyar, the adopted son, was recognized as the rightful heir to the throne when he came of age in 1881.

The rule of British Commissioners from 1831 to 1881 is dealt with later.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO:

Sir Thomas Munro, who was made collector of Bellary in 1800, had a hard job in establishing civil administration, and maintaining order. He had to liquidate the Palayagars of Harapanahalli, Rayadurg and other places, and did it with a firm hand. He then turned his attention to North Karnataka and conquered it for the British, the local people being only too glad to throw off the oppressive yoke of the Maratha Chieftains. By the treaty of Poona, Dharwar and Kusugal were ceded to the British by the Peshwa, because there had been an open rebellion in Dharwar against Triambak Denge who was imposed upon Dharwar by the Peshwa. The Peshwa had been unable to put down the rebellion. By 1818 no vestige of Maratha rule remained in these areas, and the British had occupied it and established their civil and military administration in the region.

Sir Thomas Munro has made a name for himself as one of the most statesman-like rulers who initiated far-reaching and beneficial reforms, particularly in regard to land revenue administration. It is interesting to recall that, as early as 1826, when the jurisdiction of Kannada districts was being considered, he made a strong plea that what came to be known as Bombay Karnataka districts should be under the administration of Madras. Among the reasons mentioned by him were: "that the transfer would have the effect of putting out of memory the existence of the old Maratha confederacy, that the estate holders or jagirdars were strangers from Konkan and from the countries beyond the Krishna and had no influence over the bulk of the people; that as the country was already in the hands of the Madras troops, its civil administration should be in the hands of the Madras Government, that the Dharwar District was bounded on the east and west by Madras districts and, therefore, its transfer to Madras was advisable on administrative grounds; that the District though it had been over-run by Marathas was not a Maratha district, that it touched part of the Karnatak which was already under Madras and that the people were a portion of the same Kanarese

nation who lived in Bellary, Sonda and Mysore, speaking the same language and differing from them in no respect; that it would give more satisfaction to the people to be united to their own nation than to be transferred to a country of Marathas with whom they had no natural connection, and that this reunion of their nation as a permanent measure was entitled to more weight than the convenience of the Maratha Chiefs who should continue to look to Poona and Bombay for redress." (Sir Thomas Munro's Minutes dated 5th May 1826, 27th June 1826 and August 26—Sir A.N. Arbuthnot's *Life of Munro*—II—89—99—Quoted in the *Dharwar Gazette*.)

The Court of Directors, however, decided in 1830 that the Karnataka districts should form part of the Bombay Presidency. It is useless to speculate at this distant date how much Karnataka unification would have been facilitated, better emotional integration achieved, and the Kannada people enjoyed a fuller life if Munro's view had prevailed in 1826.

Dharwar was at first the seat of the principal Collector for the Karnataka districts. In 1836 Belgaum was made a separate district. North Kanara, as already noted, was separated from South Kanara and attached to the Bombay Presidency in 1862.

THE 1857 REVOLT :

The rumblings of the Indian Rebellion of 1857-58 were heard in these districts more than in any other part of Karnataka. Bhaskara Rao or Baba Saheb of Nargund, an enlightened Chieftain, whose family had been in possession of the estate since the middle of the 16th century was incensed at being denied the right to adopt an heir, and led the rebellion. He was joined by Bheema Rao Mundargi, who had been in British service, but had resigned because of his independence of spirit. They had planned that the former should capture Dharwar and the latter Koppal and enlist other chieftains like those of Ramdurg and Anegondi. In addition to these, Kenchana Gowda of Sirhatti and the Desai of Soratur had agreed to join the rebellion. In spite of the plucky efforts of the rebels, the organized strength of the British Government at length prevailed. Bheema Rao was killed in action and Baba Saheb was caught and hanged. The casualties were about 200 killed in Nargund and Koppal. About 40 persons were hanged and about a 100 sentenced to imprisonment; about a 100 soldiers were shot by court martial. The Nargund estate, which had 43 villages, was merged in the Dharwar District.

THE HISTORY OF COORG

Before dealing with the history of the rule of British Commissioners for half a century (1831-1881) over the (old) Mysore State, we might turn our attention to Coorg and its modern history. The British looked upon Coorg as merely an appendage of Mysore for administrative purposes, and as a happy hunting ground for planters growing coffee and oranges. With its great forests and undulating landscapes, wedged in between the Western Ghats and the Mysore plateau, the Coorgs, who might well be called the Highlanders of Karnataka, have developed a distinctive life of their own, marked by heroism and generosity. Though for more than a century now, the immigrants into Coorg far outnumber the original inhabitants, the Coorg tradition persists in the region in its dances and festivals, in its worship of the Kaveri which takes its rise there, and in its emancipated womanhood.

We shall now briefly consider the history of Coorg.

The history of Coorg as a political entity in modern times dates from the accession to power of the dynasty founded in 1633 by a Bednur prince, Veeraraja at Hāleri, now a small village about seven miles from Mercara. The kings of this dynasty, who were Veerasaivas, continued to rule Coorg till the British took over the government of Coorg in 1834. Under the first two kings, Veeraraja and Appajiraja, local Palayagars were put down and the authority of the kings extended over the whole of Coorg. Mudduraja (1633-1687), the next King, built a palace in Mercara and a fort wall round it and made it his Capital. On his death, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Siribaya Doddaveerappa, the two other sons, Appajiraja and Nandaraja getting the jagirs of Hāleri and Horamale respectively.

The reign of Doddaveerappa (1687-1736) witnessed the rapid development of the Kingdom of Coorg. He founded the town of Nanjarajapattana to give shelter to Nanjaraja, the exiled ruler of Periyapattana after it was occupied by the Mysore forces under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. He defended Coorg successfully from the Nair army of Veeravarma of Kotangadi. He annexed the neighbouring region of Elusaviraseeme, lying to the north of Coorg and belonging to Mysore, and agreed to pay half of the revenues of that region to the Mysore treasury. Doddaveerappa became a mediator in the war between Somasekharanayaka of Bednur and Veeravarmaraja of Chirakkal in Malabar. He stood surety for the Raja for the payment to the Nayaka of the agreed amount of Rs. 18 lakhs; half of this money was paid immediately but the other half was not paid after the withdrawal of the Bednur army. But Doddaveerappa, true to his undertaking,

sent the remaining amount from his own treasury. The Nayaka was very much pleased at this and gave him some villages of Tulunad as jagirs, known as 'Amara jagir'. Doddaveerappa purchased from the Nayaka some of the villages called Sulya near Amara for the perpetual supply of coconuts for the washing of the goddess Kaveri at Talakaveri. These two talukas of Amara and Sulya remained in Coorg till 1834.

Doddaveerappa died at the age of 78 after a very successful and eventful reign of 49 years. Honest to the core, he was brave and straightforward in all his dealings, but he was stern and unsparing to those guilty of disobedience. He did not hesitate to put his own son Appajiraja in prison for his cruel treatment of his wife.

Chikkaveerappa (1736-1766), the grandson of Doddaveerappa, had spent his early life in prison and thus had been sick in body and weak in mind. His reign ended in failure. It was in this period that Haidar Ali began to cast his eyes on the neighbouring regions. After the conquest of the Kingdom of Bednur in 1763, Haidar claimed authority over Coorg also. He sent word to Chikkaveerappa to hand over the hoblis of Bemmati, Mallipattana and Hosur in Elusaviraseeme, which was quickly complied with by the weak ruler of Coorg. Not satisfied with this, Haidar sent Farzullah Khan at the head of an army in 1765 to invade Coorg. But this army was defeated. In the meantime, Chikkaveerappa died childless and was succeeded by his uncle's sons.

The two kings, Mudduraja of Haleri and Muddiahraja of Horamale, though cousins, ruled well and amicably (1766-1770). They took effective steps to resist Haidar. Mudduraja sent his brother, Lingaraja, on Elusaviraseeme to drive out the Mysore forces under Farzullah Khan. The Mysore army was badly defeated and Haidar promptly concluded a treaty with the Rajas of Coorg and surrendered Panje-Bellare-seeme. By 1770, unfortunately, both these kings died in quick succession. Then followed a depressing period of wars between the Haleri and Horamale houses. First, Devapparaja, the grandson of Muddiahraja of Horamale, became King and ruled for four years. Lingaraja of Haleri, his son Veeraraja and his brother's sons all went to Aigur to get Haidar's help for the recovery of the throne of Coorg. Haidar readily agreed to invade Coorg and with difficulty defeated the Coorg army in 1773. Appajiraja, the son of Mudduraja, was made king on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of Rs. 24,000. Lingaraja secured Haidar's help in reconquering Wainad which was then in the hands of the Raja of Kotangadi. The army sent by Lingaraja was defeated and the two princes who were at the head of the army were killed.

On the death of Appajiraja in 1776, Lingaraja became the King of Coorg. Haidar took possession of Elusaviraseeme and the hoblis of Amara, Sulya, Panje and Bellare. Lingaraja unfortunately died at Mahadevapura in 1780, leaving

two minor sons. Haidar became their guardian and assumed the entire possession of Coorg until the princes should come of age, when it would be restored to them. Subbarasayya, the Brahmin secretary of the former Rajas of Coorg, was entrusted with the Government of the country.

The people were dissatisfied and revolted in June 1782. Haidar was then at war with the British at Arcot and sent orders that the princes be removed to Gorur in Arkalgud Taluka of Hassan District so that the rebels might be deprived of a rallying point.

When Tipu Sultan succeeded in 1782, he sent Haidar Ali Beg with a force to suppress the rebellion in Coorg. But the Mysore forces were defeated.

Tipu himself marched on Coorg and crushed the rebels. But no sooner was Tipu's back turned than the Coorgs again revolted. Tipu himself marched on Coorg in October 1785, reached Mercara and sent a detachment of his army in all directions to suppress the Coorgs. The latter fought with great courage, but in the end they were defeated and a large number of them were taken captive. New settlers from Adoni in Bellary District were brought in and were provided with free lands for cultivation in Coorg. New military fortresses were built at Mercara, Kusalanagar, Arameri in Beppunad and Bhagamandala and were heavily garrisoned.

Early in 1789, the Coorgs again broke out in open revolt against the Mysore Government. Veeraraja, the eldest son of Lingaraja, who had been in confinement at Periyapattana, escaped with his family at midnight in the middle of December 1789 and took refuge at Kurchi in Kiggattinad. He became the chief rallying point and leader of the people fighting for their independence. He lost no time in building up an army. But soon Veeraraja became a prisoner of the Raja of Kotangadi. He was forced to purchase his liberty by signing a document purporting to surrender the three valuable districts of Kiggattinad, Ammattinad, and Edenalkunad. He was also forced to sign an agreement surrendering all his claims over Wainad.

After this, Veeraraja turned his attention to expelling the Mysore army including the new settlers and established his headquarters at Siddhesvara, from where he carried on raids into Mysore. Tipu sent a large force to destroy Veeraraja. A contingent of the Nair army from Kotangadi came to the assistance of the Mysoreans. After heavy and continuous fighting, the Coorg army was defeated. The Mysore army marched on Malabar to suppress a rebellion there but suffered losses at the Kodantura Pass due to the opposition of Veeraraja. Further reinforcements sent by Tipu were destroyed after heavy fighting at the entrance of the Heggala Ghat.

A second and stronger expedition was sent and Tipu himself left his Capital for Coorg in September 1789; but the army was again defeated and the

three fortresses of Kushalanagar, Beppunad, and Bhagamandala fell to Veeraraja. Tipu, however, could not march on Coorg as his presence was necessary in Malabar which was blazing with revolt. Soon after the suppression of the rebellion in Malabar, war broke out with the English diverting Tipu's attention. Coorg thus remained unsubdued.

Veeraraja then proceeded to reconquer the jagirs of Amara and Sulya and did it easily. He sent another army to carry on raids into the taluks of Saklespur and Konanur and made all arrangements to see that the Mysore army in Mercara was cut off from all supplies and reinforcements.

Taking advantage of the Raja's engagements with the Mysore army, his hereditary enemy, the Raja of Kotangadi sent some 200 Nairs and Mullukurubas secretly to kill all the members of Veeraraja's party who were at Kurchi. Two of Veeraraja's queens, a son of his half-brother and about twenty attendants were slaughtered and a lot of valuable jewellery was looted.

When the third Anglo-Mysore War started in 1790, Robert Taylor, the English chief at Tellicherry, made overtures to the Raja of Coorg. The Raja agreed to treat Tipu and his allies as enemies, to furnish the English with supplies, to give them commercial privileges in his kingdom and to have no connection with any other European nation, while the Company on its side guaranteed the independence of Coorg.

Tipu, on hearing the news of the march of the English army through Coorg sent an army to oppose its advance at Periyapattana. But Periyapattana fell easily to the advancing British army. The onset of the monsoon made the English to retreat to Tellicherry since the hostilities were suspended. The respite was utilized by Tipu in trying to wean away the Raja from the English. He sent Qadir Khan Khaiggi, a friend of the Raja, with letters from Purniah and himself promising to cede the talukas of Heggadadevanakote, Periyapattana, Konanur and Arkalgud if the Raja helped him to defeat the English, but Veeraraja failed to respond.

The English army marched through friendly Coorg and encamped near Siddhesvar in November 1791. Veeraraja met Abercromby at Becholi in Edenalkunad and in memory of the meeting built a city there in 1792 and named it Veerarajapet. Some 12,000 Coorgs who had been in prison near Srirangapattana escaped and returned to Coorg. Veeraraja welcomed them warmly, distributed foodgrains and constructed homes for them.

The allied armies marched on Srirangapattana from all directions and the fall of the Capital seemed imminent. Then, Tipu made overtures to the English for ending the war.

Sir Robert Abercromby came down to Cannanore in 1793 and a second treaty of friendship was concluded on 31st March 1793 between the Raja and the

English. Veeraraja, of his own free will, agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 24,000 to the English. Veeraraja, now free from troubles, arranged for his coronation ceremony in his new Palace in Edenalkunad. Since he had no male heirs from his first queen, he married Mahadevammaji in February 1796.

In February 1799, war was declared on Tipu and the English army under Generals Stuart and Hartley marched on to Coorg through the Heggala Ghat. They encamped near Veerarajpet and the King met the Generals there. Veeraraja not only delivered about 40,000 bhattis of rice and other supplies stored there to the English but also sent his men, oxen, and elephants to bring up the heavy stores and equipment from Kalluhole below the ghats.

The English army marched on to Karbadigod on the Mysore road. A fierce battle ensued between the two armies for the whole day and the Mysore army suffered heavy losses (6th March). Tipu retreated towards Srirangapattana with the remaining army.

After the battle, Veeraraja, on the advice of General Stuart, declared war on Tipu and sent a part of his army to plunder the Mangalore territory and another contingent to plunder the Heggadadevanakote area. The King himself retired to his Palace at Nalkunadu. Then the Coorg army captured the strong fortress of Bellare, thus ending Tipu's rule in the Mangalore area.

On 4th May 1799, Tipu died on the field of battle and the war came to an end. The news of this victory was communicated to Veeraraja, who was also requested to recall his armies from the Mysore territory. General Harris sent Tipu's war-horse, the palanquin and a howda as presents to Veeraraja and General Hartley gave him a fine horse.

After the partition of Tipu's territory by the allies, the boundaries of Coorg and Mysore were demarcated clearly.

The last days of Veeraraja were far from happy. His favourite Queen Mahadevammaji died in 1807; the King was struck with sorrow and lost his mental equilibrium. On 9th June 1809, he breathed his last, after giving the royal insignia to Devammaji, his daughter, as he had no male heirs. Basavalingaraja of Sode, who had been the Dewan of Veeraraja in his last days, continued to act in the same capacity in the new reign. But, Lingaraja, the ambitious brother of Veeraraja, tried to win over the principal officers and leaders to his side. The proposal made by his friends, of making Lingaraja the Dewan in the place of Basavalingaraja was, however, rejected by the assembly of all Coorg leaders. Lingaraja was greatly upset by this and went away to Haleri. Basavalingaraja quietly left Coorg and went back to his ancestral home.

Lingaraja then took control of the Government and proclaimed himself the King of Coorg in 1811. The English authorities did not oppose this procla-

mation openly though secretly they did not approve of it. Lingaraja made Appanna his Dewan and began to rule the country. well. But the fear of conspiracy against him by the people made him to appoint spies and secret reporters and punish severely those who were disaffected. He constructed the present Palace in Mercara between 1812 and 1814 and completed the tomb of Veeraraja and his queen. The big Omkaresvara Temple of Mercara was completed in 1820.

Chikkaveeraraja, (1820-1834) the son of Lingaraja, was the last King of the Haleri dynasty and of Coorg also. He was a young man of 20 years at the time of his accession and gathered around him a number of flatterers and wicked persons. The King and his advisers embarked on a policy of hunting down and killing all those who dared to oppose or criticize his rule.

Cole heard a report of the slaughter of many people and wrote to Veeraraja for the details. Veeraraja protested against this interference. His sister Devammaji and her husband Channabasappa fled to Mysore in September 1831, and levelled many charges against the King. He wrote insulting letters to Bentinck and to the Governor of Madras and began to make preparations for a war with the English.

The English who had been casting hungry eyes on Coorg because of its delightful climate and immense facilities for hunting thought that the time was ripe for the annexation of Coorg. Governor-General Bentinck issued orders for the occupation of Coorg. The English army under Col. Lindsay marched on Mercara and conquered it on 10th April 1834.

Veeraraja and his family were sent to Benares, followed by some 250 relatives and friends. Veeraraja and his daughter Gauramma went to England in 1852. There Gauramma embraced Christianity and Queen Victoria became her Godmother. Victoria Gauramma married an English officer but died soon after. Veeraraja died in London in 1860 and his body was brought to Benares and buried there with due honours.

In 1857-58, when the Mutiny was raging in North India, the English authorities of Mysore feared an uprising of the Mysore army. Mark Cubbon, the Commissioner of Mysore, established a strong guard consisting of Coorg soldiers at Periyapattana. Highly pleased at the devotion of these soldiers, Cubbon ordered in 1861 that the provisions of the Arms Act be waived in the case of all Coorgs. After the Rendition of Mysore in 1881 the Coorgs opposed the proposal of Coffee Plantation owners for the formation of a "South Indian Coffee District" consisting of Coorg, Wainad, and the Nilgiri areas. From 1867 the Superintendent came to be called as the Commissioner of Coorg. But, when the Resident's post was abolished in 1943, Coorg came under a Chief Commissioner stationed in Mercara and the Government of Madras was in charge of looking after the affairs of Coorg.

As a result of States' re-organisation in 1956, Coorg was formed into a district and became part of the enlarged Mysore State.

COMMISSIONERS' RULE IN MYSORE — (1831-1881 A.D.)

The establishment of British Commissioners' rule lasting for fifty years from 1831-81 marks a distinct phase in the development of modern Mysore. It witnessed the gradual transformation of the then existing Hindu system of administration into one that was based on the British model in all its essentials. While all the old usages and institutions of the State, which were deemed worth respecting and preserving, were allowed to continue undisturbed, reforms which were considered to be of a highly beneficial nature were carried out during this period in such a thorough and systematic manner that Mysore emerged at the end of the British rule in 1881 as an orderly, peaceful and well-administered State within the framework of the British system.

It was under extraordinary circumstances that in the year 1831, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, applying the fourth Article of the Treaty of 1799, assumed, purely as a measure of temporary expediency, the management of the affairs of the State on the plea that there was gross maladministration and disorder in the country under the rule of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.

It was true that there existed much discontentment among the civil and military officials owing to non-payment of their salaries regularly for a few years past. And to this were added the following factors: (1) the enormous increase of expenditure on account of the proverbial prodigality of the ruler, resulting in heavy debts, (2) the absence of a civil list separate from the privy purse, (3) diminution of revenue from adverse trade and seasonal conditions, (4) the growing discontent of the ryots due to abuse of 'sharat', or contract system, in the Nagar Division. This resulted in the outbreak of insurrections in these parts at the instigation of the disaffected members of the old Palayagar families. It may also be said that the negligent attitude shown by the Madras Government, which was authorised to exercise control over Mysore on behalf of the East India Company in accordance with the arrangements made by Lord Wellesley, the then Governor-General, despite the alarming reports forwarded to it from time to time by the British Resident in Mysore (the Honourable A. H. Cole), regarding the precarious

financial condition prevailing in the State, also contributed to the deterioration of the situation.

As regards the insurrections, it is necessary to admit that the Raja evinced great personal interest in suppressing them but his endeavours failed to meet with success. This may be attributed to the inadequate military force placed at his disposal. The Governor of Madras, S. R. Lushington, paid a visit to Mysore in May 1831 and, after personally conducting an enquiry into the real State of affairs, admitted the need to furnish more subsidiary forces immediately to restore order in the disturbed areas. This was done after he departed from Mysore. Further, an Enquiry Committee was appointed to enquire into the origin, progress and suppression of the insurrection and to make a report on it. Pending the submission of the report, the Governor-General took the momentous decision to replace the rule of the Raja by that of the British Commissioners as a temporary measure. The orders were then issued to the Governor of Madras to take over the administration and govern the State, through a Board of two British Commissioners, one Senior and the other Junior. This new Government was to be subordinate to the Madras Government. Colonel Briggs was nominated as the Senior Commissioner by the Governor-General and C. M. Lushington was appointed the Junior Commissioner by the Madras Government. On the auspicious day (19th October 1831) of the commencement of the Dasara when the country was rejoicing in the celebration of the national festival, the letter conveying the decision of the supreme Government was placed in the hands of the Raja who, with his characteristic calmness of mind, complied with the mandate. Thus it may be said that the administrative sequestration of the Mysore territories originated in a hasty error which was acknowledged with regret by its responsible author Lord William Bentinck.

C. M. Lushington took charge of his duties three months earlier than his senior colleague and, in the interval, tried to introduce certain changes which unfortunately resulted in the creation of more confusion in the administration. Soon after Col. Briggs assumed charge, the first act he did was to turn down the reforms of his junior colleague and introduce his own in the administrative department, with a view to bring about regularity in the Public Offices under his immediate control. But these reforms of his, in their turn, found no favour with the Government of Madras. After a few months' stay in Mysore, C. M. Lushington left the place and was succeeded by G. M. Drury who after a brief period was in his turn, succeeded by J. M. Macleod. Col. Briggs, however had to confront serious differences with his junior colleagues and also the Dewan of Mysore, which made his position almost intolerable as a Senior Commissioner. This resulted in his resignation in November 1832. Before he left Mysore he made out a strong case in favour of appointing a single Commissioner to the State instead of two, which proposal was given effect to only from 1834. In passing, it may be said that Col. Briggs was a man of extraordinary courage of conviction, zeal, activity

and assertive will. His successful efforts in restoring peace in the Nagar Division deserve high commendation.

In the meantime, the Insurrection Enquiry Committee had concluded its work and placed the report in the hands of the Governor-General. An important finding of this report was that it clearly exonerated the Raja from the alleged misrule. Lord William Bentinck's visit to Mysore in April 1834 made him doubt even the legality and moral justification of depriving the Raja of his power. The allegation that the subsidy was not paid at regular intervals was found to be untrue. As regards the disposition of the ruler, he described it as the 'reverse of tyrannical or cruel' and expressed his belief that he would 'make a good ruler in future'. And then he went on to recommend to the Court of Directors in London the restoration of three-fourths of the territory at once to the Raja, retaining the remaining portion as a guarantee for the regular payment of the subsidy. This proposal was, however, turned down by the Home Government to the great disappointment of the Governor-General and the Raja. In 1834, he also made some valuable and constructive proposals to improve the administration of Mysore. According to them, the whole State was to be divided into four territorial Divisions, each under a European Superintendent, in place of the Foujdar, and these Superintendents were to perform the revenue, magisterial and certain judicial duties and supervise every Department of the Civil Government, subject to the final authority and concurrence of the Commissioner. The Amildars of the Taluks, in addition to their revenue duties, were to continue to be in charge to the police, subject to certain restrictions imposed on them in the exercise of this power. The rules contained in Bengal Regulation XX of 1817 were to be followed where analogy was found applicable. He also emphasized the need to enhance the salaries of the officers and selecting the best men to important posts. Another valuable suggestion made by him was the revision of the existing system of land settlement with the consent of the cultivators. In judicial matters the proposal made was that the Commissioner was to be assisted by the Huzur Adalat Court composed of three judges, one Pandit and one Munsif. But no code of laws was in existence at that time.

The Junior Commissioner left Mysore in February 1834, to be succeeded by Colonel Cubbon who, in June 1834, was made the Senior Commissioner, when Lt. Col. W. Morison, the successor of Col. Briggs, was appointed as a member of the Supreme Council.

Col. Mark Cubbon was 49 years of age when he was appointed as the sole Commissioner of Mysore. Prior to his elevation to that exalted position he had been associated with the Mysore service for a long time and this stood him in good stead when he became the highest authority in the State.

Generally speaking, two distinct phases can be marked in the British policy during the entire period of the Commisioners' rule, when two opposite motives

were in operation. During the first 30 years the main objective was not to inaugurate a new system of Government but to reform the flagrant abuses prevailing in several departments, to restore peace and tranquillity, to develop the resources of the State, to help the agricultural classes against tyranny and extortion, and to purify the native system of judicial administration. Having regard to the temporary nature of the British rule, it was further intended to employ the native agency as much as possible in the administration and to preserve and maintain the native institutions. The first period from 1831 to 1855 is, therefore, described as a non-regulation or patriarchal system, as the administration was more or less based on paternal despotism. The period from 1856-62 is termed as the 'Transition Period' and the years from 1863-81 are described as the period of the Regulation System.

It is now necessary to have a cursory glance at the measures adopted by Col. Cubbon to make the administration efficient, vigorous and systematic. With these objects in view he reorganized the administrative units into four main Divisions namely, Bangalore, Chitradurga, Ashtagram and Nagar, each under a European Superintendent. Each Division consisted of a number of Taluks, the total number of which amounted to 120. This number was reduced subsequently, by amalgamating the smaller ones with the bigger units. Each taluk was placed in charge of an Amildar. The taluks were divided into hoblies and each hobli consisted of a group of villages. The Shekdar or Hoblidar was the chief official of the Hobli. As regards the powers of the Superintendents in the Divisions, they were enlarged in many respects. However, the Amildars in charge of taluks were allowed to communicate directly with the Commissioner. The Commissioner's Secretariat consisted of the first Assistant who, acting as the Personal Assistant to the Commissioner, performed the duties of the Secretary in all branches; the Military Assistant who, in addition to his own work, inspected and looked to the management of the local Militia; three other Junior Assistants in charge of different departments; and one other Junior Assistant without any specific assignment, but who, from the time the Residency was abolished in 1843, performed the minor duties of the Resident.

The Central Office consisted of nine branches: Revenue, Post, Police, Sawar, Barr, Maramat, Medical, Amrit Mahal, Justice and Education, each under a separate head of department. The head of the Revenue Department was called the Head Sheristedar whose duties were similar to those of the Dewan.

The proceedings of the Government were made known to the people through notifications, circulars and proclamations. Rules and regulations were publicized in conspicuous places in Kannada. The Double Daftar system was abolished and either Marathi or Kannada was adopted as the language of official correspondence. Marathi was used in all accounts and reports submitted to the Commissioner's office. Matters of general importance were sent to the

Superintendents and Amildars through circulars, while the proclamations were reserved for serious purposes. People were provided opportunities to send representations to higher authorities for getting their grievances redressed. Steps were also taken to prevent undesirable and malicious parties harassing the officials with frivolous or malafide representations.

The judicial system was extensively reorganized and made to consist of 85 Taluk Courts, 8 Principal Sadar Munsif Courts, 4 Superintendent's Courts, one Huzur Adalat Court with three judges, and one Commissioner's Court, the last two being the Courts of Appeal. The visit of the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, in 1855-56 was followed by the appointment of a Judicial Commissioner, who was to relieve the Commissioner of certain of his judicial duties. The employment of Panchayats for civil and criminal investigations constituted an essential feature in the dispensation of justice. But while in criminal cases the Panchayat was an inevitable agency for undertaking investigation, in civil cases it was made optional. The powers and jurisdiction of all the Courts were clearly defined and laid down so that the ends of justice might be met to the best advantage of the parties concerned. However, it is to be admitted that although the administration of justice was very much improved under the Commission, there was some inevitable delay in dispensing justice resulting in uncertainty and discomfort to the parties.

The Police Department consisted of the Amildars assisted by Killedars, Hoblidars, Shekdars, Daffedars, and Kandachar peons. The Nayaks of the Lambanies, the Headmen of the Koramar and the Voddar communities were considered as belonging to the caste of the professional thieves and, therefore, they were made to furnish security for good behaviour. The villagers were authorized to use arms in self-defence. Under the reorganized scheme, additional establishments were set up at Mysore, Tumkur, Shimoga and the City of Bangalore. Measures were also taken to improve the living condition of convicts in the jails. Between the years 1856 and 1862 steps were taken for the formation of separate departments of enduring importance, such as the departments of public works, education, audit and accounts and forests.

The former Maramat department which consisted of a small establishment under the Superintendents receiving instructions from a single European Officer residing at the Headquarters, was now expanded to include one Chief Engineer, 11 upper and 19 lower subordinates. Cubbon's special interest in road construction led to the appointment of a separate Superintendent in charge of roads, as a consequence of which nearly 1600 miles of roads were constructed up to 1856, connecting all headquarter towns with Bangalore. Another notable achievement of his was the construction of five main bridges at Maddur, Hosakote, Benkipur (Bhadravati), Shimoga, and Hiriyr. The repairing of channels and tanks and the construction of buildings for housing Government officers also received due

COMMISSIONERS' RULE IN MYSORE—(1831-1881 A.D.)

attention. In addition to all these, 336 miles of telegraph lines and the construction of the first railway between Jalarpet and Bangalore in 1859 were other measures to his credit. Thus the Public Works Department assumed a new importance from this time onwards.

Taking note of the immense amount of natural wealth contained in the extensive forests of the State, which were not fully developed, he established a separate Department consisting of a Conservator of Forests, who was to be assisted by a trained subordinate staff.

Action was taken to enlarge the Public Health Department to render more medical aid to the suffering people. A second grade surgeon was posted to Shimoga. Dispensaries were placed in charge of apothecaries. It has, however, to be admitted that adequate medical assistance was not provided to the people as a whole.

The financial position of the State during this period deserves notice. The main sources of income were land revenue, customs duties, rent on monopolies, sandalwood, stamp paper, fines and forfeitures, and postage. The total income, which stood at 68 laks of rupees in the first year, increased to 84 lakhs in 1855-1856. Income from other sources like Panchabab and Sayar (Customs duties) also increased considerably. The expenditure went up from 65 lakhs of rupees in 1834-35 to 85 lakhs in 1860-61 with the increase of efficiency in administration. One of the main tasks of Cubbon was to effect the liquidation of public debts which had amounted to a big sum, the Madra Government being the chief creditor having advanced 10 lakhs of rupees to pay off the arrears of pay due to the civil and military staff at the time of the assumption of the administration. The other creditors were local bankers and rich merchants. Cubbon richly deserves credit for having cleared all the debts by 1857. At the same time, he continued to pay the subsidy of 24½ lakhs of rupees regularly throughout his regime. The removal of internal and transit duties on several commodities gave an impetus to trade. In 1842-1843 the Sayar and the Panchabab of the Mysore Taluk was brought under Government management on an experimental basis and found to have worked successfully. Hence, it was extended to other taluks. Modifications effected in the Sayar system provided facilities for the easy movement of articles.

The administration of revenue was entrusted to the control of Divisional Superintendents, and to Amildars who, in their turn, obtained the assistance of the Shekdars in the collection of revenue. It was the duty of the Shekdar to visit every village to see to the state of cultivation and of the tanks and settle the disputes that were above the reach of the village headman. The Shekdars collected the revenue from the Gowdas and transmitted it to the Amildars. The land revenue was the main source of income and the land was

held chiefly by two systems—Ryotwari and Batayi (The Government and the cultivator sharing the produce and the assessment being in kind.) Cubbon's sympathetic attitude towards the welfare of the ryots made him lower the payment due to the Government wherever it was found to be high and burdensome. The process of collection of revenue was liberalized in all its details and careful supervision was exercised. Every effort was made to convert the Batayi into a money payment and to remove vexatious practices wherever they existed. In 1885, he reported that no less than 769 items of taxation had been removed. The establishment of new industries and the improvement effected in the quality of the commodities such as cotton, wool and silk produced in the country helped to raise the economic standard of the people. Coffee was grown on a large scale covering 1,59,165 acres under private enterprise with Government encouragement.

The spread of education through Anglo-Vernacular schools was sponsored by the Wesleyan Mission, although it made slow progress during this time. Rev. J. Garrat, missionary and educationist, was a remarkable person and a pioneer in the field of education. He rendered unstinted service to this country. However, it is a matter of regret that education did not receive adequate attention from Government and the expenditure incurred on it was negligible.

Thus Mysore made marked progress during the time of Sir Mark Cubbon who filled the office of the Commissioner with distinction and dignity. Not only were the resources of the country worked up as far as possible to the best advantage of the people, but also the faith and confidence of the ruled in the Government was revived. A sound and solid foundation was laid for the progress and prosperity of the people. Cubbon was a great statesman and described as 'a peculiarly conservative and cautious administrator'. The administration was conducted upon practical rules intended to meet the actual needs and requirements of the people. His sense of justice, humanity, sympathy and tact won for him an honoured place. In the year 1861, he resigned from office and left India for recouping his impaired health. Unfortunately he never reached England, as he died at Suez on his way home.

Lewing Bentham Bowring succeeded Sir Mark Cubbon in 1862 and remained in office for nearly 10 years. He was also an officer of great administrative ability and extensive experience in Indian affairs. His advent marked a period of strenuous and far-reaching administrative reforms. From 1863 onwards, Mysore became a 'Regulation Province', and a general scheme of reorganization commenced from 1862-1863, the key-note of which was efficiency. In accordance with the new scheme, the province came to be divided into three Divisions, namely Nandidurg, Ashtagram and Nagar which were further divided into 8 Districts. Each Division was placed in charge of a European Superintendent until 1869, after which year a Commissioner was appointed in his place.

Deputy Superintendents assisted by Assistant Superintendents were placed in charge of the Districts. A District consisted of a number of Taluks graded into five different classes. The British representative in Mysore came to be designated as 'Chief Commissioner' instead of 'Commissioner for the Government of the territories of The Maharaja'. Later, when the office of the Commissioner of the Division was abolished, the Deputy Commissioner, his Assistant Commissioners and the Amildars worked under the Chief Commissioner in revenue matters. In 1869 the Assistant Superintendents were generally relieved of civil work and one Judicial Assistant was appointed for each District for performing that special duty. The civil powers of the Deputy Commissioners were gradually curtailed, and, in 1879, the separation of civil and criminal functions was effected. Munsif Courts were set up in 1874-1875 to relieve the Amildars of the civil jurisdiction, to enable them to devote more attention to their revenue duties. The Deputy Commissioner was made responsible for the assessment and collection of the land revenue of the District and exercise general control over the administration of the district. Since the work had grown enormously in each department, the Superintendents of the Divisions had been allowed to exercise great latitude of authority and were rarely interfered with in District affairs.

Noticing serious defects in the measurement of land and the settlement of land revenue, the Chief Commissioner applied himself to the task of the reorganization of the Revenue Survey and Settlement Department, and introduced regularity and accuracy in the measurement and assessment of land. He set up the Inam Commission, which commenced its work in 1863. A new department under a Survey Settlement Commissioner was created for effecting the necessary improvements. A comprehensive Revenue circular for systematizing the revenue cases and records was issued in 1864. Committees on the survey system and irrigation matters were formed to deal with the important aspects concerning their respective subjects. Bombay Acts I of 1865 and IV of 1868 were promulgated and the Survey and Settlement rules were framed on those lines and a uniform set of returns and registers were adopted in 1863.

Under the reorganized scheme effected after 1862-63, the Judicial Officers consisted of the Judicial Commissioner exercising the powers in the Chief Court, with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the whole Province; the Superintendents of Divisions, vested with the powers of Sessions Judges, Deputy Superintendents of Districts, Assistant Superintendents and Amildars. The Judicial Commissioner's functions were restricted to judicial, police and jail administration, while those of others were confined to civil, criminal and revenue jurisdiction. The other changes that were effected were the abolition of Huzur Adalat and Sadar Munsif Courts, the introduction of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, Act X of 1872, defining offences and specifying the measures of punishment; the abolition of the system of fees in lieu of which the stamp rules and stamp papers were introduced. Bowring had an adequate conception of the advantages of separating the executive from the

judicial functions and introduced reforms in the detailed working of the judicial branch. The registration of important documents under the Registration Act of XIV of 1864 and more punctuality and regularity in the discharge of court duties were insisted upon. In 1873, the separation of civil and criminal functions was attempted, along with the formation of Munsif Courts in the Nandidurg Division. Under the revised system, the total number of courts increased from 103 to 125.

A new department of Police was organized on the lines of the Madras system and placed under European supervision in the town and District of Bangalore. The old Kandachar force was abolished and the new police rules were introduced in 1872. The police were no longer under the direct control of District Magistrates. The department came to consist of an Inspector-General of Police with Deputy Inspectors-General and District Superintendents of Police to assist him.

A large medical staff was appointed to be in charge of jails and hospitals in the chief towns. For the promotion of education, an educational agency was set up and much progress was recorded in this direction during his time. Special attention was bestowed on the expansion of the Engineering Department and Horticultural Gardens, and a minor agency was in charge of the Museum and the Government Press. Thus every fresh need that was felt at once gave rise to a new department and an unrestricted process of expansion of departments continued throughout the period, providing opportunities for the augmentation of European agency in the State.

After rendering invaluable service to the State, Bowring resigned his appointment in 1870, and in the interim period between his resignation and the assumption of power by Chamaraja Wodeyar in 1881, three Chief Commissioners were in charge of the administration, practically as trustees on behalf of the minor Prince, Col. Richard Meade until 1875, C. B. Saunders for two years and J. D. Gordon from April 1878. Several legacies were bequeathed by the British Commissioner to the Maharaja, whose assumption of the reins of administration in 1881 inaugurated a new era of progress and prosperity. A feeling of reciprocal friendship, mutual respect and regard prevailed between Krishnaraja Wodeyar III and, later, Chamaraja Wodeyar and the British rulers throughout this period, although a prolonged and protracted struggle continued over the issues of the restoration of the State to the Hindu Ruler and the recognition of the adoption of Prince Chamaraja Wodeyar by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. The latter exhibited great patience, tolerance, forbearance, faith and confidence in the innate goodness of the British people.

THE MYSORE STATE AFTER RENDITION

THE RENDITION :

Though Krishnaraja Wodeyar III kept up the most cordial relations with the British Commissioners ruling in Mysore, he looked upon them only as trustees who were bound to restore to him and to his successors the rule of the country, as soon as favourable circumstances permitted such a change. British rulers in India and England, however, were in no hurry to make the change. On the other hand, some of them had ideas of annexing Mysore and making it a part of British India. It had a bracing climate, fine natural scenery, rich resources and was altogether a covetable region. But the Maharaja had never rested, and had enlisted the support of friends, Indian and British, in pressing for the restoration of the Kingdom of which he had been unjustly deprived. In the troubled days of 1857, he 'stood loyally behind them,' in the words of Sir Mark Cubbon, 'discountenancing everything in the shape of disaffection and taking every opportunity to proclaim his perfect confidence in the stability of English rule.' Later, the Maharaja welcomed warmly the assumption by Queen Victoria of the direct Government of Indian territories from the East India Company. In 1859, he celebrated the 60th anniversary of his own accession to the throne, still hopeful that justice would be done to him during the new regime. When an attempt was made in 1860 to transfer the control of Mysore affairs from the Governor-General to the Governor of Madras, he entered his courteous but emphatic protest against the change, as it would lower his status and might be the first step in the direction of the annexation of his Kingdom. Sir Mark Cubbon himself threatened to resign on the issue, and the proposed change was given up.

Feeling hopeful of favourable response from the Viceroy, Lord Canning, who had said good things of the Mysore Ruler's loyalty to the British Throne, Krishnaraja Wodeyar addressed a letter to the Viceroy in 1861 pleading for the restoration of the State to him, but he got only a rebuff in reply. Undaunted, he continued his struggle and took up the matter with the succeeding Viceroys, Lord Elgin and Lord Lawrence, but failed to make any impression. Lord Lawrence had even designs of annexing Mysore to clinch the issue. He was known as the disciple of Lord Dalhousie famed for his 'Doctrine of Lapse,' by using which 'he had annexed in 8 years the administration of 10 kingdoms to the British.' Nor were the Secretaries of State for India and the 'Home' Government any more sympathetic or helpful.

The Maharaja was now nearing 70 years of age and had decided to adopt an heir in 1864. The adoption was solemnized by a religious ceremony in June 1865; the adopted son, Chamarajendra Wodeyar, then 2½ years old, was a scion of the Bettadakote family to which Rani Lakshmiammanni belonged. This brought the issue of 'Adoption or Annexation' to a head and created widespread interest in the political future of Mysore not only among the other Indian ruling princes in the land but among distinguished publicists in England who were taking interest in India. A petition was presented in 1866 to the House of Commons; among the signatories were John Stuart Mill, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Grant Daff, Colonel Sykes, Evans Bell and John Dickinson, 'for ensuring with the least possible delay the re-establishment of a native Government in the tributary State of Mysore'. John Morley took up the cause and wrote a long and well-argued article in 'The Fortnightly Review' (September 15th, 1866), pleading for the restoration of Mysore to the royal family. Many other English periodicals espoused the cause. Dr. Campbell, the Mysore Durbar Surgeon, went over to England and did a great deal for the cause. The House of Commons discussed the question on 22nd July, 1867 and gave its verdict in favour of Mysore. The adoption was ratified, and the assurance was given that the young adopted Prince, as soon as he came of age, would be recognized as the Ruler of Mysore, though the claim of the Maharaja to rule over the State during his lifetime was not conceded. Before Krishnaraja Wodeyar died on 27th March 1868 in his 74th year, he had the satisfaction that his strenuous efforts to restore Indian rule over Mysore had succeeded.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar, in spite of his adverse circumstances, was famed for his acts of charity, his liberal patronage to scholars, musicians and artists, and was universally loved by his subjects.

CHAMARAJENDRA WODEYAR X

Proper arrangements were made for the education of the young Prince. Accompanied by the Chief Commissioner J. D. Gordon, C. Rangacharlu (who was then the Revenue Secretary and later Dewan) and others, Chamarajendra Wodeyar toured the State in 1789 and again in 1790 to get acquainted in person with the administration and the people of the State. The Prince was received with demonstrations of loyalty and affection wherever he went by large crowds and his tours have been described 'as one long procession'. The Chief Commissioner and the Government of India were in correspondence with each other to decide details of the future political and administrative set-up and to ensure that the system adopted by the British Commissioners would continue in its essential features.

On attaining 18 years of age in March 1881, Chamarajendra Wodeyar X was installed on the Throne of Mysore amidst great rejoicings. The Maharaja was

invested with ruling powers as set forth in an Instrument of Transfer which laid down British paramountcy. The Maharaja could not exercise powers in regard to Military reinforcements, Railway, Telegraph, Coinage and the Cantonment area (13 square miles in Bangalore) ceded earlier. Nor could he import arms and ammunition into the State, manufacture arms, have direct correspondence with other States, appoint non-Indian personnel or change the administration, except with the permission of the Viceroy, who had also to accord permission for succession to the Throne. Salt and opium continued to be British Government monopoly. The annual subsidy was raised from 24½ lakhs to 35 lakhs, the rise being the cost of the extra 1000 cavalry to be maintained for the defence of the State. The Chief Commissioner of Mysore was designated 'Resident of Mysore and the Chief Commissioner of Coorg'. Provision was made for a Dewan to be assisted by two Councillors who were to be the executive heads of the State. C. Rangacharlu, who had entered the service of the State in 1868 after having served as Deputy Collector in the Madras Presidency, was appointed as Dewan. His knowledge of finance, administrative ability and liberal outlook proved to be a great asset to the State. He thought of convening a Representative Assembly of landlords and merchants from all over the State chosen by the Deputy Commissioners of districts. The first session of the Assembly met at Mysore soon after the Dasara festivities in 1881 and 144 invitees were present. The policies of Government and the measures undertaken by it were placed before the Assembly. It was not a statutory body but it was a step in the direction of representative Government and is said to have paved the way for measures undertaken to extend local self-government in British India during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon.

Dewan Rangacharlu was faced with the problem of rehabilitating the economy of the State which had been seriously upset by the severe famine and drought in the previous years. The Bangalore-Mysore Railway was opened in 1882 and proved a great boon. In the same year, the Dewan floated a loan to extend the railway line from Bangalore to Tiptur, which was generously subscribed.

Unfortunately, the Dewanship of this great statesman ended within less than two years, as he died early in 1883.

K. Seshadri Iyer, who was then Deputy Commissioner and had also entered Mysore service in 1868, was appointed the next Dewan. The new Dewan addressed himself primarily to improving the finances of the State. He pressed for the surplus revenue of the Bangalore Cantonment area being made over to the Mysore Government. The enhancement of the subsidy by 10½ lakhs had been waived till 1886, and he put up a vigorous plea for its being waived till 1896, and this was conceded. The railway line from Bangalore was extended to Gubbi (1884), Harihar (1889) and Hindupur (1893). The Mysore Nanjangud

line was opened in 1891 and the Kolar Gold Fields line in 1893. Extensive plantations were undertaken to increase forest revenue. A royalty of 5% on gold-mining yielded a revenue of Rs. 47,000 for the first time in 1886-7. The Chief Court of Mysore had additional judges appointed from 1884. Taluk Boards were also established in the same year. The old Anche (postal system) was amalgamated with the British postal system in 1889. To secure brilliant young men as recruits to the administrative services, the Mysore Civil Service Examination was instituted in 1891. It was open to all Indian citizens, but this was vigorously opposed by several members of the Representative Assembly under the leadership of M. Venkatakrishniah (known as G. O. M. of Mysore), the doyen of public life and journalism in Mysore, who pleaded for a policy of protection to local talent and was often critical of the Dewan's measures. Indeed, the politics in Mysore during the period of Seshadri Iyer's dewanship may be summed up as a conflict between Mysoreans and Non-Mysoreans. In the same year, a Life Insurance Scheme for Government employees was adopted. The extension of irrigation received much attention, including the Marikanive Project. In 1886 an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition was for the first time held in Mysore. A special impetus was given to girls' education by the opening of the Maharani's Girls' High School (later developed into the Maharani's College in 1901). A very important step was taken in 1890 by the organization of the Archaeological Department with B. L. Rice at its head, to collect and publish inscriptions found in the State. In the same year was opened the Mysore Oriental Library and valuable manuscripts were collected and placed in it. The Maharaja was a great lover of Kannada and Sanskrit and extended patronage to scholars in a generous measure.

The premature death, owing to diphtheria, of Chamaraja Wodeyar at the end of 1894 in his 32nd year, while on a visit to Calcutta came as a great shock to the people of Mysore. Krishnaraja Wodeyar, the Prince, was then only ten years old.

THE REGENCY :

The mother of Krishnaraja Wodeyar, Kemparajammanni Vani Vilas Sannidhana acted as the Regent during the minority of the Prince and administered the affairs of the State, helped by the Dewan and Council, with tact and intelligence, earning high praise for the way she discharged her great responsibilities. Among the noteworthy measures undertaken during the Regency regime were the establishment of a Department of Geology in 1894, which resulted in a systematic survey of the mineral resources of the State with a view to their possible exploitation; and a Department of Agriculture came into being in 1898. Public works received great attention ; the Marikanive Reservoir and the New Mysore Palace were constructed. The Birur-Shimoga Railway line was

opened in 1899. The State, and Bangalore in particular, suffered the scourge of plague in 1897-8 and this led to the laying out of the Malleswaram and Basavangudi extensions, which marked the beginning of the enormous extensions which have been laid out since then. But the most noteworthy achievement of the period was the harnessing of the Kaveri Falls at Sivasamudram and the installation of the Hydro-Electric Power Station for supply of electricity to the Kolar Gold Fields, and subsequently to Bangalore in 1905, the first city to be electrified in India. This was the first longest transmission line in India.

The Representative Assembly was becoming more articulate and playing a useful role. In the early years it was no more than a body of respectful petitioners. But by 1887 the names of members were gazetted and their status recognized. In 1891 the system of election was introduced; fairly high property qualifications were prescribed for voters and graduates were made eligible to vote. This preceded by a year the Legislature Councils set up in the British Provinces. In 1894, the membership was made tenable for three years and this made the representatives take to their task more seriously.

The retirement and death soon after, in 1901, of Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer terminated a memorable dewanship which had lasted for 18 years (the longest in the modern period) and earned for Mysore great reputation as a progressive State.

Sir P. N. Krishnamurti, a descendant of the great Minister Purniah and one of the earliest graduates of the Central College, Bangalore, was appointed as the next Dewan.

SRI KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR IV

In August 1902, Krishnaraja Wodeyar attained 18 years of age and was invested with ruling powers.

The young Maharaja, who had been adequately trained, took to his duties most earnestly and attended his office located in the Palace regularly like any other public servant. He paid great attention to the expansion of educational facilities. The great philanthropist J. N. Tata wished to endow an Institution devoted to scientific research. This led to the establishment of the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore in 1905, the Mysore Government agreeing to make an annual grant of Rs. 50,000. Measures were taken to establish training centres for artisans engaged in village industries, like carpentry, weaving, silk-rearing, iron-work, rattan-work, and lacquer-work, adopting improved methods, in Channapatna and other places. Scholarships were provided for pupils proceeding to the School of Arts in Madras and Bombay. Local self-government institutions were greatly extended; 8 District Boards, 77 Taluk Boards and 38 Unions were

constituted according to the rules promulgated in September 1903. The Mysore City Improvement Trust was formed in the same year and its work resulted in making the Mysore City one of the most beautiful in India. An Ethnological Survey consequent on the Census of 1901 was inaugurated; H. V. Nanjundaiya, then Secretary to Government, was entrusted with it. The Co-operative Movement which had been started in British India in 1904 was adopted in 1905 and led to the spread of Co-operative Societies and Banks all over the State.

On the retirement of Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi on 30th March 1906, V. P. Madhava Rao was appointed as Dewan and held the office for three years. At the time of appointment he was Dewan of Travancore. He had been in Mysore Government service earlier and had risen steadily to become the Inspector-General of Police and was later Councillor, which place he relinquished in 1904 to go to Travancore as Dewan of that State. During his regime the Bangalore-Chikballapur narrow railway line was laid. It was managed by an indigenous private company, a rare instance of co-operative effort (1906). A fresh agreement was entered into with the Madras and Southern Maharatta Railway Company for the working of the railways by the Mysore Government. Attention was paid to the proper conservation of forests, two students being deputed for the study of forestry to Dehra Dun and Oxford. A Veterinary Department was also established during this regime. A very important step taken in the direction of constitutional reform was, however, the establishment of the Mysore Legislative Council in 1907 with not less than 10 and not more than 15 additional members, not less than two-fifths of the number being non-officials to be nominated by Government. Provision was also made to elect two members from the Representative Assembly to the Legislative Council. For the first time voting on Resolutions was permitted on Resolutions moved in the Representative Assembly, where it had been the custom only to take the consensus of opinion. All this reform, however, failed to create much enthusiasm, in view of the new spirit abroad in the country in the wake of the national movement consequent on the partition of Bengal. V. P. Madhava Rao was a masterful personality, unbending to a degree, and incurred much odium by vetoing the election of M. Venkatakrishniah and D. Venkataramiah from the Representative Assembly to the Legislative Council. What rendered his regime still more unpopular was the Mysore Newspaper Regulation of 1908, which was subjected to severe public criticism. The newspapers in the State closed down temporarily as a mark of protest against the Regulation.

To turn to the more pleasing features of the administration during the period, the buildings of the Indian Institute of Science were coming up and the Government made a grant of 5 lakhs for the same. The beautiful buildings of the Sankara Math also came up in the same period. With a view to accelerate the spread of elementary education, all fees were abolished in primary schools. A Central Co-operative Bank was started at Bangalore to finance cooperative

societies, the Maharaja himself patronizing it by placing large Fixed Deposits in it.

V. P. Madhava Rao retired early in 1909 and was succeeded by T. Ananda Rao (the son of the great statesman Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao). T. Ananda Rao had entered Mysore service in 1873 and been Revenue Commissioner and Member of Council. He held office for 3 years and was known for his urbanity and his scholarly interests. It was during his regime that the new Mysore Palace was completed in 1910 in place of the old wooden structure that was destroyed by fire in 1897. Most of the stone including fine varieties of granite, porphyry and marble were taken from local quarries, while skilled craftsmen from far and near worked to complete it. Ravivarma, the noted artist of Travancore, was requested to attend to the decoration of the Durbar Hall, which contains some of the artist's frescoes. The Kannambadi Project took shape during 1911 on the advice of M. Visvesvaraya who was then Chief Engineer. The most notable step, however, taken during the regime in respect of plans of development was the inauguration of the Mysore Economic Conference with its sections of Education, Industry and Agriculture, which marked the beginning of planned efforts in the State, and in India, at the instance of M. Visvesvaraya.

Sri M. Visvesvaraya succeeded T. Ananda Rao as Dewan towards the end of 1912. The Maharaja created a new precedent in calling upon the head of a Technical Department to hold the high office. Sir M. Visvesvaraya was born in the State but had entered Bombay service soon after graduation. He retired in 1909, when he was only 48 years old, after a distinguished career, for he felt that he could not rise to the top which was then the preserve of British officers. He was, therefore, glad to serve his own State and responded to the call of the Maharaja and his Dewan.

Sir Visvesvaraya's dewanship ushered in an era of all-round development and more particularly in the field of industrial enterprises. He made people plan-minded, set definite targets for achievement and infused a new spirit of purposeful work both among officials and non-officials. Even a bare list of institutions and industries started under his guidance and inspiration makes impressive reading. In respect of education he introduced legislation for compulsory education by stages, took measures for the expansion of girls' education, institution of scholarships for students of backward classes, opened the Mechanical Engineering, Commercial and Agricultural schools, established the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, Industrial schools at District headquarters, the Engineering College at Bangalore, provided scholarships for foreign studies, and founded the Mysore University in 1916. The Benares Hindu University, of which the Maharaja was the Chancellor at the time, was given a donation of 2 lakhs, and an annual grant of Rs. 12,000. In respect of industries, the following were started during his regime: The Sandal Oil Factory at Mysore, the Soap Factory, the Metal Factory, the Chrome Tanning Factory, the Central Industria

Workshop—all at Bangalore, and the Iron and Wood Distillation Works at Bhadravati. He also helped to establish the Bank of Mysore, the Mysore Chamber of Commerce, the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Public Libraries at Bangalore and Mysore, the Century Club at Bangalore and the Cosmopolitan Club at Mysore.

It was during his regime that the Mysore-Arsikere (*via* Hassan) Railway was constructed and opened. The narrow gauge loop railway was also completed by connecting Bowringpet (Bangarpet) with Chikballapur *via* Kolar. To facilitate the transport of timber from the Malnad forests, a tramway was constructed between Tarikere and Narasimharajapur. The management of the railway lines (372 miles) to the Mysore Government from the M.&S.M. Railway Company was also effected. The Mysore State had no access to the sea by the Treaty of 1799, but Sir M. Visvesvaraya was negotiating with the Government of India for the development of Bhatkal (10 miles from the border) as a port and connecting it by a railway.

All these projects would appear all the more remarkable when it is remembered that these were put through in the unfavourable conditions imposed by the First World War (1914-18) which lasted for four years, out of the six years during which Sir M. Visvesvaraya was Dewan of Mysore.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya was a liberal statesman, a great believer in democracy and in associating the representatives of the people with the governance of the country in an increasing measure. The Mysore Economic Conference with its committees consisting of non-officials had helped this process. He was keen on expanding the functions of self-governing institutions, the District and Taluk Boards, Municipalities and Village Panchayats and of de-officializing them as far as possible. The Mysore Local Boards and Village Panchayats Regulation VI was passed in 1918, providing for an elected majority in District and Taluk Boards, the setting up of Minor Town and City Municipalities with elected Vice-presidents and of Village Panchayats with elected Presidents with specified functions.

The Mysore Legislative Council was also reformed, the number of additional members being increased to 24 from 18, and included 4 representatives elected from the Representative Assembly and 4 by territorial representation from the districts. The power of interpellation and discussing the Budget was given to the Council. The Representative Assembly was allowed to have a second session from 1917, called the Budget Session.

As already noted the First World War was on. As soon as it broke out, the Maharaja not only placed his Imperial Service Troops at the disposal of the British Government but made a generous contribution of Rs. 50 lakhs to the War Fund, besides Rs. 2 lakhs to the Imperial India Relief Fund. The citizens of the

THE MYSORE STATE AFTER RENDITION

State contributed Rs. 36 lakhs and Maharaja gave an additional Rs. 20 lakhs, as the war was drawing to a close. The Mysore troops fought with distinction in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine.

The end of the War in November 1918 brought on a period of food scarcity and influenza which raged in an epidemic form all over the country. Prompt measures of relief had to be taken and Sir M. Visvesvaraya, with his usual thoroughness, took prompt remedial measures. A Food Controller was appointed, export of food grains was prevented, procurement was resorted to, Government opened fair-price shops and the maximum retail prices were prescribed and enforced. Rice was sold at the then 'abnormally high price of $3\frac{1}{4}$ seers and ragi at 8 seers in Bangalore.'

Sir M. Visvesvaraya retired from dewanship at the end of 1918. Though he severed his official connection with Mysore, he continued to take active interest in the developmental activities of the State. He was invited to be the Chairman of the Board of Management of the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works in 1923 and held the office for over six years. The honorarium fixed for him during this period amounting to 2 lakhs was not drawn by him, but was made over for the establishment of the Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute, the courses of which were devised by him. The Institute has become the model for Polytechnics since started in various parts of the country. He also served as the Chairman of the Kaveri Canal Committee to align and construct the high level canal from Krishnarajasagara. The new water supply scheme from Tippagondanahalli was implemented under his expert guidance. He was instrumental in getting the Hindustan Aircraft Factory started at Bangalore in 1940. In 1949, even when he was nearing 90, he actively pushed forward a scheme for Rural Industrialization with arrangements for a Financial Corporation to help the Scheme.

Sardar M. Kantharaj Urs, the brother of the Dowager Maharani, who had been a member of Council since 1913, was appointed the next Dewan in 1919. He had to cope with a difficult economic situation which was the aftermath of the War. The Bhadravati Iron Works went into operation during his regime. But the most important measure during his tenure of office was the passing of orders to give adequate representation to backward communities in public services and the abolition of fees in the Middle Schools of the State. A Metre gauge railway line was opened from Chickjajur to Chitradurga, 21 miles in length, in 1921. Owing to failing health Sardar Kantharaj Urs retired in 1922.

Sir Albion Banerjea, a retired I. C. S. Officer who had been member of Council, was appointed Dewan in 1922. During his regime a Local Self-Government Conference was held in 1923, and among the recommendations of the Conference accepted by Government were the abolition of Taluk Boards and

constituting Village Panchayats on a statutory basis with well-defined powers to levy local taxes and functions in respect of sanitation, communications etc., the election of presidents to City and Town Municipal Councils and the extension of the franchise to women. A Department of Industries and Commerce also came into being. The Apex Bank was established. Unprecedented floods in 1924 caused much damage and relief measures were undertaken. But by far the most important step taken by the administration during this period was the appointment of a Committee to consider the further constitutional advance in the State presided over by Sir Brajendranath Seal, the great savant who was Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University.

The Seal Committee submitted its report in March 1923. Public opinion was elicited and after considering these, the Maharaja issued a Proclamation on 27th October, 1923. For the first time, the Representative Assembly was placed on a statutory basis. It had to be consulted on all proposals for the levy of new taxes and the general principles of all Bills to be discussed by the Legislative Council. The Assembly was empowered to pass Resolutions on all matters of public administration and also on the principles and the policy of the Budget. The strength of the Assembly was to be 250-275. The franchise was considerably widened—Rs. 25 land revenue or Rs. 5 Municipal taxes being prescribed—and women were given the vote. Standing Committees consisting of members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were to be constituted to advise the Government. Labour was given a seat in both the Houses and special interests like Education, Planning, Mining, Trade and Commerce were to be represented. 35 seats were set apart for representation of minority interests like Muslims, Indian Christians and Depressed Classes and at least 150 had to be returned from rural areas.

In respect of the Legislative Council the strength was raised to 50 (exclusive of ex-officio members) of whom not less than 60 were to be non-officials and not more than one-third were to be nominated members; 8 were to be returned by the Representative Assembly, 8 from the Districts, one each from Bangalore and Mysore Municipal areas and 4 were to represent special interests. There should be at least 2 Muslims, one Christian and one Depressed Class representatives.

The Maharaja formally inaugurated the new Legislative Council and Representative Assembly at a joint session on 17th March, 1924. In the newly elected Assembly were veterans like M. Venkatakrishniah, C. Sreenivasa Rao, Karnik Krishnamurthy and B. Narasinga Rao, backed up by younger members like Hosakoppa Krishna Rao, G. Parmasivayya and D. S. Mallappa. In the Legislative Council were popular publicists like Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, B. K. Garudachar, D. Venkataramiah, Rao Bahadur N.S. Nanjundaiya, and S. Venkatesiah. The new reforms, however, failed to satisfy awakened public opinion in the State, which, influenced by the political trends in British India, was pressing

for more generous reforms calculated to lend to Responsible Government.

Sir Albion Banerjea retired in 1926 and was succeeded by Sir Mirza Ismail as Dewan. He had been Private Secretary to the Maharaja (the first Indian to hold this office), whose confidence he enjoyed in abundant measure. His dewan-ship, which lasted for 15 years, proved to be an eventful one. He tried to build on the foundation laid by Sir M. Visvesvaraya for the all-round progress of the State. He did much to achieve industrial progress both in the public and the private sectors. Among the industries started were the Steel Plant, the Paper Mills and the Cement Works all at Bhadravati, the Porcelain and the Glass Factories at Bangalore, the Sugar Factory at Mandya, the Chemicals and Fertilizers at Belagola, the Match Factory at Shimoga and the Hindustan Aircraft at Bangalore. He was keen on improving village handicrafts and helped to establish at Badanval a Khadi Production Centre, the first ever to be managed by a Government. The development of sericulture also received attention. He was keen on finding markets for Mysore products abroad and appointed a Trade Commissioner at London. He took steps to increase agricultural production and the high level canal (with a tunnel 9183 feet long) to irrigate the dry tracts of Mandya, Malavalli and T. Narsipur taluks was constructed during his regime and irrigates nearly 1,20,000 acres.

As Secretary to the Maharaja and living in Mysore, he had done a great deal to make Mysore a Garden City with its well-laid parks, promenades and boulevards and its well-lit squares. He had a flair for town-planning and an aesthetic sense and it was during his regime that Bangalore and many other towns and even villages were provided with better roads, lighted squares and sanitary amenities. He toured often and cultivated personal contacts with leading citizens and succeeded in getting several philanthropists to divert their charities to the building of hospitals, maternity wards and schools and the like. He was also responsible for laying out the world-famous illuminated Brindavan Gardens below the Krishnarajasagara Dam which has become a most attractive centre for tourists. He had the temperament of the great authoritarian and benevolent Ministers of olden days. He had great regard and affection for Gandhiji and this made him invite the great leader for a prolonged stay on the Nandi Hills in 1927. But Sir Mirza was somewhat critical of the political ideology and programmes of the Congress at the time.

Lor Irwin, the Viceroy, visited the State in 1927 and announced a reduction of 10½ lakhs of rupees in the subsidy of 35 lakhs which was being paid since 1896. Later in the year, the Silver Jubilee of the accession of Krishnaraja Wodeyar to the throne was celebrated with much enthusiasm all over the State and resulted in quite a number of memorials in the shape of hospitals, halls, reading rooms etc., being built to mark the event.

Sir Mirza Ismail was nominated as the representative of South Indian States and attended the Round Table Conference held in London (1930-2) and supported the idea of a federation of Indian States and British Indian Provinces in the future constitutional set-up of India.

Unfortunately, from the early years of his career as Dewan, Sir Mirza and his Government had to face much unpopularity and criticism. Public opinion was becoming more articulate in Mysore, largely on account of the happenings in British India like the Simon Commission Boycott (1927), the Lahore Congress Independence Resolution (1929), the Salt Satyagraha (1930), The Government of India Act (1935) which gave provincial autonomy, the Indian States' Peoples' organisation etc. Things were moving fast in British India and they could not but produce repercussions in Mysore. Hitherto, much of the agitation in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was in respect of recruitment to public services and justice being done to backward communities. But soon Mysore publicists turned their attention to larger constitutional issues. In 1928, happened unfortunate disturbances known as the 'Ganapati disturbances' owing to the removal by Government officers of a Ganesa idol in an open quadrangle of a Middle School in the heart of the City at the instance of Muslims in the locality, as was alleged. This sparked off a great agitation and the placid life of Bangalore became exciting. Non-Brahmin leaders hitherto were usually loyal and moderate, but younger men like T. Siddalingayya, H. C. Dasappa, K. C. Reddy, and D. H. Chandrasekarayya, who had been returned to the Assembly in the 1927 elections, asserted themselves and heckled the Government. There was even a walk out in 1928, a thing unheard of before. The Ganapati disturbances led to arrests for sedition, also unheard of before. After the Indian National Congress declared for Independence in 1929 and took to the Flag Hoisting Ceremonies, these were also held in the State. But the Government would not permit them. All this resulted in great tension between the Government and the people.

The Government appointed a Committee in 1938, presided over by K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, retired member of Council, to suggest constitutional reforms. It received indifferent support from the Mysore Congressmen, who had formed a Congress organisation independent of the Indian National Congress in 1938, and offered satyagraha and were courting arrests. The recommendation of the Committee fell short of Congress expectations.

The history of the Congress movement in Karnataka is dealt with in more detail in a subsequent Chapter.

Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV passed away in August 1940 after a long and glorious reign of 38 years. Pious by nature, he was noted for his catholicity of

outlook and deep cultural interests and had created an image in the public mind reminiscent of the great rulers in the Classic Age.

JAYACHAMARAJA WODEYAR :

Jayachamaraja Wodeyar, the nephew of the late Maharaja, succeeded to the Throne. Like his forebears, he had received special training from tutors and passed through the Maharaja's College, Mysore, with great academic distinction. He was only 23 when he assumed his high office.

Sir Mirza Ismail continued as Dewan till May 1941 and was succeeded by Nyapati Madhava Rao who had been Member of Council and had vast administrative experience.

The Second World War (1939-45) had already started and had greatly disturbed the economy of the country ; and Mysore, like many parts of India, had to face food scarcity. The new Dewan husbanded the resources of the State with great tact and firmness. He also implemented the recommendations of the K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar Committee, the chief features of which were : The strength of the Representative Assembly was raised to 315, of whom Muslims would get 26 seats, Depressed Classes 26, Indian Christians 5, Europeans 1 and Special Interests 28, Women 11 (to be elected by women voters) ; 10 would be nominated by Government. The Dewan would continue to preside over the sessions of the Assembly. The strength of the Legislative Council was raised to 68 with 4 seats for Muslims, 4 for Depressed Classes, 1 for Indian Christians, 1 for Europeans, and 10 for special interests ; 24 would be nominated, including 16 officials. The President of the Council would be nominated by the Maharaja for the first term and thereafter be elected by the non-official members of the Council. Provision was made for the nomination of not less than two of the Councillors to sit along with official Councillors, whose number was raised to three, exclusive of the Dewan. These Ministers were to be non-officials from among the elected members of the Assembly and the Council. There was, however, no provision for a vote of no confidence against the non-official Councillors or Ministers.

Elections were held in 1941 according to the new Constitution. Quite a few political leaders could not contest as they had been disfranchised for taking part in unlawful activities and had gone to jail.

Though this looked like a replica of the Dyarchy which obtained in British Indian Provinces under the Government of India Act of 1919, the Dewan, the two official and the two non-official Councillors worked as a team largely owing to the tact of the Dewan Nyapathi Madhava Rao and tried to tide over the difficulties caused by the World War and disturbed conditions in the political

of life India, which had their effects in Mysore also. No big schemes could be launched. It may be noted, however, that the Sharavati Project was under way and had begun to produce power. Also the plans for the Bhadra Project were laid.

The aftermath of the 'Quit India' Movement in 1942 had led to ruthless repression in British India and all the top leaders of India were in jail. There was a period of sullen waiting for better times till the War ended in 1945.

The four-year term of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council ended in 1945, when fresh elections were held. The Congress members came with a majority in both Houses. K. Hanumanthayya became the leader of the Party in the Representative Assembly and K. C. Reddy in the Legislative Council.

Nyapathi Madhava Rao retired from dewanship in August 1945 after rendering meritorious services to the State in many fields for nearly 40 years. After retirement he served as a member of the Constituent Assembly and its Drafting Committee.

The constitutional question, the future of Mysore as a political entity and as a part of a Federation, the issue of Responsible Government in the State—these overshadowed all other questions. There was much speculation as to who would succeed Nyapati Madhava Rao.

Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, who had been member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was appointed as the next Dewan in August 1946. In Britain, a new Labour Government under Attlee had taken charge. The British Cabinet Mission had come and made its proposals. The British Government declared they would quit India by April 1948 and the Indian States had to negotiate with their successor Government in India in regard to their power and status. About the time that Sir Arcot took over Dewanship in Mysore, an interim Government was formed at Delhi with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister.

Political leaders in Mysore were impatient for the immediate establishment of Responsible Government in the State. The Dewan seemed to be in no hurry to indicate the next move. The Congress Committee resolved to launch satyagraha on 1st May, 1947. But this was averted after talks with the Dewan on 3rd June. Lord Mountbatten announced the Declaration of Independence on 15th August, the partition of India and the setting up of the Constituent Assembly. The Dewan of Mysore, thereafter, announced that seven Mysorean representatives would participate in the Constituent Assembly of India, as Mysore had joined the Indian Union. Of the seven, the Representative Assembly and

THE MYSORE STATE AFTER RENDITION

Legislative Council would each elect two, and three would be nominated by Government, including the Dewan himself. There was strong protest against this procedure and a walk-out from the Assembly on 5th July. But the Dewan had his way.

As a preliminary to the withdrawal of British rule, the Civil and Military Station area was retroceded to the Maharaja and the Residency wound up on 26th July, 1947.

The Mysore Congress, pressed for the setting up of a Responsible Government, and a Mysore Constituent Assembly to frame a Constitution for the State. It decided on launching satyagraha ('Palace Satyagraha') and taking jathas to Mysore from 1st September, 1947: but this was met by gagging orders on the Press from publishing news and prohibiting demonstrations. There were huge processions on 1st September all over the State, shouting slogans like 'Arcot Boycott', 'Mysore Chalo', etc. All leaders, however, were rounded up on the night of the 3rd September and the jails were filled with leaders and demonstrators. People even from outside the State had come in to join the movement.

At last, the Maharaja issued a message on 7th September announcing his intention to establish Responsible Government in the State. This was followed by a Proclamation issued on 24th September explaining the details of the coming reforms. The people's leaders were released on 7th October and an agreement was reached on 11th October between the Dewan and the Mysore Congress President, K. C. Reddy, regarding the future set-up. On the 24th October, a Gazette Extraordinary was issued announcing the new Cabinet, comprising six Congressmen and three non-Congressmen, exclusive of the Dewan. The continuance of the Dewanship was, however, considered an anomaly and there was persistent agitation for its abolition. The Dewan's post was ultimately abolished in August 1949.

The four-year term of the old Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly having expired, elections were held on the old franchise and a Constituent Assembly for Mysore was set up. But this body discontinued its sessions before long as the Indian Constituent Assembly was attending to the task.

Mysore was included in the Group A States. The Constitution of India which came into effect on 26th January, 1950 became applicable to Mysore. The old interim Ministry retired and an all-Congress Ministry headed by K. C. Reddy as Chief Minister was formed with the Maharaja as the Rajapramukh of the Mysore State.

The developments in the State after Independence, and Karnataka Unification are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON KARNATAKA

The modern period may also well be called the British period, that is the period of British rule. Karnataka, with the rest of India, was brought into intimate contact with the thought and culture of the West, and of England in particular, from the beginning of the 19th century. Before dealing with the religion, society and culture of Karnataka in the modern period, it would be well to preface it with a consideration of the general effect exercised by the culture of Europe and Britain on India and Karnataka.

We shall now deal with the impact of the West on Karnataka.

From the 15th century onwards, with the coming of the people of the maritime countries of Western Europe, the impact of the West on India began to be felt to an appreciable extent. The discovery of the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope was an event of momentous importance in the relations between India and the West. The object of European nations in coming to India was at first trade and later colonization and conquest. They tried to exploit the confused and disorderly political situation in India to their advantage. They did so without much scruple, for India was a foreign country to them. This total absence of any identity of interest between these European powers and India was at the root of all the evils that followed.

The Portuguese were the first among the maritime adventurers of Western Europe. Initially, their object was only trade. But they soon realized that, without the liquidation of the Arab naval power and influence, they could not hope to survive; and the only effective way of destroying the power of the Arabs was by building up military strongholds along the Arabian Sea-coast and allying themselves with one or other of the Indian rulers, who were indulging in internecine rivalries and quarrels. When in this way the Portuguese were able to establish themselves in India, they thought of conquest, for the political situation in South India was favourable for such an adventure. Being a small country and short of manpower for their army, they enlisted Indians in their armies. But the most pronounced aspect of the impact of the Portuguese lay in the conversion to Christianity which they carried out, mostly by force and with the help of the 'Inquisition' which they introduced. Goa was the headquarters of the Inquisition for the whole of South Asia. This is perhaps the chief reason for the detestation with which the Indians regarded the Portuguese.

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON KARNATAKA

Portugal declined rapidly after its conquest by Spain in 1580. The 17th century was a period of Dutch predominance. But the Dutch turned all their attention to the East Indies and did not think seriously of trade with India. Karnataka, and India as a whole, hardly came under Dutch influence. In the 18th century the British and the French, who had established trading centres at the end of the seventeenth century, became rivals for Indian trade. By the end of the 18th century, the British had eliminated the French and established their supremacy in India. Tipu tried hard to win the help of the French in his fight with the British, but the French Revolution and the subsequent developments in France made it impossible for the Government of France to render any effective help. The British took advantage of the political confusion in India, after the disaster of the Third Battle of Panipat, to conquer large slices of Indian territory one by one and to consolidate their power. By the beginning of the 18th century it was clear that they would soon be masters of the entire country.

The impact of the British on Karnataka was seriously felt after the fall of Tipu Sultan. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the small kingdoms of North Karnataka and the coast-lands on the west were conquered and annexed, and the dismemberment of Karnataka, which had extended at one time from the Godavari to the Kaveri and which had evolved its own distinctive tradition and culture, commenced. No other linguistic unit of India has been subjected to such disintegration. For the people of Karnataka, this constitutes perhaps the most deplorable effect of the impact of the British.

Karnataka, with the rest of India, imbibed Western education and the educated classes came under the influence of the great thoughts of the poets, philosophers and political thinkers of the West. This made them aware, at the same time, of their own political subjection and the economic drain resulting from British rule.

In the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th, there were movements of social and religious revival, to counter the imposition of Western religion and Western materialistic thought. These movements produced their repercussions on the educated people of Karnataka, as much as on the educated Indians elsewhere in India. In the first half of the 19th century itself, the movement for the revival of Hinduism to its pristine purity had been initiated by Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal. Dayananda Sarasvati tried to revive all that he thought was best in the India of the Vedic times, and built up a spirit of equal resistance to the aggressiveness of both Christianity and Islam. Other reformers arose in the second half of the 19th century, the most outstanding of them being two great men whose influence reached the Western countries also, Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda. Their message reached Karnataka as it did other

parts of India, more than that of other reformers. These great men stirred Indian society to its depths, and imparted to the despondent and cheerless Indian mind a pride in the past and a buoyant hope for the future.

What has been described above constitutes the indirect and negative result of the impact of the West. In one direction, however, there was a positive and beneficial impact. Historical scholarship in the nineteenth century in Europe was guided by a genuine desire to know the past correctly and accurately, and this desire was brought to bear on the study of Indian History and Indian thought by a noble band of devoted Western scholars and thinkers. Not much was known by historians about Indian history previous to the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, because the epigraphic and other sources had not been unearthed and studied. It was in 1837 that the patient and painstaking efforts of James Prinsep to discover the clue to the inscriptions of Asoka were rewarded with success, and the life and work of one of the most remarkable and illustrious Emperors in World History were brought to light. Slowly but steadily, thanks to the efforts of these Western scholars, the early history of India was written. Indians themselves learnt for the first time of the greatness, of their past. Indians were thrilled by the knowledge of their own greatness in the intellectual and spiritual fields. It was to this knowledge that we owe to a great extent the renaissance of Indian learning in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. Indians cannot be adequately thankful to these Western scholars who did such pioneering work. A number of Western scholars like Mackenzie, Fleet, Wilkes, Kittel, Zeigler, Stokes, and Rice, made valuable contributions not only to historical studies but also to the study of the literature and language of Karnataka.

Perhaps the most notable and outstanding effect on India of the establishment of British rule in India is the political unification of the entire country. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the British had brought about the administrative unity of India. Railways, telegraphs and other innovations of modern science diminished the distance which had separated different parts of the country. English as a common official language for all parts of the country, including the princely States, served as a unifying force. It brought the people of different parts together on the intellectual platform and served to promote better understanding among all educated Indians. A good number of Indians mastered the English language and were able to appreciate all that was great and noble in English and Western literature available through English translations.

The acquisition of Western knowledge by Indians enabled the more enterprising among them to develop large scale industries in spite of the impediments placed in their way by British business interests. And this led to a

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON KARNATAKA

further decay of the old Indian village industries, and to a progressive urbanization of the population. The stable and traditional system of rural economy of the countryside, which had existed for centuries, was disturbed, and this change resulted in the disruption of the entire social system. This process is still going on.

Viewed in a broad perspective, the intellectual and moral ferment which began in Karnataka along with the impact, direct or indirect of the west, led to far-reaching changes in the life of the people. Democracy in the present form, which has definitely come to stay in India, is unquestionably an importation; but attempts are being made to adapt it to Indian conditions, and modern economic and political needs. Social and political equality is inseparable from democracy. The idea of equality of all people in the country, rich and poor, prince and peasant, before the law, the inherent right of every man, the freedom to live his own life so long as he does not impinge on the rights of others, and the availability of equal opportunity for every man in the State to rise to the highest position, these and such other ideas came to India as the result of the impact of the West, though they were not allowed to be implemented during the British regime. Indeed, we can say that many of the features of the republican constitution, which Indians have adopted for themselves, are due in considerable measure to the ideas and methods which Indian leaders have acquired from the West.

RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL MOVEMENTS

(MODERN PERIOD)

In the 19th and 20th centuries, Karnataka continued to be the abode of the Hindu philosophies of Advaita, Visishtadvaita, Dvaita and Sakti Visishtadvaita as of yore. The Sringeri Matha has been an active centre for the propagation of Advaita Vedanta of Sankara. Some of its Pontiffs have been men of great scholarship and saintly disposition, intensely faithful to the philosophical tradition. Sringeri continues to draw thousands of devotees from all over India on the occasion of special festivals as well as on other ordinary days.

The Sankara Matha at Bangalore, and the mathas of Sivaganga, Avani, and Kudli, associated with the name of Sri Sankaracharya, are other centres in

Karnataka devoted to the study and dissemination of the teachings of the Acharya.

Karnataka has also continued to be the active home of Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja, which has its headquarters at Melkote, where is located the Yatiraja Matha, and in Mysore where the Parakala Matha flourishes. The Yatiraja Matha is the stronghold of the Tengalai School of Sri Vaishnavism, and the Parakala Matha of the Vadagalai School of Sri Vaishnavism, its Pontiff being the Rajaguru of the Maharaja of Mysore. Then there is Belur with its Kesava Temple known also for its sculptural glory, bringing to the pilgrim's mind the glorious days of Sri Vaishnavism under the regime of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana. Similarly, Saligrama and Tondanur are also associated with the advent of Ramanuja in Karnataka and are resorted to by pilgrims.

The philosophy and religion of Madhvacharya is centred round Udupi with its eight mathas, the famous place of pilgrimage for the Dvaitins or Vaishnavas. The Haridasa movement has been receiving great fillip, and Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa and other Haridasas are being read anew, thus heralding a renaissance of this Kannada Bhakti movement. The Uttaradi Matha at Holenarasipur and Hospet, the Vyasaraya Matha at Sosale, the Raghavendraswami Matha at at Nanjangud, besides innumerable Brindavans (Holy cenotaphs) all over the province, dedicated to Sri Raghavendraswami, the great philosopher and mystic of the 17th century, and the Sripadarayaswami Matha at Mulbagal are among the important centres of Madhva religion and philosophy. Mention may be made of the activities of the Swamis of the Udupi Mathas, particularly of the Swamis of the Pejawara Matha and the Bhandarakeri Matha in establishing Pathasalas and Hostels, of which the Purnaprajna Vidyapeetha at Bangalore is noteworthy.

The Veerasaiva movement is unflagging in its zeal for the propagation of the teachings of Basava and other Sivasaranas and of Vachana Literature. New books are being published and a vast literature growing. The 8th Centenary Celebrations of Basaveswara at Basava Kalyana, Kudalasangama and all over Karnataka, and the publications of Basaveswara's works in English and other languages have revived interest all over the country in the teachings of this great Karnataka saint and reformer. The Veerasaiva Mathas at Chitradurga, Balehonnur, Suttur (Mysore), Siddaganga (Tumkur District), the Sivayaga Mandir founded in 1909 by Hangal Kumaraswami at Badami and the Veerasaiva Matha at Dharwar are active centres of educational effort; and the enlightened heads of the Mathas, with the co-operation of their well-to-do disciples, have built hostels, established schools and colleges and are playing a worthy part in the all-round moral and intellectual progress of their community and of the people as a whole.

So far as the religion of Jainism is concerned, the Jaina places of pilgrimage like Sravanabelgola and Hombuchcha in the Shimoga District continue to draw

thousands of visitors from all over India. The Mastakabhisheka ceremony of Gommata draws lakhs on the occasion. The serene Jaina saint, Gommata continues to shower his blessings on all mankind overtopping the hill at Chandragiri. Jainism continues to be a flourishing religion of Karnataka with numerous adherents scattered all over the State and also concentrated in certain parts of Karnataka like Bellur, Sravanabelagola and so on. The Jainas have maintained the lustre of their faith, and live in friendly concourse with people of other faiths making their own distinctive contribution to the religious life of Karnataka. Manjajya Hegde of Dharmasthala revived the tradition of 'naḍāvaḷi' (Court of Enquiry) and has been instrumental in the publication of numerous Jaina works in Kannada. The Jaina Mission Society, the Mahaveera Mission, the Jaina Dharma Prachara Parishat and the Anuvrata Samiti are other organisations doing good work.

So far as Buddhism is concerned, there is a re-awakening of interest in Buddhism, though the number of adherents to the faith is inconsiderable. Bangalore today has a flourishing Mahabodhi Society, which, in addition to propagating the teachings of the Buddha by publishing popular literature, has a meditation school and is engaged in very good social welfare work.

Islam continues to be a very influential religion and its numerous adherents continue to live on friendly terms with those of other faiths. The Prophet's birthday continues to be celebrated in all important places, in which people of other religions also participate. Islam, which had great vogue under Muslim rulers in Karnataka, enjoys freedom in so far as its religious practices are concerned. A notable feature of this era in Karnataka is a Kannada translation of the Koran and other Islamic works rendered by Islamic scholars who are as well versed in Kannada as they are in Arabic.

The 'Sarvadharmā sama bhava' of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Mahatma Gandhi as also the annual Sarvadharmā Sammelanas organized at Dharmasthala has not a little to do with this broadening of outlook and promoting a spirit of mutual reverence among adherents of different religious faiths. An organization like F.F.T., or Fellowship of the Friends of Truth, has now been functioning in Karnataka, with its Karnataka headquarters at Bangalore, for the promotion of harmony and cordiality among people following different faiths.

The great religio-social reform movements that emerged in the nineteenth century in India have also had some impact on the religious life of the people. The Brahmo Samaj has a branch at Bangalore. In the days of its inception, it was a source of new social reform ideas like that of sanctioning inter-caste marriages, conducted according to Brahmo rites. Brahmoism is a

theistic movement which harks back to the Upanishads, characterized by its eclectic synthesis with some of the reformist items of Islam and Christianity. It is a movement away from idolatry and ritualism and caste distinctions.

Another movement that has its vogue in Karnataka is the Arya Samaj movement which has its branches in places like Bangalore, Mysore, and Mangalore. It is also a movement away from idolatry and caste. But its main call is 'Back to the Vedas'. It has also been doing propaganda through its missionaries. Dayananda Sarasvati's *Satyartha Prakash* has been translated into Kannada. Bangalore has its own headquarters known as 'Sraddhananda Bhavan'.

There are, however, two religious movements which do not call, like the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, for a radical wrench from popular Hinduism. One of them is a religious movement which took its birth elsewhere but which adopted India as its home. That movement is the Theosophical Society. It has many adherents in Karnataka, who were enthusiastic followers of Madame Blavatsky, the Russian founder of the Theosophical Society, and its greatest propagator in India, Annie Besant, who completely identified herself with the people of India, their religious and philosophical life, and their social and political aspirations. Dr. Annie Besant visited Mysore and Bangalore and was mainly responsible for starting branches of the Theosophical society in both these places. It promotes a comparative study of religions and helps to engender friendly feelings among the adherents of different faiths in Karnataka. A Kannada journal called 'Supantha', served for a considerably long time, to propagate theosophical ideas among the educated people in Karnataka. Promotion of Sanskrit and oriental learning has been one of the chief planks of the platform of Theosophy, particularly because the Theosophical movement is wedded a good deal to what it calls 'Ancient Wisdom'.

There is also the Theosophical Lodge functioning in Bangalore founded by the efforts of Sri B. P. Wadia, apart from the Theosophical Society.

A movement which has had great mass appeal and which, at the same time, is helpful in inculcating a catholic outlook with regard to all religions, without uprooting any of the followers of the different historical faiths from their original moorings, is the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement. This movement is quite widespread in Karnataka and from the time Swami Vivekananda came to Karnataka before he went to attend the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893, the movement has taken deep roots in Karnataka. Sri Ramakrishna Asramas have sprung up in different parts of Karnataka (Bangalore, Mysore, Mangalore, and Ponnampet in Coorg). The teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda have been translated into Kannada through the Asramas and are quite popular with the reading public. Celebrations in connection with the

birthdays of Sri Ramakrishna, Saradadevi, the Holy Mother, and Swami Vivekananda are great occasions, when people gather in large numbers. Some of the Asramas, like those at Mangalore, and Mysore have been very active in rendering into Kannada all our chief Vedantic texts, like the *Upanishads*, the *Brahma Sutras*, the *Bhagavad Geeta*, the Stotras and the hymns of the different sects. The Ramakrishna Mission in Karnataka has also to its credit the running of several educational institutions in a spirit of synthesis of science and spirituality.

Of late, the impact of the thought of Sri Aurobindo is increasingly felt. Aurobindonian circles have been started in different centres in Karnataka. The influence of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and religion is being reflected in the works of some leading poets and other men of letters.

There seems to be a general revival of interest in spiritual and religious matters as evidenced by the large number of religious discourses that take place in almost every big town, and particularly cities like Bangalore. The celebrations of Ramotsava, Ganapati Utsava, The Geeta Jayanti and other sacred days associated with religious teachers and saints are getting to be more popular.

There are also found in most of the towns small groups of persons affiliated to various religious movements that have been started in recent times, like those of Sri Ramana Maharshi, Sri Brahma Chaitanya, Sri Ramadas of Kanhangad, Sri Narayana Bhagavan of Agadi, R.D. Ranade at Nimbai, Sri Narayana Guru of Kerala, Sri Sai Baba, Satya Sri Baba of Puttaparti, Sri Balayogi and others, besides Sri Aurobindo already referred to. There is also enthusiastic response to religious teachers visiting our big towns to give religious discourses. All these are indications of a revival of interest in religion and spirituality among people at large. This has resulted in many Hindu Temples, which were sadly neglected years ago, becoming more active community centres drawing larger congregations of worshippers. Divine Life Societies under the inspiration of Swami Sivananda of Hrishikesh have been started in some cities of Karnataka and are carrying on bhajana, kirtan and religious discourses, and study circles for the study of the *Geeta* and the *Upanishads*.

A marked feature of the earlier half of the twentieth century in the field of religion is the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the reconstruction of religious thought in Hinduism as well as the fostering of the 'Sarvadharmasamabhaya' of which Gandhiji became the best exemplar. To Gandhiji Sarvadharmasamabhava became, if we may so, Sarvadharmasamabhava, or the attitude that all religions are mine. In the wake of the earlier national movement to which great contributions had been made by Sri Bal Gangadhar Tilak, his *Geeta Rahasya* translated into Kannada, became a source of enlightenment with its philosophy of activism. The pervasive influence of Gandhiji's later leadership in Karnataka, the influence

not merely of his political activity but also of the wide spirit of liberality in matters religious, coupled with deep religious faith in the existence of God which characterized all his activities, left an abiding impresson on all those in Karnataka who had thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the national movement for the liberation of the country from foreign rule. This has helped in great measure to foster a sense of fellowship of faiths in Karnataka.

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

(MODERN PERIOD)

Society in the 18th century was essentially semi-feudal in structure and agricultural and artisan in character. Unlike in Europe, it was only in the later years of the 19th century that it was transformed into a free, semi-urban and semi-industrial type. The basic characteristics of social life, therefore, underwent no sudden or radical changes but remained true to the original pattern with but a few adjustments.

Detailed descriptions of the social life of the period are available in contemporary Kannada works and Marathi letters and also in the works of Francis Buchanan, Hamilton, Abbe Dubois and Meadows Taylor.

The pyramidal form of social organization consisting of the big Mansabdars, Jagirdars and the like at the top and the humble sepoy or the serf at the bottom, with a variety of middle men in between, which obtained under the Moghuls in the north, seldom existed in Karnataka. On the other hand, social organization was largely horizontal in character and consisted mainly of free and sometimes semi-free agriculturists and artisans. There was, of course, the class of landlords and tradesmen who formed a sort of middle class, but their number was never large. The choice of a profession was determined largely by hereditary and caste considerations, but there was no cleavage either professional or communal. On the other hand, their interdependence was emphasized at every step in social life. Nor did caste or profession determine the status or the importance of men in daily life. In fact, leadership both in town and village often vested with people of communities other than the highest in the caste hierarchy.

The mass of people were not interested in political affairs, and the game of power politics was played only by ambitious chieftains and their henchmen. The common people bowed before government officers, whoever they were, and paid their dues and even unreasonable exactions so as to live in peace. They built inconspicuous houses and buried their valuables underground.

The village society was led by the Patel (Headman) and the Panchayat (Village Council) who looked after the village administration, and the Shanbhog (Accountant) who maintained the accounts. The Purohit (Priest), or Joshi, advised on religious matters and read the stars of the common man. The Nayak or Desai or Palayagar led the town society, organized the construction and maintenance of the forts and arranged for the defence and security of the town-folk.

The joint family, consisting of several brothers and their families, the father, his sons and their families, all under the dominating care of the eldest member of the family was, with but a few exceptions, the unit of society. The male member was the chief bread-winner but the woman, at least among the 'working class', was not prohibited from supplementing the family income through her own work. But her position was subordinate and she remained essentially shy and modest. The men could take many wives and, in fact, did so quite often, but they were not entitled to divorce them except on grounds of adultery. Women enjoyed few privileges. Among the 'higher' castes they were usually married before the age of puberty. Those of the 'lower' castes were destined to a life of toil.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, life in regions which were scenes of warfare was hard. Maratha and other invasions demanded heavy sacrifices. Life and property were far from secure. Levies, both manual and material, were heavy. Organized plunder and devastation were normal and frequent. Contemporary works are replete with descriptions of such devastations. Added to these were famines and pestilence which, whenever they came, took heavy tolls. But with all these stresses and strains, social life continued without much change, for the average Indian was essentially long-suffering and a fatalist in outlook.

Despite the occasional raids of invading armies and change of overlords, the life of the village was on the whole little disturbed. It kept its even tenor, each following his avocation and enjoying his rights and performing his duties, as laid down by age-old custom and conventions.

The temples in villages and towns served as centres of social activities and the devadasis were there to entertain. The common man worked hard from dawn to dusk, and got just enough to live and to spend on occasional festivities. He seldom thought of the morrow.

Pilgrimages to holy places, performed in primitive carts were common, and were undertaken as much to fulfil their vows to family gods as to relieve the monotony of daily life. Visiting pilgrims passing through villages were treated hospitably. Seasonal festivals like Sankranti, Yugadi, Dasara and Deepavali were occasions of community rejoicing in which all joined. So were Muslim festivities like Moharrum or the Urs of local saints in the countryside. All communities fraternized with one another on such occasions, except for the outcastes, now called Harijans, who were mostly serfs and landless labourers with their separate locations in villages. They disposed of dead cattle, and, though many had subsidiary occupations like weaving, their economic and social status was far from satisfactory. It was not till the 20th century that social reformers who championed their cause appeared on the scene to be crowned by the great efforts of Mahatma Gandhi.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when frequent raids and warfare

ceased, social life definitely improved. There was no more insecurity and there were less oppressive levies. The British Commissioners in Mysore (1831-81), and British rule in other parts of Karnataka, laid the foundations of an ordered administration and people could afford to think of the higher things of life again. Yakshagana and dramas came into vogue. Literary works, both original and in translations, began to appear. This applies more specially to the old Mysore State where the Maharajas Krishnaraja Wodeyar III and Chamaraja Wodeyar patronized learning and the arts.

By the end of the nineteenth century gradual industrialization set in and brought about many social changes in the urban population. In the old Mysore State, schemes for development of power, railways and industries initiated by Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer (1883-1901) took shape and, by the thirties of the present century, an industrial labour class and an urban middle class came into being. Opportunities of employment both by the State and by industrial concerns expanded. With the spread of education in the country as a whole, popular expectations rose and resulted in keen competition for entering the avenues of employment. Opportunities naturally fell short of demand and gave rise to social cleavage among communities. Urban life was considerably vitiated by such cleavages.

Nevertheless, life became more prosperous, varied and interesting in the towns. Clubs, cinemas, the theatre, restaurants and athletics and games became more and more popular. Literacy registered a gradual rise and literary pursuits became fashionable among the educated classes.

Rural life in certain areas prospered. The huge irrigation schemes undertaken during the early years of this century and the increase in agricultural prices improved the economic status of the peasant. But the age-old village industries began to decline rapidly owing to the competition of cheap foreign manufactures and this inevitably led to increasing poverty and destitution among the landless in the rural population. Even among the comparatively prosperous villages, the mode of their social life remained uninfluenced by their prosperity, except for a more liberal celebration of the traditional festivities. The villager had few recreations and hardly any comfort. Amenities, public and private, were still a luxury. But his visits to the town became more frequent and his dependence on it for marketing his goods or for buying many of his own needs increased. And, although through such visits and contacts he was gradually educating himself about the needs of a more civilized existence, the gap between the urban and rural life was still great. That synthesis, which enables the rustic to feel at home in the town and the sophisticated to retire to a country home and to feel happy about it, is still a distant ideal.

The conditions of social life described above began to change as the 20th century advanced. The First World War (1914-18) was a great event which brought

India into the maelstrom of world currents of political and economic life. Thousands of Indian soldiers went abroad and fought with distinction on battle-fields outside India. When they returned to their homes in the villages, they were new men with all the experience they had gained abroad. As a result of India's help in the War, Indians aspired for more political rights, and the tempo of political agitation quickened greatly in the second and third decades of the century. The advent of Mahatma Gandhi, who ushered in a new epoch with his comprehensive programme for national regeneration, affected all classes of people, urban and rural, the latter perhaps more than the former. Gandhiji influenced all aspects of Indian life, political, economic, social and religious.

The Second World War (1939-45) was fraught with still greater consequences. Not only India, but the whole world entered on a new era. India, which had contact till then mostly with Britain among the foreign nations, now came into greater touch with the U. S. A. and other foreign countries. Indians, both in towns and villages, got accustomed to aeroplanes flying overhead, to lorries and buses plying on their roads, to radios and movies, and amenities of travel and entertainment which were unknown to the previous generation.

The coming of Independence in 1947 marked the beginning of mighty efforts undertaken by the Government of India to raise the standard of living of the Indian people and to modernize their life and life's activities, specially in the fields of industry and technology. Five-Year Plans were promulgated beginning with 1950, when the Constitution of the Indian Union was adopted, making India a sovereign democratic republic. Three Five-Year Plan periods are already over, and the Fourth is under way. Huge Hydro-electric projects and Irrigation schemes, gigantic Steel, Machine-Tools, Fertiliser and other factories, enormously extended facilities for education in India and abroad for our youth—these have changed the face of the country. A great portion of our countryside has been brought under development and the 'National Extension schemes.' The unprecedented amount of civil building activities, road-building, ship-building—these have provided vastly increased opportunities for employment and wage-earning. All this has resulted in great changes being witnessed in the social and economic life of people in all strata of society, both urban and rural. India is trying to encompass in a few decades the work of as many centuries.

The old patterns of social life no longer exist, and the old traditional values of life also no longer command allegiance. Indian society is in a state of flux as a result of these hectic activities. It is yet too early to assess in specific terms the results of these new developments and foresee the future. One can only hope that wise leadership at all levels will enable India to settle down to a life of stability, without abandoning the best features of its priceless cultural heritage from the past, the large tolerance and moral urge that has always characterized its life and build up a social order which shall guarantee freedom, justice and equality of opportunity, as laid down in the preamble of our Constitution.

A SURVEY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(MODERN PERIOD)

We may divide this survey into three periods. The first period would be 1760-1800, covering the reigns of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan whose kingdom comprised practically the whole of Karnataka, the second period 1800-1914, and the third period 1914-1947.

1760-1799 :

During this period the whole of Karnataka was under the sway of Haidar ali and Tipu Sultan. The creation of a centralized efficient administrative machinery and a good police system combined with the old Panchayat system were all conducive to good economic organization. 'The husbandman, the manufacturer and the merchant prospered in every part of his domains, cultivation increased, new manufactures were established and wealth flowed into the kingdom' (Fillorton).

The abolition of the Zamindari system, assessment of land revenue in money, payment to revenue officials in cash instead of in kind, and the personal interest of the ruler in increasing the produce from land toned up agricultural economy.

Hardy labourers were settled as farmers, especially in areas where land reclamation was feasible, and poor industrious farmers were given subsidies for bullocks, implements and seeds. Haidar Ali introduced the cultivation of mulberry, though he had no appreciable success.

As elsewhere in India, weaving was the most widespread industry and very fine and elegant cloth was produced (Buchanan). Localised at several centres in Karnataka were a large number of manufactures including those of iron, steel and glassware, all of which flourished. Poor artisans were given subsidies by the State.

There was flourishing trade in a large number of centres, the chief among them being Shah Ganjam, Bangalore, Bednur, Mangalore, Honavar, Channapatna, Hosakote, Sira, Kolar, Periyapatna, Davanagere, Bellary and Adoni. Shah Ganjam, near the Capital, Srirangapattana, was a grand bazaar opened by Haidar Ali where he assembled under his protection merchants and artisans from many parts of the country. Haidar attracted many bales of precious stuffs from Iran and Daman, as stated by Kirmani. Tipu is stated

to have carried on trade on his own account and made considerable profit. Inland transit and octroi duties were not oppressive to trade. The Customs Houses were bound to make good losses on account of robbers. The duties on imports levied at the ports of Honavar and Mangalore were low, being less than $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ generally, and helped the foreign merchants who were already gaining a grip over the Indian market. There were properly prescribed rates of exchange between the various kinds of coinage then prevailing.

During this period, Karnataka was a maritime power to reckon with. In 1763, a naval arsenal and dockyard were set up at Mangalore and Honavar for the construction of men-of-war. Haidar is also said to have made an unsuccessful attempt to establish navigation on the Tunga. But Tipu's rule was unfortunately marked by oppressive and restrictive measures and the miseries of war, and the life of the common people was greatly disturbed.

A high degree of local self-sufficiency, with farming and handicrafts catering largely to local needs, prevalence of barter and the regulation of economic relationships by custom and status may be said to be the characteristic features of economic life.

The 'bārābalūti' system which had been in existence from earlier days continued during this period also. The full complement of the 'bārābalūti', comprised of the patel (headman), shanbhogue (accountant), tōṭi (constable), talāri (guard), neerganṭi (water-regulator), joshi (priest : astrologer), the smith, the carpenter, the potter, the washerman, the barber, and the goldsmith. In its economic aspect this shows the division of labour and the co-operative and corporate character of village life in those days.

1800-1914:

When in 1800 British suzerainty was foisted upon Karnataka, it meant a direct drain in the shape of an annual subsidy of Rs. 24.5 lakhs to the British Crown. Karnataka was fragmented : the districts of North and South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur, Bidar, Dharwar, Bellary, Belgaum and Bijapur came to be parts of British India and other 'native' states. The deprivation of direct access to the sea circumscribed the industrial and commercial development of Mysore. As for the rest of Karnataka, their fortunes were tagged on to British-Indian outlying regions.

Agricultural life continued to be on the lines described earlier, in the main. Experiments, however, were carried on for the introduction of mulberry from China, Philippines and St. Helena ; of sugar-cane varieties from Mauritius and the South Sea Islands; and of cotton from New Orleans, Sea Island and the Bourbon. The cultivation of coffee recorded great expansion with grant of vast

lands for coffee plantation, especially to European planters almost gratis. But until the closing decades of the 19th century, coffee remained almost exclusively an export produce. Internal consumption developed gradually only since then. Sago in the Ashtagram and Nagar divisions, potatoes in the Bangalore division and fruits and tobacco culture in several parts of the State received the special attention of the State under Sir Mark Cubbon. The introduction of cardamom cultivation on a plantation scale in about 1860 is also noteworthy.

Sheep breeding experiments with imported Australian rams were successful and Mysore wool fetched a good price in the London market.

The revenue survey and settlement initiated during the days of the Commission in 1863, were completed by the close of the 19th century. That the agriculturist was placed under obligation by the fixity of the tenure of his land was perhaps the chief contribution of the half a century of British administration of Mysore.

Available statistics of prices and wages, inadequate as they are, indicate that over the century, as a whole, the wage rates generally have doubled. In the quarter century prior to 1913, the prices of ragi and jowar, had more than doubled and of rice and Bengal gram had risen by over 50 per cent.

As in the rest of India, recurrent famines due to failure of rains or excessive drought or the devastation of wars greatly disturbed the economic life of the people. Severe food scarcities were felt in the years 1824, 1831, 1833, 1850, 1866, 1875-77, 1883-85, 1891-92 and 1900. In the famine of 1875-77, mortality was estimated to be as high as 11 lakhs out of a population of 51 lakhs in the Mysore State. It was then that the first Mysore Famine Code was promulgated and several ameliorative and preventive measures adopted. The need to transport foodgrains quickly to the famine affected areas led to the construction of railway lines, the first railway in the State being that connecting Bangalore with Madras in 1864. Similarly, measures were taken to promote co-operation, increased irrigation and other facilities to the agriculturists.

Karnataka has considerable forest resources. The forests have influenced rainfall in the region. Sandalwood and other useful trees yielding timber and fuel and tanning bark, lac, honey and bees' wax are all of great value. It was in the middle of the 19th century that a Department under a Chief Conservator of Forests came into existence. Teak seedlings were planted in the Lakkavalli forest. The development of forestry, especially during the latter half of the 19th century, was quite marked and the revenue from forests came only next to land revenue as a source of income to the State.

The industrial life of Karnataka during the 19th century was marked chiefly by the decline of the traditional handicrafts and the birth of a few modern

industries towards the close of the century. The increasing import of European manufactures and the dependence of handloom weavers on mill-made yarn adversely affected the handloom industry. The rise of the mill industry affected the woollen textiles cottage industry. Many weavers lost their independence and became employees of a few financiers on a piece-wage basis.

Among the other cottage industries and crafts which suffered a decline but which continued to support a large number of families in the State were tanning organized largely by the Tamil-speaking Muslims (lubbays), metal industries including iron-smelting, steel and metal work, brass casting, copper work and musical steel wire, glass bangle, the highly artistic crafts of gold lace, bidriware of Hyderabad, nakki-weaving of Bangalore, lac-turnery by the chitragars of Channapatna, sandalwood-carving by gudigars of Sagar and Sorab, musical instruments at Magadi by Brahmins, seents and agarbattis at Mysore and Bangalore and in-lay work at Mysore. The rural type of cottage industries included carpentry, basket-making, mat-weaving, rope-making, oil-pressing and jaggery-making. The economic condition of all these cottage industries by the close of the 19th century was unsatisfactory and attempts to revitalize them belong to the subsequent period.

Sericulture, however, developed to be one of Karnataka's special types of industry. The stretch of the country comprising parts of the taluks of Nanjangud, Chamarajanagar, T. Narasipur, Malavalli, Mandya, Ramanagaram, Channapatna, Kankanahalli, Devanahalli, and parts of Kunigal and Magadi with some tracts of the Kolar District formed the silk zone of the State. It was estimated that by 1911-12, 33,000 acres of land had been brought under mulberry cultivation and the value of silk produced was estimated at about 80—110 lakhs a year of which about 2/5 was for export outside, the remaining being used by local weavers.

A well-marked division of labour existed in the silk industry; one group of ryots taking up mulberry cultivation, a second set of people specializing in rearing cocoons and a third group, usually Muslims and Harijans, buying cocoons and reeling the silk, and a fourth group carrying on silk-weaving. It is said that the cocoon-rearer benefitted the most and the mulberry cultivator the least. When the two processes were carried on by the same family, the position of the family was much better off than that of several other agriculturists. The bulk of the silk-weaving industry was in Bangalore.

While several indigenous handicrafts and industries had declined, some modern industries were gradually being introduced. The establishment of the Kolar Gold Mines in 1882 by John Taylor and Sons, and of gold mines in the Raichur Doab area, the Mysore Spinning and Manufacturing Co., in 1883 by a Bombay firm, the Bangalore Woollen Cotton and Silk Mills, Ltd., and the Davanagere Cotton Ginning Factory in 1884 and the Coffee Curing Works at Bangalore by Messrs Binny & Co., M. S. K. Mills at Gulbarga in 1884; the

inauguration of the Kaveri Hydro-Electric scheme in 1900 and the starting of the Shimoga Manganese Co., are among the leading industrial developments, which clearly indicate that from 1881 onwards Karnataka had made a definite bid for industrialization. The growth of industries owed much to private enterprise, especially from outside the State, but the Government of Mysore actively helped by purchasing shares, granting loans on easy terms and in many other ways.

By 1914, there were, in addition to the above, a number of Oil Mills, Rice Mills, Tile Factories, Saw Mills, Printing Presses, Cigarette Factories, Distilleries and Iron and Brass foundries.

Excluding the mines, there were in 1913-14 as many as 72 factories in Mysore, employing 4,451 persons and producing an output valued at Rs. 1.6 crores. The 15 gold-mining companies employed about 24,300 men and extracted annually about 5 lakhs ounces of gold valued at over Rs. 19 lakhs.

However, on the whole, the number engaged in the organized modern industries was very small in proportion to the total industrial population, which amounted to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs persons, i. e., about 8% of the population.

In respect of transport and communications, on which industrial growth so much depends, progress in Karnataka has been rather uneven and halting. While the ports of Mangalore, Karwar and Bhatkal remained undeveloped, the land-locked old Mysore State lacked direct access to the sea. As for internal means of transport, the most noteworthy feature was the introduction of the railways. Starting with the Bangalore-Madras railway link in 1864, already noticed, and the Madras-Bombay line passing through the districts of Raichur and Gulbarga, a number of lines were opened during the last two decades of the 19th century. Improvements to road transport included the construction of the Bababudan Hill road, the Sagar-Malnad road, the Bisleghat road and the Mysore-Manantady road, the opening of the four Passes in the Western Ghats, *viz.*, the Agumbe, the Bhooud, the Sampige and the Periambadi; the building of the Tunga bridge at Shimoga, the Bhadra bridge at Benkipura (now Bhadravati), the Tungabhadra bridge at Harihar and the Hemavati bridge at Saklespura.

The external trade of Karnataka by sea was carried on chiefly through Honavar. Buchanan mentions that Honavar, Kundapura and Ankola were the chief trading centres of Kanara and that a large part of trade consisted in export of pepper, betel-nut, coconut and rice. The monopoly of trade in pepper was in the hands of the Company, which procured annually about 750 candies (1 candy-520 lbs.) of pepper for export, the price varying from Rs. 110/- to 120/- per candy. The imports into Karnataka were salt, sulphur, tin, lead, zinc, copper, European steel, paints and glue, nutmeg, cloves, camphor, raw silk, dates, almonds, and several kinds of English manufactures. The exports from the State were chiefly in betel-nut, sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, tamarind, grain, hides and horns.

This pattern of external trade continued generally during the whole period, items like coffee and opium and timber on the export list and more varieties of manufactures on the import list appearing in the second half of the century.

The quantum of external trade was comparatively small at first and only in the closing decades of the period was there a marked rise. The value of imports into the State increased from about Rs. 175 lakhs in 1880-81 to Rs. 281 lakhs in 1890-91 and to Rs. 673 lakhs in 1913-14, while exports increased in the period from about Rs. 92 lakhs to about 253 lakhs and to 547 lakhs. Transport facilities were largely responsible for this increase.

The characteristic feature of internal trade, which touched the life of the people more closely, was the holding of weekly 'santhes' (markets) and periodical jatras (fairs). During the middle of the 19th century, weekly 'santhes' were held in 121 places in the State, when people gathered in large numbers to buy and sell. The growth of trade is indicated by the increasing number of banking and trading companies registered in the State, which stood at 92 in 1894-5.

During this period the population of the State was relatively small. Available estimates show that in the first half of the 19th century the population nearly doubled. From 1871, when the first census was taken, more reliable estimates are available, and according to the decennial censuses, between 1871-1911 population increased by 14.72 per cent. The proportion of populations of the urban to the whole population was very small, being only 9.7 per cent. Though compared to the figures of population in the 1800's, several towns had grown by 1911 they were by no means congested. There were only 27 towns with a population of over 5000. The two cities which had grown markedly were Bangalore and Mysore with a population of 88,651 and 71,306 respectively, in the old Mysore State.

A feature which attracted attention after the census of 1911 was the trend towards depopulation of the Malnad in the State, the greatest decline being in the Shimoga District by about 15,020 people and Kadur by 20,813 compared to 1901.

Another noteworthy feature under population is the migration, especially of labourers, between Karnataka and the adjoining areas. Indeed, during the latter part of the 19th century Mysore depended very much on labourers from the adjacent places. The net migration of population (excess of immigration over emigration) during the two decade between 1891-1901 was 3,41,173. The coffee estates, the areca gardens and the paddy cultivation of the Malnad areas of the Mysore State depended very much upon the labourers from the two Kanaras and Malabar. Labourers for the K.G.F. and for the newly started mills and building industries of Bangalore were drawn from the districts of

North Arcot, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah. Emigrant labour of Mysore went chiefly to Coorg and Ceylon.

The 19th century witnessed very little economic development in the modern sense of the term. Agriculture remained largely traditional. The extinction of the Panchayat system and the disruption of the village commune were among the factors which adversely affected rural economic life. The decline of the indigenous industries and handicrafts left a large number of families comparatively poor. On the other hand, owing to the impact of foreign trade, traders as a class profited.

1914-1947:

This was a formative period of modern economic development. During the decade following the outbreak of the First World War, there was a new drive towards industrialization, though about the same time distressing conditions prevailed owing to War, epidemics and floods.

The War afforded protection against foreign competition to several nascent industries. The Government of India's fiscal policy, on which Mysore also depended, became favourable to the adoption in 1921 of the policy of discriminating protection. But lack of capital, private enterprise and technical 'know-how' and personnel were the chief handicaps. But the Mysore State supplemented and stimulated private enterprise. If had the benefit of having a personality like Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the first statesman to think of a planned economy for India.

In the decade 1914-1924, several major concerns like the Mysore Iron and Steel Works, The Government Soap Factory and the Government Central Industrial Workshop were started in the public sector, while the Minerva, the Krishnarajendra and the Mahalakshmi Woollen and Silk Textile Mills, the Mysore Premier Metal Factory, the Standard Tile and Clay Works Ltd., The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Kaolin Syndicate, Mysore Asbestos, Sindhuvali Chromite and a number of other concerns were started by private enterprise. The development of the Engineering College and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute and the Bank of Mysore are also noteworthy. All these and the establishment of a number of bodies devoted to scientific, agricultural, industrial and commercial development like the South Indian Science Association, the Agricultural and Experimental Union and the Chamber of Commerce signify the growth of a modern economic outlook in the State.

On the other hand, there were the direct and the indirect burdens of the War, the drought and the unprecedented floods of 1923. These pressed heavily on

the population, especially the poorer classes and called for special ameliorative measures by Government.

The two decades from 1924 were even more remarkable than the preceding one for industrial development. The Government of India's fiscal policy, the zeal of Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail for modernization and the opportunities afforded by the Second World War were among the chief factors contributing to industrial progress. Even in the midst of the great world economic depression, Mysore went ahead with new schemes. The characteristic technique of growth was for the State to initiate and undertake new enterprises and pass them on to private enterprise when it could take over.

Factories were started for the manufacture of paper, cement, agricultural implements, porcelainware, electrical goods like lamps, transformers, batteries and insulators, glass and enamelware, bakelite products, matches, machine tools, lac and paints, stoneware pipes and potteries, sugar, and power alcohol, chemicals and fertilisers, chrome and leather goods, cured tobacco and coffee, vegetable oil and ghee, spun and filature silks and road-surfacing materials. Apart from these industries, which were either State-owned or State-aided, a number of private concerns connected with planting and agriculture, motor traction, engineering, neon signs, cinematography, newspapers and trading were established.

The period of the Second World War witnessed the rise in the State of some industries of national importance such as the Hindustan Aircraft and the Indian Telephone Industries, apart from other large concerns like the Radio and Electrical Manufacturing Company, Kirloskar, Ltd. and Chemicals and Fertilisers. The total number of joint stock companies registered in Mysore increased from 117 with an authorised capital of about 8 crores of rupees in 1921 to 315 and 20 crores of rupees respectively by 1947. In addition, there were in 1947, 167 companies registered outside the State but carrying on business in the Mysore State as against only 23 in 1921.

The industrial growth in the rest of the Karnataka outside the old Mysore State during the period was less spectacular but there were some noteworthy developments. These relate to the tile factories, printing presses, clock-making, cashew-nut and fisheries at Mangalore; the cement factory at Shahabad; Railway workshop and metal industries at Hubli, Textile mills at Gulbarga, Dharwar and Belgaum; and coffee-curing, rice mills, saw mills and apiaries in Coorg.

Mysore was one of the first States in India to exploit Hydro-electric resources. With the first power-plant installed in 1902 at Sivasamudram and the subsequent installation at Shimsha and Jog Falls, electrical power supply was available for lift irrigation and industry as well as for domestic and street

lighting. Besides these Hydro-electric power plants in the Mysore State, there were thermal units at a number of places in the rest of Karnataka.

Transport facilities also increased during the period. During the quarter of a century following 1914, the railway mileage nearly doubled, taking the total mileage for Karnataka to about 1400 in 1939. The railway system, however, had not developed in accordance with the needs of an integrated Karnataka.

The period, especially the nineteen thirties, saw the development of the modern type of roads in the State, apart from an increase in the mileage of other kinds of roads. In the 25 years ending 1947, the road mileage nearly doubled. But it was not uniform in all parts of Karnataka. The average road mileage for every 100 sq. miles of area worked out to be 36. for the Mysore State and 8.6, 21.6, 200, 26.3 respectively for the Hyderabad-Karnataka, Bombay-Karnataka, South Kanara and Coorg respectively

The period witnessed the growth of motor transport largely under private enterprise. The number of motor cars, buses and lorries in the Mysore State increased from 2972, 572 and 384 in 1936 to 4778, 794, 1775 respectively, in 1947. This indicated the expansion of modern facilities for travel and carriage of trade by road.

The chief manufactured articles exported, in addition to the exports already noted, were the products of the Iron and Steel Works, Sugar Factory, Textile mills and the cigarette factory. The list of imports included coal and coke, brass, copper and tin, mineral oils, petrol, chemical manure, machinery and spare parts, leather goods, haberdashery and millinery, cycles, motor cars, drugs, matches, paper, scientific instruments, and a host of other modern manufactures. Changes were silently taking place in the habits, especially of certain classes of the urban population. The cinema and the radio, watches, fountain-pens, bicycles and many such components of the new standard of living of the people depended largely on imports.

The marketing of agricultural produce was attempted to be organized through co-operatives and the establishment of regulated markets, though these were not yet successful by 1947 in eliminating the drawbacks and evils connected with agricultural marketing.

The rise of modern industries led to the emergence of a separate class of industrial labour with its own special problems. This class of industries was fed largely by immigrant labour and by persons who retained contact with agriculture in their respective village homes. Certain special enquiries revealed that among textile mills 50% of labourers and in the Kolar Gold Fields about 43% of the workers were from outside the State. The jobber system of recruitment of labour to factories prevailed in the State, the 'Maistry' in Mysore being the counterpart

of the 'Sardar' in British India. Though the system lent itself to abuses such as bribery and intimidation, it was tolerated because of the difficulty of direct contact between the management and the labourers due to differences in race and language.

In respect of legislative enactments for workers in mines and factories for matters like hours of work, holidays, health and safety, compensation for injury by accident, maternity benefits to woman workers and settlement of industrial disputes, Mysore adopted the standards adopted for the British Indian Provinces. The labour movement made no headway at first, but after 1927, with the passing of Trade Union legislation, the Labour Unions became the legal means for labour to improve the terms of its employment. The movement gained a solid footing during the Second World War and immediately after. 'Labour welfare' received from the beginning great attention from Government, the biggest industrial employer, as also by private industrialists. But there remained still much to be desired about the lot of industrial labour in the State.

Food production in the State did not keep pace with the rise of population, with the result that the State had to depend on imports, besides ceasing to be an exporter of articles like ragi. The area under commercial crops increased in response to the needs of industry.

The Government's efforts during this period to improve agriculture consisted largely of measures to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1929) in respect of research, education, demonstration, propagands and credit facilities and of measures under the 'Grow More Food Campaign' launched during the time of the Second World War.

The irrigation potential of many of the rivers remained undeveloped, so that in 1950 out of 35 million acres of cultivated land in the whole of Karnataka only about 1.7 million acres of land received irrigation. The only work of importance during the period was the Krishnarajasagara Dam and the channels designed to irrigate 1,25,000 acres of land.

Plantations, especially tea, coffee and tobacco under companies registered outside Mysore and abroad made considerable headway employing in 1941 about 1.44 lakhs of persons in the Mysore State itself.

Fishery recorded great progress during the period, especially in the coastal regions of North and South Kanara. For the people of South Kanara, fishing has been only next in importance to agriculture, and with a long coast line of nearly 200 miles, marine fishing offered considerable opportunities. The phenomenal development of marine fishing is shown by the fact that North Kanara, which was a net importer of fishes in 1880-81, became a big exporter, the value of exports in 1947-48 being about Rs. 21.4 lakhs, which meant nearly a twenty-fold increase in the

course of 50 years. The development was particularly marked since the establishment in 1939, of a number of fish-curing yards at Majali, Karwar, Bingi, Chendia, Harunda, Kini, and Murdeswar, the introduction of power-propelled vessels, the provision of refrigeration facilities and technical training. The development of fisheries and the setting up of factories at Majali and Karwar for extraction of fish oil and production of fish manure have benefitted a large number of families in the area.

After 1956 when the coastal tracts were integrated with the new Mysore State, great progress has been achieved. Two boat-building yards were set up to build mechanized boats of special design and by 1964-65, 193 such boats were built. Besides, private enterprise was also encouraged in the field. Nearly 80 fishermen a year were trained from 1961-1964:- the number rose to 140 in 1964-65. More training centres are under contemplation.

Inland fisheries also received a fillip. Nearly one lakh of acres out of a total of 10 lakhs of culturable inland water have now been taken up for fish culture in the State.

Cottage industries continued to decline during the period under review. The only industries which showed increased activity were goldsmithy, carpentry, leather, bidi and mat-making, while all others showed a decline. (Recently however, goldsmiths have suffered a severe set-back owing to the Gold Control Order). However, some notable attempts were made to revive and revitalize the cottage industries. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving received great stimulus by the spread of the Khadi movement.

The Mysore Government was unique in according in the pre-Independence period to the Khadi movement its active support and patronage and setting up an organization in 1927 to foster the industry. The first Khadi centre to be opened by a Government in India was in Badanaval, with the help of the All-India Spinners' Association. The number of spinners and weavers rose from 1052 in 1927 to 9560 in 1947. With this encouraging start, as many as 23 khadi centres were established by 1947.

Attempts to revitalize the languishing cottage industries included the starting of model demonstration units at appropriate centres for tannery, pottery button-making, hardware and smithy, mat-making, lacquerware, glue-making, oil-crushing, coir rope, cane furniture, tile-making, and hand made paper. The development of rural and cottage industries was carried out since 1939 in accordance with three Five Year Plans with a special grant. Foreign experts where necessary were invited, as for instance, a Japanese pottery expert in 1936. Co-operatives were formed to help purchase and sale. Advertisement, especially abroad, was intensified to stimulate demand. Much, however, remains to be done if the cottage industries are to provide for their workers a reasonable standard of living, and play an effective role in the country's economy.

The unprecedented rise in the general level of prices and the distortion in the price-structure were among the factors which brought about almost a complete break from the pre-war conditions of living. The great increase in the volume of money in the country and opportunities to grow rich overnight led to large accumulations of cash in the hands of certain classes of people. While this stimulated banking and investment on the one side, it also led to undue speculative activity not only in the share market but also in the commodity markets. The great demand for labour, created by greater opportunities for employment, was generally helpful to the working classes, just as the agricultural classes, in general, benefitted by the rise in prices. The class which seems to have been hit hardest was the middle class. There was a violent shake-up in the relative economic position of different classes of people in the State in the war and the immediate post-war periods.

In conclusion, two points may be noted. Firstly, Karnataka, with the rest of India, was still in the state of an underdeveloped economy, with the rich economic potentialities not being adequately utilized. Secondly, the regional economic disparities which had emerged under the scheme of divided Karnataka indicated that there was, apart from the linguistic basis, an economic case for the formation of a United Karnataka as a better economic region than the old Mysore State.

EDUCATION— MODERN PERIOD

THE OLD MYSORE STATE :

Mysore went under Muslim rule for the first time when Haidar Ali took over the reins of Government from the Dalavoyas, though he continued to pay formal homage to the Hindu ruler who sat on the throne. With the coming of Tipu in 1782 even this make-believe was set aside, for it was Tipu's ambition to wield power as a devout Muslim ruler, and look upon his Kingdom as one entrusted to him by God. Tipu's biographer, Kirmani, says that Tipu had mosques built in every village, and appointed divines; and this must have led to an intensification of efforts to impart secular and religious education to the youth belonging to the Muslim community.

Though the land was greatly disturbed by incursions of marauding troops the English, the French, Marathas and of the Nizam, doing damage in the countryside through which they passed, still the other parts of the country must have continued their traditional life more or less in peace, thanks to the corporate village life developed from times immemorial, performing their allotted duties as of old. In Mysore there existed the system of *bārābalūti*, or twelve village functionaries, who got a share of produce during every harvest, and among these was the priest, who usually was the schoolmaster, and the artisans of the village, who practised their hereditary crafts, and handed them on to their children.

State-wide organized education as in modern days was not among the responsibilities of the old rulers in India, Hindu or Muslim. It was mostly private effort, generously patronized by the noblemen and kings. Academic and religious education was largely in the hands of the priestly class, Hindu, Muslim, Jaina or Christian, while vocational and technical education was mostly imparted in the homes of craftsmen.

A beginning was made with English education when Krishnaraja Wodeyar III opened an English School in 1833 at Mysore. Government also aided Christian missionaries in their effort to open schools. The Wesleyan Mission established English schools in some of the District head quarters between 1840 and 1854, among which was the Bangalore School started in 1851.

After the famous Wood Despatch was published in 1854, Mr. Devereaux,

Judicial Commissioner, drew up a scheme of educational expansion for Mysore and Coorg in 1857. In accordance with this scheme, the Government established a Government High School in Bangalore in 1858, which later developed into the Central College. The Mission schools at Tumkur, Shimoga, Mysore and Hassan were taken over by Government. A Normal School was started in Bangalore in 1861, and an Engineering School in 1862. In accordance with a scheme drawn up by B. L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction, schools were started in hobli centres in 1868. In 1871-72 each taluk had a superior vernacular school: there were eleven High Schools teaching up to the Matriculation standard and five up to the B.A. standard: 122 appeared for the Matriculation, 13 for F.A. and 14 for B.A., the passes being 55, 3 and 7 respectively. In 1875, the High School was called Central College and affiliated to the Madras University teaching up to the B.A. standard. The Shimoga and Mysore Schools taught up to the F.A. standard. Education received a set-back in the severe famine year 1877. At the time of the Rendition in 1881, the position was as follows:

Schools and Scholars

| | <i>Govt.</i> | <i>Aided</i> | <i>Unaided</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| No. of Schools | 899 | 188 | 1,000 | 2,087 |
| No. of Scholars | 33,287 | 9,370 | 15,000 | 57,657 |

Classified by grades, leaving out unaided schools, which were mostly of the Primary grade, there were 4 of the University grade, 166 of the Secondary, 907 Primary and 10 other special schools.

When the State was made over to the Maharaja in 1881, with Rangacharlu as Dewan, the good work started by the British Commissioners was continued. When Sir K. Seshadri Iyer succeeded as Dewan, general educational policy in the State was defined by the great statesman in the following memorable words in 1886: "To maintain unimpaired and in thorough efficiency all the means of elementary and secondary education and to bring them within the reach of all classes both by direct agency and by assisting private effort. To promote scholarly studies of the local vernacular and our ancient classical languages, to elevate and extend female education, and to conduct it on a system strictly national so as to enlist popular sympathy in its progress, to encourage higher education and to train young men for the professions of Medicine, Engineering etc." By way of implementing the above, a local examination in Kannada was instituted, and a Karnataka Bhashojjivini Sabha was established in 1886 with a Kannada College attached to it. The Sanskrit School at Bangalore was upgraded into a College, and the Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore was developed and facilities were provided for the higher study of various branches of Sanskrit learn-

ing. The Maharani's Girls' High School was started at Mysore, a pioneer institution in all South India. The years between 1890 and 1895 witnessed the following developments : The Maharaja's College was made a First Grade College, and Students' Homes were established at Mysore, Chitradurga and Kolar. Normal Schools which had been abolished after the famine of 1877, were opened at Mysore, Shimoga and Kolar. An Oriental Library was opened at Mysore for the collection of manuscripts in Sanskrit and Kannada. Industrial Schools were opened at Mysore and Hassan. The education of the children of the depressed classes was attended to.

A noticeable feature of educational development, at the beginning of this century was the special provision for technical education and the education of girls. An Engineering School at Mysore and more Industrial Schools in district headquarters were opened, and scholarships for students to study technical subjects outside Mysore were instituted. The Maharani's High School at Mysore was developed into a College in 1902-03.

The second decade of this century was noteworthy for numerous activities on account of the dynamic lead given by Sir M. Visvesvaraya. The Mysore University received its charter in 1916. Other notable developments in the period 1911-16 were the institution of the S.S.L.C. Scheme, the opening of seven Kannada High Schools, and the introduction of the Elementary Education Regulation containing provisions for introducing compulsion. A Mechanical Engineering School was started at Bangalore and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute at Mysore, amalgamating the old Engineering and Industrial Schools. Government Commercial Schools were opened at Bangalore and Mysore. The Agricultural School at Hebbal in 1913 marked the beginning of agricultural education in the State. In 1946 the Agricultural College was established.

A comprehensive resolution was adopted by Government in 1921 envisaging future developments in education. Aided primary schools were to be converted into Government schools with qualified staff and adequate equipment. An improved curriculum was adopted for middle schools. Polytechnic courses were envisaged as integral parts of high school education. Adequate provision was made for the training of teachers. The expenditure on primary education which was Rs. 6,37,814 in 1915-16, rose to Rs. 13,37,865 in 1921-22.

The administration and financing of primary education in the State and the measures to introduce compulsion have passed through several stages and have had a chequered history. From 1893 to about 1928, the policy was to enlist local support, and encourage aided schools. After 1928 an attempt was made to entrust the task to Village Panchayats divesting Government of direct responsibility in the matter of administration and financing of primary education. In 1931, District Boards came into the picture, as it was found that village Pancha-

yats could not cope satisfactorily with the problem. But after giving this policy a trial of ten years, it came to be recognized that Government had to assume responsibility if steady and uniform development all over the State was to be achieved. Since 1941 this has been guiding policy of Government in respect of primary education.

Compulsion was first thought of in 1913 by the Elementary Education Act, and School Committees were appointed. By 1921-22 the scheme was in operation in 240 centres. But the administration of the scheme did not prove to be satisfactory. It was felt that more consolidation and prevention of 'wastage' was necessary before further extension of compulsory education was attempted. The Elementary Education Regulation of 1930, which transferred the administration to local bodies, provided for expansion of education in ten years to pave the way for compulsion later. In 1941, a scheme of compulsory attendance was provided, by which a parent was compelled to keep at school the child once admitted, up to the age of 12 without withdrawing him. This scheme was generally to be extended until the whole State was covered in ten years. The scheme, however, was dropped in 1950, owing to the fact that admission was still only voluntary; and the results achieved were not commensurate with the cost involved. Wastage still continued to be a serious problem even as late as 1951-52: only 33 per cent of the children admitted in the first year class in 1948-49 reached the fourth year class. Single-teacher schools, and the low qualifications of primary school teachers were also problems that were being tackled.

In respect of adult education, efforts were made as long ago as 1905 to open night schools for adults. It was mostly voluntary effort and uncoordinated. The Mysore Adult Literacy Council was formed in 1941 and this was the beginning of systematic efforts in the field. The Council was called the 'The Mysore State Adult Education Council' four years later. It has done good work in publishing literature for the new literates and in opening Vidya peethas which are residential institutions for adults, where both general education and practical instruction in agriculture and village industries are provided, more or less on the lines followed by Danish Folk Schools.

Prior to 1921, there were Vernacular middle schools with five primary classes preparing pupils for the Kannada Lower Secondary Examination. Those who had passed this Examination could take a two years' course in an Anglo-Vernacular school and appear for English only, and pass the English Lower Secondary Examination. The Kannada Lower Secondary Examination was later abolished. There were also six Kannada High Schools preparing students for the Upper Secondary Examination in which general subjects of more or less High School standard were studied in Kannada. They did not flourish in competition with English High Schools, and were, therefore, abolished in 1935. To meet the widespread demand for English education in rural areas, "New Type"

middle schools were started, the newness consisting merely in providing an English teacher to the primary schools and starting the middle school classes. These gradually developed into full-fledged middle schools.

The pattern of general education was one of four years primary, four years middle, both being free, followed by a three years high school course, in which the fees were Rs. 3, Rs. 3. 50 and Rs. 4, which were lower than those obtaining in neighbouring provinces. Kannada was first introduced as medium of instruction at the high school stage in 1931-32, and gradually extended to all subjects, necessary text-books being got written for the same. The fortunes of the Kannada medium, however, have fluctuated: latterly there has been increasing demand for the English medium, as it is considered more advantageous for continuing studies at the University or technical Institutions or outside the State where the medium continues to be English.

The Mysore University was founded in 1916. Colleges till then affiliated to the Madras University were taken over by the Mysore University. The University Entrance course was started in 1919, a few high school being upgraded for the purpose, followed by a Degree Course of three years: but this scheme was given up and the Intermediate Course of two years was restored by the University in 1928, followed by a two year Degree Course, which was the prevailing pattern in other Universities. The University Act was amended in 1933, as a result of which an Academic Council was established and the Senate made more representative of popular interests. Another amendment in the Act in 1939 enabled the University to affiliate institutions within the State and this brought in the Colleges in the Bangalore Cantonment.

The establishment of the Sri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee Technical Institute, providing instruction in Textile Technology, in 1948, and the Sri Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute, in 1943, a pioneer in the direction of Polytechnical Education in India, as a result of a donation of 2 lakhs made by Dr. M. Visvesvaraya, proved to be landmarks in the history of technical education in the State. More polytechnics were subsequently started in other centres like Davangere, Bhadravati, Hassan and Chintamani.

A Teacher-training School for primary school teachers was started in Mysore as early as 1860, and more Normal Schools, were started in district headquarters later. In 1912-13, a school for training middle school teachers was started in Mysore, and a similar course for training women teachers was started in 1928-29.

Prior to the establishment of the Mysore University, there was no institution to train graduates for the teaching profession. Later, provision was made for their training in the Maharaja's College, Mysore. A separate Teachers' Training College was established in Mysore in 1947.

Private effort has latterly entered the field and a large number of training institutions, aided by Government, now supplement the activities of the Government and the Education Department.

The founding of the Bangalore University in 1964, with all Colleges in Bangalore as constituent colleges marks a new mile-stone in the development of higher general and technical education in the State.

BOMBAY KARNATAKA :

The districts of Dharwar, Bijapur, Belgaum and Karwar formed part of the Bombay Presidency during the days of British rule. Christian missionaries were the pioneers in the field of English education in these districts. Prior to 1793, the East India Company was giving aid to the missionaries for the spread of education. But after 1793, this aid was stopped as the Company desired to remain neutral in the matter of religious education. In 1813, when the Company's Charter was again renewed, the responsibility of the Company for providing education to the people of India was recognized for the first time, and a sum of one lakh of rupees was ear-marked for the purpose for the whole of India under the Company's rule. The primary schools opened by missionaries were already providing education in the mother tongue. Side by side, rudiments of the English language were also taught.

The Department of Public Instruction came into being in 1855 in the Bombay Presidency, and schools were established in which both the regional languages and English were taught.

There were also the traditional indigenous schools which existed all over the country, where the three R's were taught; children learnt by rote various Kannada poems, the multiplication table of integers and fractions and some amount of commercial arithmetic. There were, broadly, two types among these schools: the Vaidik schools where Sanskrit was taught in the old traditional way, and besides the three R's the pupils were trained to the priestly profession. These were, however, open only to the young men of the Brahmin community. The second type were the Schools in which Lingayat teachers worked, and these admitted children of all communities. They also provided facilities for writing on palm leaves. Itinerant preachers visited villages, and gave discourses on morality and religion. They were greatly respected and were voluntary workers in the field of what is now called social education.

Craft training was mostly hereditary and was provided in the homes of craftsmen themselves.

With the beginning of the 19th century and the opening of schools by missionary agencies and the Government, the old traditional schools lost their popularity and there was an increasing demand for the new English schools.

These new schools were open to children of all communities: and members of all communities were recruited as teachers. It was purely secular education. The salaries of primary teachers ranged from Rs 12 to 16. Marathi schools were started as early as 1826 in Bombay Karnataka. Kannada schools came into existence in 1835. When the Department of Public Instruction was started in 1855, the Bombay Presidency was divided into three zones, each under the charge of a Deputy Inspector for educational purposes: the Southern Zone included Colaba and Ratnagiri districts, in addition to the four Karnataka districts. Later, Kolhapur also came under this jurisdiction.

In 1856, there were 13 Primary Schools in Dharwar, 13 in Belgaum, and 9 in Bijapur (The figures in respect of Karwar are not available). Besides, there were 5 English schools on the whole. When Mr. Russell became the Deputy Inspector in 1865, he gave encouragement to Kannada. He appointed Sri Channabasappa as the Deputy Educational Inspector for the Belgaum District in 1866. 'Deputy' Channabasappa worked in that capacity till 1881. Owing to his efforts there were in 1882, 341 Kannada schools in Dharwar, 177 in Belgaum and 150 in Bijapur. The school fee was one anna a month. The Government provided half the expenses on the school buildings and teachers' salaries from 1861. District Boards and Municipalities made contributions towards the expenses of primary education.

Owing to the prevalence of plague in these districts in 1901 the growth of schools suffered a set-back.

The private schools followed the traditional curriculum of the three R's, memorizing of verses, multiplication table etc. But the schools under the management of Government and Local Boards adopted a uniform curriculum which consisted of the three R's, Agriculture, Science, Drawing, Carpentry, Hygiene, History and Geography. Primary schools had standards I-IV; lessons were taught in Kannada; standards V-VII formed the middle school of which there was only a small number: the medium of instruction was either Kannada or English.

The Wood Despatch on Education of 1854 proved a landmark in the development of education in India. The District Boards and Municipalities assumed greater responsibilities for the spread of primary education. In 1904 the Government of India decided to take measures for the more rapid expansion of primary education.

The Bombay Government passed the Primary Education Act in 1918, by which compulsory education was introduced in select areas. This led to rapid expansion. The growth of schools from 1911 to 1947 is given below :

| | | No. of Schools | | | | |
|----------------|-----|----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| District | | 1910-11 | 1921-22 | 1931-32 | 1941-42 | 1946-47 |
| Dharwar : Boys | ... | 624 | 724 | 822 | 1,230 | 1,107 |
| Girls | ... | 72 | 103 | 115 | 140 | 147 |
| Belgaum : Boys | ... | 390 | 479 | 778 | 1,104 | 1,066 |
| Girls | ... | 43 | 49 | 81 | 90 | 93 |
| Bijapur : Boys | ... | 439 | 526 | 575 | 1,046 | 1,011 |
| Girls | ... | 36 | 53 | 61 | 88 | 115 |
| Karwar : Boys | ... | 259 | 300 | 317 | 546 | 525 |
| Girls | ... | 17 | 24 | 30 | 45 | 49 |
| Total: Boys | ... | 1,712 | 2,099 | 2,392 | 3,926 | 3,709 |
| Girls | ... | 168 | 229 | 278 | 363 | 402 |
| Grand Total | ... | 1,880 | 2,258 | 2,679 | 4,289 | 4,111 |

There was a great demand from the people for the opening of Government schools. The enrolment was on the increase: but the curriculum was mostly academic, though there was some provision for manual training like carpentry. There was a new awakening in the country, and the leaders of Jaina, Maratha and Lingayat communities began to establish schools open to all classes, to cope with the increasing demand for educational facilities. There was at first opposition to the admission of children from Harijan and other depressed classes to general schools, but the opposition gradually wore out. Many pupils, however, dropped after the IV primary stage.

In 1925, the Bombay Government passed a revised Primary Education Act which contemplated the provision of free and compulsory education both for boys and girls.

The primary course was one of 7 years (exclusive of a pre-primary stage of two years) and a Primary School Certificate Examination was instituted. But there was a great deal of wastage, by the end of IV primary, as much as 89% among boys and 93% among girls, in 1942. The District School Boards attempted to implement by stages the provisions of the Compulsory Education Scheme. The Byadgi Municipality implemented the scheme in 1920, the Dharwar Municipality in 1942; the Dharwar District Board in 1943; the Bijapur Municipality in 1944; and the Belgaum District Board in 1946.

The establishment of the Bombay University in 1857, which conducted the Matriculation examination, gave a fillip to high school education. Among the earliest high schools started in Bombay Karnataka were the Basel Mission High School, Belgaum (1832), the English School, Dharwar (1848), the Basel Mission High School, Dharwar (1863), the Government High School, Karwar (1864), and the Government Agricultural High School, Bijapur (1885). Usually these schools had classes I-VII, of which the first three were called middle, and the last four the high school standards. In some places the middle school classes were added on to primary schools, in others to the high school standards. Till 1938, the medium of instruction in high schools was English. The regional languages were introduced as media from 1939. The S.S.L.C. examination was also conducted in these media: and an S.S.L.C. Board was formed. The control of the examination passed from the University to the S.S.L.C. Board. There were separate middle and high schools for girls, though several girls went to boys' schools.

The number of middle schools and high schools which were 30 and 9 respectively in 1912-13 rose to 83 and 61 in 1947.

The policy of the Government was to open at least one Government High School in each district, and to give grants-in-aid to other schools opened by District Local Boards, Municipalities and private agencies. A scheme of scholarships for backward classes was started in 1932. In 1943, the Government recognized the need for diversified courses at the S.S.L.C. stage which was hitherto considered as merely preparing pupils for the academic courses in the University.

The Bombay University founded in 1857, served for the whole Presidency till 1946, when regional Universities came into being. The Karnataka University came into being in 1949 at Dharwar. The following colleges came under its jurisdiction:

| Dist. | | <i>Started in</i> | <i>Strength in</i> |
|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Dharwar: | Karnatak College (Government) | 1917 | 922 |
| | K.E. Board Arts and Science College. | 1944 | 126 |
| Belgaum: | Lingaraj College | 1933 | 1014 |
| „ | Secondary Training College | 1939 | 75 |
| „ | Raja Lakhmana Gauda Law College | 1939 | 211 |
| Bijapur: | Basavesvara College, Bagalkot | 1944 | 220 |
| | Vijaya College, Bijapur | 1945 | 85 |

In 1947 were started a Commerce College at Hubli and a Government Agricultural College at Dharwar. It may be mentioned that though the Govern-

ment started a Government College at Dharwar as early as 1917, this was due to the efforts of Artala Rudragauda of Belgaum and Srinivasarao Rodda of Dharwar who collected funds for the same.

A Normal School was started in Dharwar in 1856. 'Deputy' Channabasappa was its first Principal. Those who finished the five year primary course were admitted into it. Each candidate got a stipend of Rs. 3 p.m. Originally it was a three year course, later shortened to two years. In 1861, the school was transferred to Belgaum. In 1864, it was known as Training College. In 1875, it came back to Dharwar. In 1895, a Normal School for girls was opened at Dharwar. In addition to starting Government Normal Schools, two for each district, Government encouraged private effort also. The K.E. Board Training College was started in 1939; the Navalgund Training College, and the Basavesvara Training College, Bagalkot, both in 1944; the K.L.E. Society's Training College, Belgaum and the Government Training College, Bijapur, in 1945; and the Basel Mission Training College, Dharwar in 1947.

There was a Physical Education Institute opened at Khandivli near Bombay to train physical culture instructions for schools. This served the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

SOUTH KANARA AND BELLARY:

Educational development in S. Kanara and Bellary, formerly in the Madras Presidency, may be divided into four periods: (1) 1760 to 1799; (2) 1799 to 1882 and (3) 1882 to 1921; and (4) 1921 to 1947.

1760-1799:

During this period the unsettled conditions in the country due to wars and depredations under Haidar and Tipu did not give room for any extensive well-organized system of education. But there were indigenous schools dotted all over the country called Pīal schools and what were known as the 'Ayyagāḷa' maṭhas run by shanbhogues, or some clerk attached to a landholder either in connection with the education of his master's children, or as a private enterprise of his own; or by piously disposed persons, pandits, Brahmins, Jangamas, jainas, resident in mathas and temples.

Instruction in these schools was limited to memorization. The child obtained a knowledge of Kannada letters writing on sand, followed by the use of iron styles on cadjan (palm) leaves. He also learnt some arithmetic, committing to memory tables of addition, multiplication etc. Fractions and mental arithmetic also received attention. The child got a good grounding in handwriting,

in drawing up of forms of agreement and followed it up with committing to memory various kinds of poetry from the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and *Bhāgavata*, *Jaimini* and the *Puranas*. Music also was taught along with the Yakshagana type of singing in S. Kanara.

In addition to these schools there were Vedic Pathasalas wherein the Vedas, Upanishads, the Indian system of Logic, Philosophy, Jyotisha, Grammar and Puranas were taught in detail. The instruction was in Sanskrit. Instruction was free in these Pathasalas.

Catholic priests had also organized schools in churches to teach the catechism; while in mosques, Koran schools were conducted solely for the benefit of Muslim children. These schools were purely religious in character.

1799-1882 :

Immediately after the country passed into the hands of the British, little was done directly by the Government to promote education. Wars had disorganized the indigenous system of education. Church schools were closed as church property was confiscated by Tipu. Yet the indigenous schools and Vedic Pathasalas continued to exist here and there.

Sir Thomas Munro ordered a survey of education in 1822 and drew up a scheme for the promotion of education. In 1836, the Board of Education was established in Madras. But nothing was done in Kanara.

Wood's Despatch of 1854, opened a new vista in the promotion of education in Kanara and Bellary. The Department of Education, established in accordance with the Despatch, took up the work of expansion of education. A Normal School was established and provision was made for the training of teachers. Existing schools were continued. Education, Primary, Secondary and collegiate take definite shape. Government schools were established in Bellary and S. Kanara in 1855-56. Missionary Societies entered the field of education and established schools in Mangalore, Udupi and Bellary (1838). The Jesuit Mission opened its school in Mangalore in 1844. A Government school was opened in 1867 at Mangalore with the help of contributions raised by the local people to the tune of Rs. 65,000. The Education Department laid down the requirements in curriculum, text-books and the standard of attainment in schools.

The University of Madras was established in 1857 and conducted the Matriculation and Degree examinations. The Mangalore Government School was raised to the status of a Second Grade College in 1869, while the Jesuit Mission also opened a college later on. The medium of instruction in schools was English from the 5th standard upwards.

The Grant-in-aid Code, first introduced in 1855, and revised in subsequent years, made provision for financial assistance to institutions. This helped to bring a large number of indigenous schools under the system of primary education. The Madras Elementary Education Act passed in 1863, and the Local Funds Act of 1871 placed primary education on a firm footing by providing funds for the establishment, maintenance and inspection of schools by local bodies, with the Collector of the District as the ex-officio president, and three or four non-official members along with an equal number of official members. Municipalities in towns also took up the responsibility of primary education. Education was made the first charge on the revenue cess, with the result that the number of educational institutions rose from 73 in 1870-71 to 148 in 1880-81 in South Kanara, while the figures for Bellary for the same period were 132 and 726 respectively. Out of these schools 123 and 267 were primary schools in S. Kanara and Bellary, in which 4,119 and 4,802 children respectively were studying.

Examinations were conducted by the University for Matriculation classes and Degree classes. Government organized examinations at various levels of the Upper and Lower Primary classes.

1882-1921:

The First World War which began in 1914 affected the progress of education in all directions. Financial difficulties made it necessary to postpone the consideration of many desirable schemes. The German missionary schools were the worst sufferers as they were considered alien and they were saved only by the appointment of special committees and approved correspondents for each school in Bellary and S. Kanara.

The Government Arts College and the St. Aloysius' College were the only colleges in the South Kanara District. There was no college in Bellary.

The S.S.L.C. syllabus and courses of study were revised and the first examination under the new scheme was conducted in 1918.

During this period secondary schools increased in number. There were 18 secondary schools for boys and 6 for girls in S. Kanara, while the figures were 11 for boys and nil for girls in Bellary. Aided high schools came into existence with local support, like the Canara High School and Ganapathi High School in Mangalore. The cost of education was met from provincial, local board and municipal funds. The average cost per head was Rs. 116 per pupil in a secondary school, while the college spent Rs. 577. But the figure for an elementary school was only Rs. 23.5.

Though the period was affected by the War, there was marked expansion in

elementary education, because of special subsidies granted by the Central Government. A number of changes were made in the Grant-in-aid Code liberalizing the contributions of the Government to private bodies. The number of schools rose to 614 and 859 for boys in S. Kanara and Bellary, while the figures for girls were 48 and 87. There were 46,261 boys and 4,077 girls studying in S. Kanara and 29,329 boys and 3,851 girls in schools in Bellary in 1920-21.

Elementary schools had 4 to 7 classes having examination at the end of the 4th year and the 7th year. But the examination at the end of the 7th year was abolished in 1918. In these schools attention was concentrated on the three R's, special attention being given to mental work. Nature Study, Geography and Civics also found their place in the curriculum.

Under the name of Oriental Education, Sanskrit received attention. Indigenous schools were aided and were brought under inspection. There were 6 Sanskrit Schools in S. Kanara and 3 in Bellary, located in Udupi, Karkala and Perbal in S. Kanara, and Ujaini and Bellary in the Bellary District. In addition, there were two Sanskrit Colleges in S. Kanara, at Karkala and Udupi.

The Government placed emphasis on Muslim education and separate schools were opened for Muslims, where provision was made for teaching the Koran, Arabic and Urdu. Bellary had a separate secondary school for Muslims.

Schools were started by the Labour Department for the benefit of Adi Dravidas, as Harijans were called. But the attendance was very meagre as the parents used to take away students for work at the age of 12. Therefore they did not reach the secondary school stage. Local bodies arranged for the free supply of books and slates.

Separate girls' schools were established in towns and cities. But the staffing of these schools was a problem owing to the dearth of lady teachers. Mission and Catholic managements opened a number of girls' schools. Music and Needle-work were introduced in girls' schools. A large number of scholarships and concessions in fees were granted. The Convent sisters opened a separate college for women at Mangalore, called St. Anne's College. In addition to all these schools there were night schools, 2 in S. Kanara and 55 in Bellary.

1921-1947 :

The period 1921-1947 was characterized by great educational expansion in the country. The first Minister for Education was appointed in Madras in

December 1920, according to the provisions of the Govt. of India Act of 1919.

The Madras Elementary Education Act was passed, and according to its provisions, District Educational Councils were set up in Bellary and S. Kanara, with powers to recognize and aid elementary schools and to levy a tax for the enforcement of compulsion. For the first time in the history of education in the country the expansion of education was handed over to non-official bodies by the Government. With the passing of the Local Boards Act and the Madras District Municipalities Act, elementary education was removed from the purview of the District Boards and was placed in the hands of Taluk Boards and Panchayat Boards. The Departments of Fisheries and Labour were also entrusted with the task of spreading elementary education, in addition to private agencies. The period is noteworthy for the increase of schools and scholars in this area. The number of schools and scholars rose in 1927 to 1224 and 75,278, and 1321 and 43,230 in S. Kanara and Bellary respectively, as against 579 and 41,174, and 848 and 29,687 in 1917. Compulsion was introduced in the Hospet Municipality of the Bellary District. In addition, 148 Night Schools also were utilized for the spread of elementary education. A scheme of adult education was drawn up and adult education centres were opened at Pandesvar, Farangipet, and Puttur, and they did very useful work. In 1934, the Taluk Boards were abolished and elementary education came into the hands of the District Boards. The Madras Elementary Education Act was amended, and a modified form of compulsion was introduced so as to prevent the child from being withdrawn so long as he was of school age, with the result that the strength in schools improved.

With the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, the Ministry of Education got full powers of control and expansion of mass education in 1937. The Government contemplated the introduction of the Wardha System of education (or Basic Education) in selected areas in 1938. The Elementary Education Manual was prepared for the first time and guide books for teachers on the new syllabus were prepared. The existing syllabus was revised.

The organization of secondary education was also taken up by the Ministry of Education as early as 1923, when District Secondary Education Boards were set up to advise the Department in Bellary and S. Kanara, on all aspects of secondary education, including grant-in-aid, recognition, vocational training, medical and moral instruction etc. After 1925, the Government permitted the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in Form IV and above and for examination through the vernacular of all candidates who received instruction in the vernacular during the school-final stage. There was no appreciable increase in the number of high schools during the period. There were 11 schools in Bellary and 29 in S. Kanara during the year 1946-47.

EDUCATION — MODERN PERIOD

The reorganization of studies in secondary schools had been taken up as early as 1925. It was considered that secondary education should be so modelled as to equip young men not merely to prepare for the University and professional careers but to enter other occupations. The Government made it compulsory for high schools to provide for manual training and occupations, such as carpentry, book-binding, weaving, printing, etc. Every high school had thus one or other vocational subject and the pupils took interest in them.

The S.S.L.C. Scheme introduced in 1929 continued till 1939, when a new scheme was brought in. Under this scheme, manual training became compulsory but it was not an examination subject. The student's favourite subjects were History, Algebra and Geometry, Physics, Chemistry and Book-keeping and Type-writing under optionals.

Hindi was introduced as a compulsory subject in 1938 but it was made optional in the next year in Forms I-III and in the S.S.L.C. examination.

The S.S.L.C. Board conducted the Final Examination. The system of moderating the marks in the light of class records was discontinued in 1925.

The Second World War in 1939 greatly arrested educational development. But towards 1944-45, the Government undertook a post-war reconstruction scheme in education, and accordingly the scheme of compulsory elementary education was introduced during 1945-46 in the coastal strips of S. Kanara and in selected areas in Bellary with provision for extension in future years.

The District Educational Councils were abolished in 1938 and the departmental officers were empowered to grant recognition and aid to schools.

Elementary schools had classes I to V. There were also schools having 8 standards called Higher Elementary Schools. There was no public examination in elementary schools in the early stages. The inspecting officers were empowered to grant certificates at the end of the V standard and the VIII standard after conducting examinations. But in 1943, a public examination for the VIII standard was instituted and the students, who had passed the examination with English as the optional subject were made eligible for admission into the IV Form of a High School without any further examination. Thus the Higher Elementary School was a feeder school for high schools.

There were no training colleges for graduates in the area. There were three training schools in Bellary and 4 in S. Kanara. There was no facility for training this language teachers such as Pandits.

There were three colleges in S. Kanara to meet the demands of higher education, while Bellary did not have any. In 1921, St. Anne's College was opened by the Apostolic Carmel Nuns for women. But the Govt. Arts College, Mangalore, continued to be a second grade college with Intermediate classes only. The strength in all colleges recorded an increase.

Separate schools were started for Muslims both in elementary and high school stages, in S. Kanara and Bellary. Moplah education received special attention in S. Kanara, and separate schools were opened for them. There were 80 such schools for boys and 11 for girls in S. Kanara, in addition to Muslim schools where Urdu was taught.

The most important concession given to Muslims was the opportunity to study religion during school hours. According to the recommendations of a committee set up for the improvement of Muslim education, Government made provision for the teaching of religion to Muslim pupils in all Government and Board and other schools, by appointing Koran teachers paid from public funds.

There was no high school for girls in Bellary, while S. Kanara had seven secondary schools and one college for women. The curriculum in girls' schools was not very different from that of boys' schools except for the inclusion of Domestic Science, Knitting and Music as compulsory subjects. The girls schools were entirely staffed by women teachers and they were inspected by women inspectors at all levels.

The education of children of the depressed classes was looked after by the Labour Department at Government cost. This Department opened separate schools for them. There were 47 schools in Bellary with a strength of 1,269, and 48 in S. Kanara with a strength of 1,358. Private agencies and Local Boards also opened schools for the children of the depressed classes. The depressed Class Mission in Mangalore had its own schools for Koragar children in Mangalore and Udupi.

The public schools under all managements were made accessible to Harijan children. The Registrar-General of Panchayats withheld aid and grants from schools which did not admit children of the Harijan community, while Government withdrew recognition from schools which did not admit them. Free books and slates were distributed by the local boards and philanthropic gentlemen, while provision was also made for free midday meals.

In Bellary, there were separate schools for Lambanis, which were 29 in number with a strength of 721.

It is only in Bellary that there was provision for European education. There were two secondary schools for girls and one for boys in this District.

in addition to one Middle School and a Training School for girls. The schools worked in accordance with a special curriculum, supervised by a separate inspectorate. Manual training and Science were taught specially in European schools.

Sanskrit Schools were patronized by the Government and there was a special Inspector of Oriental Schools, under whom there were supervisors to inspect the schools. There were 6 schools with a strength of 497 students in S. Kanara. In addition, there were Sanskrit Colleges in Perdal, Karkala and Udupi preparing students, for Vidvan, Siromani and other titles of the Madras University. Bellary had no such schools.

There was a Commercial School recognized and aided by the Government at Mangalore teaching Shorthand, Typewriting and commercial subjects. In addition, there were 4 vocational schools in Bellary and 4 in S. Kanara preparing students for Certificates in carpentry, Engineering and other trades.

Medical inspection was not compulsory in elementary schools except in compulsory education areas. In high schools, compulsory medical inspection was undertaken at the cost of the Government and the managements concerned. But in colleges there was nothing done in this sphere.

Lists of approved text-books were being prepared by the Text-book Committee of Madras, which contained 40 members, with the Director of Public Instruction as President. But the Government did not prescribe text-books for individual schools. The Headmasters and the managements had the freedom of selecting the best books out of the list approved by the Committee.

In respect of Local Boards and Municipalities, separate standing committees selected text-books for elementary schools. There was no rigid uniformity in the prescription of text-books. But text-books once introduced could not be changed within three years.

HYDERABAD KARNATAKA :

Hyderabad Karnataka, as it is generally called, was a part of the old Hyderabad State, till 1956, consisting mainly of three districts, i.e., Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur. Some people residing in other adjacent districts, such as Osmanabad, Nanded and Mehboobnagar also have Kannada as their mother-tongue. But for all purposes, only three districts were counted as Hyderabad Karnataka and that only in the second quarter of the 20th century. The Government of Hyderabad for administrative purposes had two broad divisions, Telangana and Marathawada. Hyderabad Karnataka formed a part of Marathawada, but in later years the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur were

named as Hyderabad Karnataka. Even in these districts people with different languages as their mother tongue, such as Marathi, Telugu and Urdu resided, which ultimately resulted in the splitting of these districts at the time of States' re-organization and allowing those talukas to join either Maharashtra or Andhra Pradesh on the basis of the language spoken by the people of those talukas.

Indigenous schools of the old Indian type were functioning in many places. Teachers were generally paid in kind by the people of the place where such schools were run, such as Shorapur, Gadwal, etc. Rajas and other nobles interested in education, who were themselves great scholars, sanctioned land and money to learned men to impart education to the needy students in different branches of learning in vogue during those days.

The State education system commenced in 1854, when a school called 'Darul-ulum' (Institute for Oriental Learning) was founded in Hyderabad City, the Capital of the State.

In the year 1859, orders were issued for starting two schools in each taluk one Persian and the other 'Vernacular'. Education was entirely in the hands of the Revenue authorities and did not receive due attention. The Education Department was created during the year 1869-70. It was re-organized during the year 1871-72. Rules and regulations were framed and five Deputy Inspectors were appointed to supervise the schools in the districts.

An Anglo-Vernacular School was opened at Gulbarga in 1875-76. During the year 1884, His Highness, the late Nawab Sir Mir Mehboob Ali Khan Bahadur, showed great zeal for the spread of education and ordered that every town with a population of 10,000 and above should have an Anglo-Vernacular School. A High school at every Subha headquarters and a Primary school in every well-populated village were to be started. The Anglo-Vernacular School at Gulbarga was raised to the status of a High School in 1885-86. The Anglo-Vernacular School at Bidar was upgraded as a High School in 1895-96. The grant-in-aid system, which obtained only at the Capital city till then, was extended to the districts.

During 1885-87 Middle schools were established at Raichur and Shorapur.

The medium of instruction in the Karnataka districts was Marathi. In 1887-88 the Government ordered that Kannada should be the medium of instruction in these districts in future.

In the year 1891, the State Middle School Examination was instituted. An

Assistant Inspector of Schools was appointed for each district to supervise the schools.

During 1903 Educational Institutions in Hyderabad Karnataka were as follows :

| <i>District</i> | <i>Primary Schools</i> | <i>Middle Schools</i> | <i>High Schools</i> |
|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Gulbarga | 43 | 1 | 1 |
| Bidar | 30 | 2 | 1 |
| Raichur | 31 | 2 | — |
| Total | 104 | 5 | 2 |

After World War I, the Hyderabad State made good progress in the field of education. But many of the educational institutions were situated only at Hyderabad, the Capital of the State.

During the year 1916-17, a University for the Hyderabad State named Osmania University was started, with Urdu as the medium of instruction and examination, with many departments such as Arts, Science, Commerce, Engineering and Medical. All these colleges were located at Hyderabad. During the year 1931-32, both the Government high schools at Gulbarga, one with Urdu medium and the other with English medium, were amalgamated and an Intermediate College was started. It was later on upgraded as a I Grade College offering courses leading to B.A. and B.Sc. This was the only institution of higher education in the Hyderabad Karnataka area till 1947.

The establishment of the Osmania University at Hyderabad gave an impetus to secondary education throughout the State. Anglo-Vernacular schools were converted into Osmania High Schools with Urdu as the medium of instruction, preparing for the Matriculation Examination of the Osmania University. Government English High Schools with English as the medium of instruction leading to the H.S.L.C. (High School Leaving Certificate) Examination started in 1911 conducted by the Board, also increased in number. These High Schools (English) were feeders to the Nizam's College at Hyderabad, affiliated to the Madras University. Later on, the Board of Secondary Education, was constituted and both the Osmania Matriculation and the H.S.L.C. courses were merged into one common course known as Higher Secondary Certificate Examination (H.S.C.), with Urdu and English as the media.

Educational Pattern in Hyderabad

| | <i>Classes</i> | <i>Duration</i> | <i>Medium</i> |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Primary | I to IV | 4 years | Mother tongue of the pupils. |
| Middle | V to VII | 3 years | English or Urdu |
| High School | VIII to X | 3 years | —do— |

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| I Degree course in the college | 2 years | English in Nizam', |
| | Intermediate | College |
| | 2 years | Urdu in the Osmania |
| | degree course | University. |

During the year 1921-22, primary education was made free in the State.

Steady progress was made in the field of primary education and each Taluka got a middle school by 1932. Osmania High Schools were functioning at Yadgir (Gulbarga District), Raichur and Bidar.

In 1939, a High school was started at Koppal and, later on, at Gangavati, both in the Raichur District. The Middle School at Shorapur in the Gulbarga District was upgraded as an Osmania High School by 1947.

There was a special Primary Teachers' Course for teachers working in primary schools. This was abolished during the year 1923-24.

Due to the dearth of matriculates in this area, candidates passing the Middle School Examination were appointed as teachers in primary schools. The Government Normal School, Hyderabad, first had only Urdu and Telugu sections, but a Kannada section was added in 1889-90.

Primary school teachers were instructed to conduct literacy classes for adults after the school hours in some selected villages. Deputy Inspectors used to test these adults during their inspection tours and a nominal rate of remuneration was paid to the teachers on the basis of the attainment of these adults.

HISTORY OF KANNADA JOURNALISM

After the fall of Tipu and the consolidation of British rule in South India, the Kannada-speaking area was distributed among five separate administrative units, Bombay, Madras, Coorg, Mysore and Hyderabad, of which only Coorg and Mysore were predominantly Kannada-speaking units. In addition, there were fourteen native states, as they were then called, where people spoke Kannada but the rulers imposed on their subjects Marathi, which was the language of the rulers. The Kannada population being in a minority in all the British administered areas, had no opportunity for evolving common public opinion on matters which concerned them and their interests.

Journalism in the Kannada language developed early in Mysore and Bombay Karnataka comprising four districts. But the seeds of journalism were sown even earlier in the two districts of Bellary and Mangalore which were then situated in the Presidency of Madras. The German missionaries in these areas started Kannada journals in order to propagate their religion. They also arranged for the casting of Kannada types by sending Kannadigas to Germany to learn the process.

PRESS IN THE OLD MYSORE STATE :

Mysore saw the first printing press in 1850. The first newspaper in Mysore State however, appears to be 'The Bangalore Herald' edited by James in 1859. There was also an Anglo-Kannada paper called 'Mysore Vrittānta Bōdhini' edited by Bhashyachari. In 1862 there appeared 'Aruṇodaya', an Anglo-Kannada paper edited by B. Rice. There was a Hindustani newspaper 'Qasim-ul-Akbar' started in 1863, published in Bangalore by a scholar-poet Janab Mohammed Khasim 'Gham'. It was a modest newspaper produced with the help of calligraphists and a hand-driven litho press. Hardly a few hundred copies were printed. Like most newspapers in the early period, it was short-lived.

The first Kannada weekly newspaper, 'Karnataka Prakāśika', was published in 1865. It was known for its high literary quality, being conducted by pandits and scholars but had only a short life.

It was revived in 1874 as a Kannada-English weekly by T. C. Srinivasachar, a well-known Sanskrit scholar. It was edited by another good Sanskrit scholar, Bhashyam Thirumalachar. The paper's policy was one of support for the pro-Mysorean political party which championed the interests of the Mysore

people as against non-Mysoreans infiltrating into the State. Owing to financial difficulties, it stopped publication once again in 1898. It may be mentioned that the 'Mysore Gazette', a Government publication, was started in 1866 and still continues to be published both in Kannada and English.

A fresh impetus to the Kannada Press came after the Rendition of Mysore in 1881. Public opinion had freer play.

Between 1881 and 1908, a number of newspapers in English and in Kannada were started. The first Kannada monthly journal 'Hitabōdhini' was started in Mysore in 1881. It was owned and edited by Ramanuja Iyengar, and contained articles on scientific matters as well as subjects of general interest. Other monthly journals of good literary quality were 'Kavya Manjari' and 'Grantha Māla'. Naturally these monthly journals reached only a selected few.

The first Kannada daily, 'Suryōdaya Prakāśika' was founded by B. Narasinga Rao in 1888 at Mysore. After six months, it became a weekly. In 1894 a Kannada weekly 'Dēśābhimāni' was started. It was edited by B. Srinivasa Iyengar. The editor could not get on well with the then Dewan of Mysore Sir K. Seshadri Iyer and the paper had to face many hardships and ultimately ceased publication.

The 'Vrittānta Patrike' of Mysore which was started in 1887 was a weekly paper founded by the Wesleyan Mission. Rev. Henry Haigh nurtured this paper along with other journalist missionaries. It had a sober news service and furnished constructive suggestions. The 'Vrittānta Patrike' ceased publication in 1942 after a long, steady and useful career for over half a century.

Yajaman Veerabasappa founded a Kannada weekly in 1900 called 'Star', to which learned people contributed. He used to publish articles in English also in his weekly. It championed the cause of the backward communities. Its editorials were usually powerful and widely discussed in public and official circles. However the 'Mysore Star', had no national appeal and had to cease publication. Ninety-year old Virupakshaiah was also connected with the 'Mysore Star' in its later stages.

To propagate the national, patriotic and democratic ideals encouraged by the then Dewan of Mysore, Rangacharlu, M. Venkatakrishniah started the Kannada weekly called the 'Vrittānta Chintāmaṇi' in 1885. It proved to be a great success. Subsequently, he was responsible for starting more than ten newspapers, both in English and Kannada. They were 'Hitabōdhini', 'Udanta Chintāmaṇi', 'Sampadabhyudaya', 'Sādhvi', 'Pūrṇa Sāmājika Patrike', in Kannada and 'Mysore Patriot', 'Wealth of Mysore', 'Nature Cure' and 'Mysore Herald', in English. Of these the 'Mysore Herald' was popular and enjoyed a comparatively good circulation.

He trained two brothers M. Gopala Iyengar and M. Srinivasa Iyengar. Later, they went to Bangalore and established the 'Kannada Naḍegannaḍi' in 1885. This was a popular Kannada weekly. In addition, they started an English bi-weekly, called the 'Mysore Standard'. The journalist brothers were perhaps the first whole-time journalists in Mysore Karnataka. 'Naḍegannaḍi' exercised great moral and intellectual influence on its readers. Very soon the two papers incurred the displeasure of the then Dewans, Sri P. N. Krishnamurthy and V. P. Madhava Rao. The Mysore Legislative Council passed the Newspaper Regulation Act in 1908 for curbing the independent-minded nationalist newspapers. Under the provisions of that Act, the 'Naḍegannaḍi' of the Iyengar brothers was suppressed and the editor was deported from the State. 'Sūryōdaya Prakāśika', which had then become a weekly, also incurred the displeasure of the Government for having published a criticism of the obnoxious Press Act of 1908. Prompt action was taken by the Kannada editors of Mysore under the leadership of Venkatakrishnaiah and they closed down as a protest all the Kannada newspapers of Mysore, with a few exceptions. 'Bhārati', a national Kannada daily edited by Navaratna Krishnaswami, was another victim of the Press Act of 1908. After two years, in spite of the Press Regulations, Venkatakrishnaiah again started a weekly paper called 'Sādhvi,' which is still being continued as a small daily newspaper in Mysore City.

Venkatakrishnaish was a great believer in training for journalism at the University level. Though the University of Mysore had not started a course in journalism, he made an endowment for a prize to be awarded to the best student of journalism as and when the Mysore University started the teaching of journalism, which it did in 1951, that is, thirty years after he had donated the sum! The prize in journalism is being awarded to the best student of journalism to perpetuate the memory of Venkatakrishnaish.

Another great journalist who made a valuable contribution is Sri (now Dr.) D. V. Gundappa, a scholar in Sanskrit, Kannada, and English. He started an English bi-weekly called 'Karnatak a.' Constructive suggestions to the administration were offered through the columns of the 'Karnataka'. The journal with its limited but select readership took an independent line in matters both political and social. It ceased publication after a few years and Gundappa edited 'Arthasādhaka Patrike', a monthly for a short time. He started the 'Indian Review of Reviews' in English, which also was short-lived. His learned contributions on political and cultural affairs to various periodicals, however, continues. He is now editor of the journal of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs founded by him.

A nationalist daily, 'Viswakarnataka', was established by Tirumale Tatacharya Sharman, as a daily with a weekly edition in 1921. It upheld the best traditions of nationalist journalism, but had to pay the price in the form of

economic instability and incurring the wrath of the Government. In 1942, it had Siddavanahalli Krishnasarma as editor. Under his direction, in the fiery days of the 'Quit India Movement', the paper was the mouth-piece of the national movement. In 1944, the Government banned its publication for an allegedly seditious editorial and an open letter to the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow. 'Viswakarnataka' was revived again in 1945, but had to face financial and other difficulties. In 1947, N. S. Venkoba Rao who was editing 'Desabandhu', a local Kannada daily, became its editor. Instead of an evening sheet, it appeared as a morning daily during his editorship. 'Viswakarnataka' finally closed down in 1956.

'Tai Nadu' took its birth in Mysore in 1926 and was shifted to Bangalore next year. P. R. Ramaiah, a disciple of Venkatakrishnaiah, was its founder. After some years, P. B. Srinivasan became its editor. Srinivasan toured England and America during his editorship and gave his rich experience to the paper. It was the first Kannada newspaper to celebrate its Silver Jubilee in 1952. 'Tai Nadu' changed hands in 1957. P. R. Ramaiah sold it to M.S. Ramaiah, a veteran building contractor. Rumale Channabasavaiah succeeded as its editor. 'Tai Nadu' was then shifted from its original place of publication. T. Siddappa, became the editor of 'Tai Nadu'. R. Dayananda Sagar, who had previous experience of journalism, brought fresh and rich experience to the paper after his study and travels in Europe, by becoming the Managing Editor of 'Tai Nadu'.

'Janavāṇi' is another Kannada newspaper started to propagate the ideals of nationalism and patriotism. It was started in 1934 by B. N. Gupta. K. C. Reddy also was at one time its editor. In 1943, B. N. Gupta sold 'Janavāṇi' and his well-known weekly, 'Prajāmata' to Dharmaprakāśa Srinivasaiah, an industrialist of Bombay, and a young journalist C. S. Narasimha Somayaji was appointed its editor. 'Janavāṇi' is an evening daily modestly, priced, known for its local coverage and independent policy.

Started in 1931, the 'Prajāmata' weekly enjoys wide popularity. B. N. Gupta who became its proprietor-editor, was mainly responsible for the success of this weekly. It was banned by the Mysore Government, but it went to Hubli overnight and resumed publication. When the copies of 'Prajāmata' were prohibited from entry into the Mysore State, it changed its name to 'Prajāmitra' and sold in the streets of Bangalore and Mysore. When Srinivasaiah became its proprietor, M. S. Gurupadaswami, took up its editorship. T. Siddappa edited it for some time. 'Prajāmata' is now published regularly and enjoys the same popularity and prestige as before with H. V. Nagaraj attending to it. Recently, the management has been issuing a Telugu edition of 'Prajāmata' which has a circulation in Andhra areas.

Some newspapers were exclusively started to further the cause of the Indian freedom movement. They were 'Chitragupta' edited by H. K. Veeranna Gowda

the 'Democrat' (English) edited by S. R. S. Raghavan, and 'Veerakēsari' edited by Veerakesari Sitarama Sastri and 'Navajeevana' edited by Aswathanarayana Rao. They did yeoman service to the cause of the freedom struggle.

JOURNALISM IN BOMBAY KARNATAKA :

Next to the Mysore State, newspapers in the Kannada language flourished in the Bombay Karnataka area. The first newspaper to be published in this region appears to be 'Subuddhi Prakāsh' started in Belgaum on September 1, 1851. It contained extracts from English notices and proclamations of the British Government. Local news was predominant. It was written in chaste Kannada.

There were a number of short-lived Kannada news-sheets which appeared at the time of the 1857 Indian revolution. All these news-sheets inspired the mutineers in their fight against the East India Company. Bombay Karnataka was one of the strong-holds of the patriotic movement during 1857.

'Hitēchhu' was the first full-fledged Kannada newspaper of this area. It was started at Kaladagi near Bagalkot. There were three other newspapers in Dharwar, 'Vijaya', 'Rājahamsa' and 'Karnataka Vritta' and three more in Belgaum by 1880. All these newspapers, in Belgaum specially, were started to check the aggressive influence of Marathi language and people on Kannada. Manadakatti Kalyanappa and Vibhuti Huchaiiah started two monthlies, 'Chandrodaya' and 'Pushpāmalike'. Desai Seenappa started a weekly newspaper, 'Karnataka Patra', for the same reason in 1884. These pioneering newspapers, written in old Kannada style, awakened the people and voiced their patriotic sentiments. They did not publish much by way of news. They were more viewpapers than newspapers.

After 1885, a number of weeklies were started, of which 'Lōkaśikshaka', 'Karnataka Vritta' and 'Lōkabandhu' deserve mention. The strong man behind the upsurge was Mudhveedu Krishna Rao. His weekly, 'Karnataka Vritta', continued publication for 35 years and contained his spirited and patriotic writings. He was well-known as a forceful public speaker also.

'Kannada Simha', 'Rājahamsa', and 'Chandrodaya' started by Gadagayya Honnapurmath were some of the weeklies started in the 1890's.

The city of Hubli gave birth to two weeklies 'Kannada Kēsari' edited by Bindu Rao and 'Sachitra Bhārata', edited by Kerur Vasudevacharya of Bagalkot, a noted story-writer and dramatist. Owing to his influence, another weekly 'Subhōdaya' was started in Dharwar. It was very popular for it

style, its humour and its trenchant criticisms. This paper ceased publication in 1921, soon after his death. 'Dhanurdhāri' was started by Manjappa Hardekar in the days of the Swadeshi Movement and gave excerpts from Tilak's, 'Kesari'.

'Karnataka Vaibhava' is one of the oldest weeklies of Karnataka. It was started in Bijapur in 1892 by Mannur Govind Rao and was conducted ably by Moharay Hanumantha Rao who took over the proprietorship and editorship of the paper in 1922. The paper was mostly devoted to the cause of the Indian freedom struggle and had to face persecution at the hands of Government. Mention may also be made of 'Veerakēsari' of Hubli by Mutalik Desai, and 'Vibhākar' by P. R. Chikodi, 'Lōkamata' by V. B. Puranik and 'Vijaya' by Hosakeri Annacharya in the 1920's.

Mention may be made of 'Vijayadhvaja' started in Bellary in the 1880's which was banned in 1930.

'Karmaveer', another weekly newspaper of Dharwar which was started in 1921, had a robust life from its inception, despite harassments and confiscations. Sri R. R. Diwakar was the editor of 'Karmaveer'. After R. R. Diwakar, and Hukkerikar, the Manager, were arrested in 1921. Alur Venkata Rao who later edited the monthly magazine, 'Jayakarnāṭaka', came to assist the journalists to keep the national weekly going. Now issued from Hubli, the 'Karmaveer' is a widely read and influential weekly in Karnataka.

In Belgaum, some of the workers in the cause of the Karnataka Unification Movement had established a weekly called 'Samyukta Karnāṭaka' in 1933. Prominent public figures like D. V. Belvi, Narayana Rao Joshi, B. N. Datar and Keshava Rao Gokhale were among the founders of this weekly, which was soon converted into a daily. After Sri Katti, Sri Hanumantha Rao Moharay was invited to join the 'Samyukta Karnataka' as the editor in 1934. The very same year, after the release of Diwakar, the daily newspaper, 'Samyukta Karnataka', was taken over by the Lok Sikshana Trust. Hanumantha Rao Moharay continued as the editor of the paper for a quarter of a century. He not only developed the daily 'Samyukta Karnataka' but directed the weekly 'Karmaveer' also, and was the first editor of 'Kasturi', a very popular monthly Kannada Digest Magazine. The Bangalore edition of the Samyukta Karnataka was inaugurated in January, 1959. Even earlier, the 'Samyukta Karnataka' had made history in the field of Kannada journalism by buying and installing the first Rotary printing press. The Trust also published a monthly entitled the 'Kāmadhēnu', meant mainly for village people.

In 1937, N. S. Hardiker, founder of the Hindustani Seva Dal, started a weekly newspaper called the 'Hubli Gazette' devoted to the civic affairs of Hubli.

In 1947, the 'Hubli Gazette' was re-christened and published as 'Jai-Hind' as a general weekly.

Apart from these newspapers and magazines, many others made their appearance in the Kannada language. Most of these nationalist journals were prosecuted for their strong criticism of the British Government. During the days of the Non-cooperation Movement they had reached large circulations, but they were all short-lived.

IN SOUTH KANARA :

Pioneering work in the field of Kannada journalism had been done at Mangalore by christian missionaries. In 1842, they started Kannada weeklies called the 'Mangalore Samāchar' and 'Christa Saddharma Deepike' for the propagation of Christianity in the areas. Later, in 1896, 'The Satya Deepike' was also started by them.

Mangalore was the birth-place of many Kannada weeklies. A good number of weeklies and monthlies were started in the wake of the national movement. Of these 'Krishnasūkti' (1905) from Udupi with which Kerodi Subbarao and K. Rajagopalakrishna Rao were associated, and 'Swadēśābhimāni' with which M. N. Kamath was associated deserve mention. Benegal Rama Rao conducted the monthly 'Suvāsini'. The Home Rule Movement and the later Non-cooperation Movement gave birth to a number of weeklies, of which mention may be made of 'Kañtheerava' (1919—'edited by Hurli Bheemarao), 'Navayuga' edited by A. B. Shetty, 'Swatantra Bharat' (which became a daily in 1937, edited by Kadengodlu Shankarabhatta who later started the 'Rāshṭramata'), 'Satyāgrahi', 'Tilak Sandēśa' (edited by D. K. Bharadvaj), and 'Swarājya'. Though these journals circulated mostly within the District, they were known for their good letter-press and the literary distinction of their articles. Distinguished literary men of the District like Panje Mangesha Rao (under the pen-name 'Haraṭemalla') and M. Govinda Pai used to enrich the journals by their contributions. Many of the editors themselves were men of great literary talents.

Mangalore saw the first daily newspaper 'Navabhārat' in 1941. A well-known industrialist, V. S. Kudwa, founded this paper and edited it early. Being the proprietor of a big transport company, he was able to distribute the newspapers promptly to all corners of the District. It soon became the most popular Kannada daily of the District.

HYDERABAD KARNATAKA :

Hyderabad City had two Kannada newspapers. 'Hyderabad Samāchar'

was the mouth-piece of the Government of the State, published in Kannada to keep the Kannada public informed of the activities of the Government. G. K. Pranēśāchārya, a veteran Congressman, started a weekly, 'Sādhana', to voice the grievances of the Kannadigas of Hyderabad.

COORG :

Coorg was a Chief Commissioner's province before the unification of Karnataka and there were two Kannada newspapers, 'Kodagu' and 'Kodagu Vrittānta' which were purely local in character. P. I. Belliappa and C. M. Poonacha were the pioneers in the field.

THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PRESS IN KARNATAKA :

After the birth of Indian freedom many favourable factors have contributed to the growth of Indian newspapers, and have put the country's press on a firmer footing. More newspapers have been started to cater to the needs of an ever-increasing circle of readers.

Two daily newspapers were started in 1947 from Hubli. The 'Navayuga' was conducted by T. R. Nesvi assisted among others by M. Govardhana Rao T. Siddappa and Patil Puttappa. The paper ceased publication after some years of useful service.

The 'Viśālakarnataka' founded by K. F. Patil at Hubli during 1941 had a short life. He was Deputy Minister at Bombay and could not give his whole time to the work. The paper was edited by H. R. Itagi. For some time Patil Puttappa, after leaving 'Navayuga', became its editor. Still it could not make much headway and had also to be closed.

One of the most important daily newspapers in Kannada started in the post-Independence period is the 'Prajāvāṇi' of Bangalore. It started in 1948 as a sister publication of the 'Deccan Herald' in English, started a few weeks earlier. It became immediately popular. B. Puttaswamiah was its first editor. Khadri Shamanna and later T. S. Ramachandra Rao, the present Chief Editor and columnist of the paper, took over the editorship. 'Prajāvāṇi' is an educative daily of general interest and discusses current political and economic problems both national and international.

One of the most prominent weeklies started after 1947 in Bombay Karnataka was the 'Prapancha' at Hubli. It made its appearance in 1954. A young and energetic journalist of Karnataka, Patil Puttappa, proceeded to America for

advanced studies in journalism, and taking the Master of Science Degree in journalism returned to India to start this weekly.

‘Viśvavāṇi’, a Kannada daily newspaper, was started by Patil Puttappa on August 31, 1959, at Hubli. With four pages, it has regular features and covers all news.

The history of Kannada journalism forms a very interesting and significant chapter of Indian Journalism. The unification of all the Kannada areas under a single administration promises to be the signal for a new era in the field of Kannada journalism. The advent of the Kannada typewriter, the intertype and the monocaster in the Kannada language has brightened the prospects on the technical side.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN KARNATAKA

In the last chapter there was a section dealing with the introduction of Christianity in India and giving a historical account of it. We have already dealt with the development of education in the different parts of Karnataka. The contribution of Christian missionaries has also been incidentally mentioned. But no account of the progress achieved in the fields of education and of social welfare in Karnataka and, indeed, in all India would be complete without adequate reference to the great work done by foreign Christian missions. The excellent pioneering work done by Christian organizations in the cause of education, medical relief, industrial advance, starting printing presses and helping literary revival in the various Indian languages, including Kannada, can never be over-estimated. We shall now consider the contribution of Christian missionaries to the welfare of Karnataka.

Among the early Goan missionaries that worked in Karnataka, the name of Fr. Joseph Vaz deserves special mention.

Fr. Joseph Vaz, who was the Parvado Missionary in Kanara, lived in Mangalore from 1680 to 84 and was responsible for a good deal of social amelioration work in the whole District, irrespective of caste or creed. He gave his all to the poor.

Similarly, Fr. Albert Zart, S. J. (a German) did great work at Kittur (Belgaum District), where he worked from 1756 to 1763. But with the practical suppression of Christian activities by Tipu Sultan, Christian missionary enterprise had to stop.

From 1799, with the entry of the English and the restoration of the old Hindu dynasty on the throne of Mysore, conditions changed.

Two eminent missionaries appeared on the scene. They were Abbe Dubois and Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne. The former was working in Baramahals during Tipu's regime, and, after Tipu's death, he was ordered by his superior, Bishop Cherbonour, to proceed to Bangalore and reconstitute the shattered Christian community.

He worked for the community both in Bangalore and in Kanara from 1800 to 1822. His work, especially social work, was highly applauded by the British residents. His passage money was paid by the East India Company.

Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne belonged to the old noble Pescetti family of Sicily and he was a Carmelite. He arrived in Sunkeri on 13th April, 1801. To escape arrest by Tipu's soldiers, Christians had abandoned their homes and were living in exile. In the depredations of Engi Naik and other dacoits, which commenced from 1792, these Christians conveniently joined the gangs of these dacoits and were responsible for greater mischief. At last, after peace was restored in 1799, these Christians returned. It was for Fr. Xavier to organize this community. He secured some land from the Government and settled them on those lands. Fr. Francis Xavier worked at Sunkeri from 1801 to 1831.

The old mission's organization, 'Etrangere', which commenced work in 1776, and which was continued by Abbe Dubois till 1822, was further continued and it was known as the Foreign Mission Society of Paris. This Society catered to the needs of the Christians of Bangalore.

The missionaries of the Basel German Evangelical Mission came to Mangalore in 1834 and settled at Balmatta. They were Lutherans from Germany and were very learned men.

The Catholic community was aspiring for higher education. After prolonged negotiations with the Holy See, the latter consented to send the Jesuit Order to Mangalore, and on 31st December 1878, the Jesuits landed in Mangalore.

These were the pioneers among the Christian missionaries in the field of education. They were all men of learning, and were highly qualified, having

been trained in the leading Universities of Europe. Though they were quite new to the conditions of life in India, they gradually acclimatized themselves to Indian conditions and commenced to mix with the people in right earnest.

Thus the Basel Mission Society started in 1836 the first school in the Kanara District at Mangalore. The Carmelites of Mangalore had started an English school at the Cathedral in 1860 and it was run by the Irish Brothers.

The Mangalorean Catholics were dissatisfied with this education and had clamoured for higher education, and so when the Jesuits arrived they started the St. Aloysius College in 1879.

The Foreign Mission Society of Paris started the St. Joseph's College in Bangalore in 1882 and in 1937 it was transferred to the Jesuits of Mangalore.

Side by side with male missionaries, lady missionaries entered the field of education in Karnataka. The Carmelites of Mangalore had envisaged the spread of education for girls in Mangalore by getting some members from an order of nuns in France. The members of this Order, after their arrival in Mangalore, manipulated to inaugurate an indigenous order of nuns and so developed the order of Apostolic Carmel in Mangalore. It has developed remarkably and has spread its branches throughout India and Ceylon. Some of its branches are found in Karnataka also.

Besides this, there are other indigenous orders of nuns also in Mangalore, known as Bethany Sisters, Ursulines M. In addition to this, there are orders of nuns from Kerala and other places who have spread their branches in Karnataka also.

All these female religious orders also have taken to the spread of education and are running flourishing educational institutions throughout Karnataka, even in its remotest villages. They have under them some very ably managed first-grade colleges in Mangalore, Mysore and Bangalore, specially designed for women.

The Kannada language with its variety of vocals etc., presented an immense difficulty for the printer to manage. Undaunted, they proceeded with stone casts etc. With this crude equipment, they printed many Kannada classics like *Jaimini Bhārata* (1886), *Daśāparva Bhārata* (1851), *Basava Purāṇa* (1850) and *Chennabasava Purāṇa* (1851).

When their machinery was sufficiently stocked, they brought in lead and in this enterprise they were helped by 'loharis' (metal workers) from Mangalore whose

profession it was. Among them is one famous by name Anantachari who has done immense work both for this Press and for Gujarati types in Bombay. His name ('Anant shades') is given to the letters which he made in Nagari script in Bombay.

When the Basel Mission Press was strong enough, these missionaries who were printing their journal at Bellary, 'Kannada Samāchar', brought it back and commenced printing it in Mangalore itself.

Soon this Press rose in importance. Besides the many Biblical works, they commenced to print books useful for schools also, such as *Akshara Māla* (1844), *Neeti Pāṭha* (1848), and *Bhūgōḷa* (1845). These were printed in machine press. The Bombay Government also engaged their services for printing school books etc., as also the Madras Government.

They printed Tuḷu books in Kannada script and for the Badagas of Nilgiris their Badaga language books in Kannada script. They also printed a set of Kannada proverbs (over 3500) and also *Hari Bhakti Sāra* of Kanakadāsa and the *Yakshagāna*, *Rāvaṇa Digvijaya*.

Lead types were commenced to be used here by Rev. G. Phleiss in 1862. These were prepared in Basel, Germany, under the advice of three expert Indians.

The Jesuits also started the Codialbail Press in 1882. This Press has played a great role, not only throughout Kanara, but in western India. The Press was well-known for elegant and strong binding. Besides this, the classical work of Fr. Thomas Stephens, S. J., *The Christian Purāṇa*, was printed as a transliteration in English by the great scholar Joseph Saldanha.

Handloom-weaving was commenced by the Basel Mission Society in 1851. It is responsible for a large amount of technical know-how introduced from Germany, especially what is known as 'Mission loom' with a flying shuttle. This handloom industry, so generously started by the German missionaries, is even today flourishing in the District.

In handloom weaving these Basel missionaries evolved a colour popularly known as 'khaki'. This cloth was used wholesale throughout India for the uniforms of the police force and for uniforms of the army personnel throughout the British Empire. Both the word 'khaki' and the cloth became very popular in all the places where the English language was spoken.

The Basel missionaries were pioneers in starting and establishing tile manufacture. The type of tiles known as 'Mangalore tiles' are world-famous

and command a world market. This industry was started in 1865 and is at present a major industry in the South Kanara District.

The Basel Mission also started an iron foundry which was the first one of its kind in the District.

The Jesuits also started the St. Joseph's Industrial Works at Jeppu in 1889, mainly for giving work to the great colony of neophytes there. These are flourishing institutions in the District and command a good deal of attention from industrialists throughout India.

In the field of medicine, Christian missionaries have earned the gratitude of Christians and non-Christians alike all over India.

A commencement was made with little chests of Homeopathic and 'Tissue Remedies' by individual missionaries, primarily intended for poor Christians. This is the origin of the now world-famous Fr. Muller's Institutions in Mangalore, founded by Fr. Augustus Muller S. J. in 1891. This institution has at present a Childrens' Hospital, an Operation Theatre, a Maternity Hospital, a Tuberculosis Hospital, a Leprosy Hospital and Asylum, a Nurses' Training school and the general medical and surgical hospitals.

St. Martha's Hospital at Bangalore (1886) was practically the only one in the old Mysore State until the Victoria Hospital was opened in 1900. It is run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd on a voluntary basis.

The Holdsworth Memorial Hospital at Mysore also deserves mention.

Leprosy looms large in their establishments. The leprosy ward attached to Fr. Muller's at Mangalore is unique of its kind. There is another Leper Asylum at Hindalgi near Belgaum.

For humanitarian, philanthropic work these missionaries have maintained a great many institutions like creches (where abandoned babies are taken up and cared for), orphanages for boys and girls and even homes for the aged and the destitute.

A great number of nuns belonging to various religious orders are managing these institutions.

And to crown it all is the latest venture of the St. John's Medical College and Hospital at Bangalore. The cause has international support and is directly under the patronage of the Pope. It will be the greatest contribution to the progress of medical science and medical relief in the country.

The great abilities of some of these missionaries made them probe into the realms of the indigenous literature of Karnataka and thus they were able to produce some of the great research works in those languages. Dr. F. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* (Basel Mission Press, 1894) is an authority on Kannada vocabulary to this day. It is a work of patient research for full 18 years. On the same ground stands Dr. F. Zeigler's *Tulu-English Dictionary*.

The research capacity of the members of the Jesuit order is evidenced by the two famous works of Fr. A. F. X., Maffet, S. J. in the Konkani language, the *Konkani Grammar* and the *Konkani-English Dictionary*.

These works by the earliest missionaries deserve the highest praise. They were great pioneers. Kannada, Tulu and Konkani literatures are under a debt of gratitude to these missionaries.

Some of these missionaries have associated themselves with learned European and scholarly Indians and have been able to inaugurate learned societies. Fr. Tabard of the Foreign Mission Society of Bangalore was the founder of the Mythic Society.

Though insignificant in numbers, Christians have exercised an influence far out of proportion to their number.

KANNADA

(MODERN PERIOD)

Kannada Literature enjoyed great patronage and reached new heights during the reign of Chikkadevaraya (1672-1704) of Mysore. But, unfortunately after him, it passed through a period of decline and barren desolation, to be followed by an out-burst of literary activity in the next century. Though a few minor works were produced, they did not contribute much to the richness of Kannada Literature.

A noteworthy feature of the latter half of the 18th century is the appearance of a number of devotional poets of the Dasakuta tradition, among whom Jagannathadasa (1775) is a shining example.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, who was the ruler of Mysore between 1794 A.D. and 1868 A.D., was a scholar in Kannada and Sanskrit and gave much impetus to the growth of Kannada literature. He was himself a voluminous writer and extended munificent patronage to varied types of literary endeavour. 'Yakshagāna', a kind of rural opera, was one of them, and its growth and survival owed much to his munificence. Parti Subba of South Kanara, the most famous among the writers in this *genre*, flourished during this period. Mummadi Krishnaraja gave special encouragement to the writing of Kannada prose versions of the more important of the Sanskrit works. Memorable among these are his own versions of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The contribution of his age to Kannada literature was substantial. It was in this period that the foundation for modern Kannada prose literature was truly laid. The *Rājāvali Kathe* of Devachandra, the Court-poet of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, is a significant work of considerable historical importance, though not of any pronounced literary merit. It represents the prose style of the end of the 18th century, characterized by a free and injudicious admixture of old and new word forms. He is also author of *Ramakathāvatara*, written in *champu* style, which narrates the story of the *Ramayana* in the Jaina tradition. *Mudrā Manjusha* of Kempu Narayana (1823 A.D.), another Court-poet, marked the dawn of a new era in Kannada prose literature. Though it is a prose version of the well-known Sanskrit drama, 'Mudrā Rākshasa', the poet has retold the original in his own elaborate way, and in a prose style peculiarly individualistic, blending the old forms with those of the new, with a grandeur all its own. *Mudrā Manjusha*, with its semi-historical theme centring round the rise of Chandragupta Maurya, may be said to mark the beginning of prose fiction in Kannada.

There were also some other poets who flourished during this period, who preferred the medium of verse for their compositions. Notable among them was Aliya Lingaraja, who was not only a Court-poet of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, but also belonged to the royal family. He was a versatile and prolific writer and he has 47 works to his credit. He made use of various ancient literary forms such as *champu*, *shaṭpadi*, *sāngatya*, *yakshagāna*, *śataka*, song, ballad, etc. His contribution to the *Yakshagāna* form of literature is considerable.

One of the most notable literary figures of the period was Asthana Vidvan Basavappa Sastri (1843-1891 A.D.). The credit of introducing to Kannada literature great plays like 'Sākuntala', 'Vikramōrvaśīya', 'Ratnāvali', 'Chanda-Koushika', 'Uttara Rāmacharita' and others from Sanskrit literature goes to him. Shakespeare's 'Othello' was also translated by him into Kannada under the title *Surasena Charite*. His translations of Sanskrit plays ushered in the age of dramatic literature in Kannada, and he stands foremost among those who strove hard to build up the Kannada stage. He was deservedly honoured as 'Abhinava-Kālidāsa'. He has also many independent works to his credit, such as *Damayanti Swayamvara* in *champu* form, and *Savitri Charite* in *shaṭpadi*, and a good number of

stōtras in Sanskrit as well. As a result of the pioneering efforts of Basavappa Sastri and others after him, the influence of Shakespeare and of English literature on Kannada writers was beginning to be felt. His *Surasena Charite* stands out as a symbol of such influence on Kannada. This influence gave new modes and ideas to Kannada literature.

Muddana, whose real name was Nandaḷike Lakshmināraṇappa, is the author of *Adbhuta Ramayana*, *Rama-Paṭṭābhishēka*, and *Rāmāśvamēdha* and may be considered to be the morning star in the horizon of modern Kannada literature. His works provide an example of the blending of the old and the new, old in language and subject-matter, but new in style and technique, which can be seen to their best advantage in *Rāmāśvamēdha*, which relates the story of the Horse-sacrifice performed by Rama. It is written in chaste old Kannada language, but the prose it employs is entirely modern in idiom and style. The controversy as to the better of the two media, prose or verse, was resolved by Muddana who declared that prose was more appealing than verse. In this respect, he was undoubtedly influenced by B. Venkatachar, Galaganath, and others who had already produced popular Kannada novels. He would surely have become one of our early novelists, as evidenced by his half-finished novel *Godavari*, had he lived longer. Unfortunately he died of tuberculosis when he was only 31 years old.

Conditions had not been favourable for writing even in the southern parts of Karnataka in the previous century. In northern Karnataka, due to the predominance of Marathi under the rule of the Peshwas, Kannada was almost eclipsed and the people took pride in using Marathi, even after the region came under British rule. The country was known as the 'Southern Mahratta country'. This mistaken notion was first dispelled by Mr. William Russell and 'Deputy' Chennabasappa, who not only started Kannada schools but also took pains to produce text-books in Kannada. To meet the requirements of these schools, a Training College was opened to train teachers and the language of the people got some recognition.

The pioneering work of Christian missionaries like Rev. Kittel, Mr. Ziegler, B. Lewis Rice, Dr. Caldwell, E. P. Rice and others in preparing standard works in Kannada was followed up by eminent scholars like R. Narasimhachar, S. G. Narasimhachar, Ramanuja Iyengar and others, who contributed much to the renaissance of Kannada literature. During this period, they edited and published many ancient Kannada classical works. R. Narasimhachar, in particular, rendered inestimable service to Kannada literature by publishing his monumental work, *Karnataka Kavi Charitre* (Lives of Kannada Poets) in three volumes. This work for the first time gives a brief account of nearly 1200 writers covering a span of ten centuries from 900 A.D. to 1900. A.D. Under the inspiring influence of all

these people, a renaissance may be said to have begun in Kannada literature.

MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE :

Under the impact of Western literary influences, Kannada literature has been revolutionized both in content and form. Most of the older forms like the 'champu' etc., were felt to be out-of-date and were not cultivated. Prose has gradually established itself, and has become the chief mode of literary expression, giving rise to diverse literary forms like the drama, the novel, the short story, biography, essay, etc.

The history of Kannada literature of the past six decades witnesses the rise of individualistic writing and its further march towards modernity. Like all innovators, the early modern poets and writers had to contend with the unsympathetic criticism made by the traditional school of writers and the readers who had yet to grasp the new spirit. The conflict between the traditional school and the modern school on matters of language, style and diction has almost died out now. Nonetheless, it has given rise to a class of 'old style' writers and poets as against this new class of modernists. This division is found in all the branches of modern Kannada literature, and more prominently in poetry.

Thus, the new form that took shape were an expression, as it were, of the emergence of new angles of vision, new ways of thinking new modes of self-expression, new styles in communication in patterns of imagery, illustration, etc. Thus, the revolution that occurred in modern Kannada literature was two-fold. It was a revolution in technique and form, and also a psychological revolution, a change in the mode and content of experience.

The modern Kannada lyric is the outcome of creative work, which was at once an experimentation and an achievement of pioneers in the field like 'Sree' (B. M. Srikantiah 1894-1946), 'Srinivasa' (Masti Venkatesa Iyengar), D. V. G., Govinda Pai, Panje Mangesha Rao, Santa Kavi and others. They roamed 'on pastures new', being influenced by the English poets of the romantic school, such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelly and Keats. *English Geetegaḷu* of 'Sri' is rightly hailed as the harbinger of this new 'romantic' school of Kannada poetry. This new school attained a special beauty and dignity in the hands of 'Kuvempu' (Dr. K. V. Puttappa), and 'Ambikatanayadatta' (D. R. Bendre), whose hold on the popular Mind is still undiminished. The *Ramayana Darśana* of 'Kuvempu', the only modern Kannada epic, has achieved national fame and importance. Many other writers of the day like Sali Ramachandra Rao, V. Si. (V. Sitaramaiah), P. T. Narasimhachar, Kadangodlu Shankar Bhatta,

Betageri Krishna Sharma, V. K. Gokak, Madhura Chenna and R. S. Mugali made distinct contributions to the growth of this lyric poetry. Following the path of these pioneers appeared another group of younger poets like G. P. Rajaratnam, 'Raghava' S. V. Paramesvara Bhatta, K. S. Narasimhaswami, B. H. Sridhara, Pandeswar Ganapathi Rao, Gopalakrishna Adiga and others, who may be regarded as the last in the romantic line. Among these, Rajaratnam with his *Ratnana Padagaḷu* (Songs of the Drunkard) and Narasimhaswami with his *Mysore Mallige* (love lyrics) became very popular. And Gokak and Adiga, mainly under the influence of the English poet T. S. Eliot, have tried to break fresh ground and have been responsible for the emergence of yet another 'new' (navya) school of poetry. On the whole, the early lyric poetry is highly romantic, at times monotonously musical and visionary, while its recent trend is frankly unconventional and revolutionary. Many experiments are also being made in free verse, and verse in a lighter vein.

Sri Gopalakrishna Adiga may be looked upon as prominent among the leaders of the 'new' style of poetry, introducing in poetry certain new dimensions. His example has been followed by a number of younger poets. The charge of obscurity has been made on much of this 'new' writing by the protagonists of the earlier romantic school. But this new poetry, in its essence, shows a new awareness of the facts of life in the complex set-up of the modern world. Like modern abstract painting, it has thrown away the established patterns and restrictions that regulate the craft of versification. We see in modern Kannada poetry a deliberate effort to disregard conventional poetic diction, and an attempt to develop new techniques to create new imageries, often symbolic, and to endow words used with fresh connotations. Poets like G. S. Sivarudrappa, Chennaveera Kanavi, Ramachandra Sarma, Gangadhar Chittal, K. V. Rajagopal, Chandrasekhar Patil, K.S. Nissar Ahmed, Akbar Ali, and others represent this new spirit in poetry. Unfortunately, the occasional obscurity of thought and feeling, and the vagueness of expression seen occasionally in the writings of some of them and their imitators raise doubts, the sincerity of their poetry. As yet there seems to be no rapport established between these ultra-modern poets and the common readers. In any case, modern Kannada poetry seems to reflect a new temper in the young Kannada mind.

The same new features are evident in some forms of prose writing also. Creativity is expressing itself in diverse ways. A number of new forms elude classification. The crop of prose literature during the past fifty years has introduced to Kannada readers several brilliant minds with a deep understanding and vision of life, supported by great skill in technique.

The Kannada novel, at present a very popular literary form, is a picture of contemporary life and of the interaction between man and his environment. The earliest Kannada novels were mostly translations from Bengali and Marathi.

B. Venkatachar and Galaganatha were pioneers in the field of the novel, writing in the early years of this century. Their translations along with some independent works were immensely popular all over Karnataka, and were largely responsible in creating a new taste for literature and a new reading public. Quite a few of them are regarded as classics even to this day. The credit of being the first original novel in point of time must go to *Indira Bai* (1899) by Gulwadi Venkata Rao, which was soon followed by *Vāgdēvi* (1905) by Bolar Babu Rao and *Indira* (1908) by Kerur Vasudevachar, who also wrote the first historical novel *Yadumahārāja* (1916). However, *Māḍiddunṇo Mahārāja* of M. S. Puttanna is the first outstanding novel, which claims attention by its humour, its characterization, and its realistic portrayal of society during the reign of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. An element of mild satire on society runs through the strange situations depicted in this novel. The Kannada novel in the hands of these pioneers and others in the field was still taking shape, and it was left to later writers in the thirties and forties to achieve mastery over the technique of novel writing. A. N. Krishna Rao is among the foremost and by far the most successful of the Kannada novelists who initiated the 'social' novel and helped it to grow in variety and profusion. He has more than a hundred novels to his credit, and some of them like *Sandhyārāga* are very popular. 'Kuvempu' and Karanth have made valuable contributions to the growth of the Kannada novel and have done much to raise the literary value of this popular form of literature. *Maraḷi Maṇṇige* of Karanth and *Kāṇūru Subbamma* of 'Kuvempu' are outstanding achievements in the high tradition of the novel. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Devudu Narasimha Sasrri, V. M. Inamdar, K. V. Iyer and a few others have written novels of enduring quality.

The themes of the present-day novels are, of course, the themes that interest present-day society. The popular novelists like Niranjana, Basavaraja Kattimani, T. R. Subba Rao, Krishnamurti Puranik and women novelists like 'Triveni' have established their own traditions and standards. They display in their novels their keen sensitivity to current social problems, to the problems of sex and marriage, and the problem of conflicting values in present-day society.

There has been such a great increase in the number of novel-writers in recent times, that it has become almost impossible for any single critic to keep track of them. Unfortunately, fiction-writing has been reduced to a mechanical art in the hands of many writers, whose main preoccupation seems to be sex and sensationalism. Unfortunately, fiction-writing has been commercialized and is vitiating the literary taste of the ordinary reading-public.

Dramatic literature is a product of the twentieth century and has come to occupy a very important place in the cultural activities of Karnataka. Original play-writing as such did not exist in the early days of the present century, all the

plays being either translations from Sanskrit or English and solely meant for the professional stage, like those of Bellave Narahari Sastri. The plays of T. P. Kailasam, Sriranga and K. S. Karanth, however, represent a new spirit in play-writing. They have introduced new experiments and techniques, and written popular and interesting plays bearing in mind the requirements of the stage also. Their works show the possibilities of the treatment of humour in drama. They are predominantly social satirists, but each approaches social problems in his own way. Kailasam reacts to social evils by laughing at them, though he is alive to the sense of injustice, pain and sorrow lying behind the laughter. There is a tinge of pathos in his presentation of humour. The same social evils provoke Sriranga to anger and retaliation, if possible, though he also sees the laughable element plainly enough. Karanth uses devastating satire. These three playwrights occupy a high and enduring place in the evolution of modern Kannada dramatic literature.

Fruitful attempts have been made to translate or adapt dramatic works from other languages into Kannada. The first such translation is 'Sakuntala' of Kalidasa by Churamuri Seshagiri Rao (1870); this was followed by Basavappa Sastri's translation of the same play (1883). Many other eminent scholars of the day like Dhondo Narasimha Mulabagil, Subba Sastri, Anantanarayana Sastri, Mysore Sectarama Sastri and others followed suit and enriched dramatic literature in Kannada by their pioneering work. The well-known plays of Shakespeare, Moliere, Ibsen, Goldsmith etc., have either been translated or adapted into Kannada literature by scholars like D. V. G., Masti, A. N. Murthi Rao, 'Kuvempu', 'Parvatavani', S. G. Sastri, Devudu and others. Scholars like L. Gundappa, S. V. Parmeswara Bhatta and Dr. K. Krishnamurti have translated the plays of Bhasa and Kalidasa into Kannada. *Aśwathāman*, an excellent and daring adaptation of 'Ajax' of Sophocles by B. M. Sri is the first play from Greek; this has been followed by translations of famous Greek tragedies done directly from Greek by K. V. Raghavachar.

One-Act plays are a feature of the amateur stage. K. S. Karanth, D. R. Bendre, 'Parvatavani', Kaiwar Raja Rao, 'Ksheerasagara', and N. K. Kulkarni are dramatists whose aim is to portray the foibles of society. Some of our dramatists seem to look upon the One-Act play mainly as a vehicle of humour. Greater variety in theme and sentiment is yet to be developed. The Radio play is a new variety with great possibilities but its technique has not been mastered by many Kannada writers.

Song plays in the manner of western operas have been written by Karanth, P. T. Narasimhachar and Siddaiya Puranik and a few of them successfully produced on the stage and over the Radio. Here is a vast field awaiting exploitation.

The short story is the most popular literary form practised by aspiring writers. 'Srinivasa' is rightly called the father of the short story in modern Kannada. In respect of technique, narration, characterization and style, he is outstanding among the short-story writers. There is no aspect of life which he has not touched. Many of his stories are distinguished by the genial humour pervading them, and a good number of these are masterpieces of sublime simplicity.

K. Gopalakrishna Rao and 'Ananda' are among those who successfully carried on the tradition of Srinivasa. In the stories of 'Ananda', the play of destiny in human life is poignantly exhibited. Gopalakrishna Rao has dealt with diverse aspects of life in his stories. Delicate humour marks the writings of both these writers. An interesting presentation of the humorous aspects of life can be seen in the stories of Karanth and 'Kuvempu'. Their stories reveal an intensive search for truth. The stories of 'Kuvempu' sometimes tend to be poetic. Sometimes they are powerful character-sketches, tending more towards the essay form. This remark applies specially to the short stories of Gorur Ramaswami Aiyangar. Gorur is a great writer of character-sketches. Like Goldsmith he is endowed with a fine sense of genial humour. His pictures of rural life and his characters remain deeply etched in our memory, because his portrayal is not only realistic and effective, but also richly colourful in its approach to the understanding of human nature seen through a humorous eye. There are a host of others in the field of the short story, too numerous to mention. But noteworthy among them are A. N. Krishna Rao, M. V. Seetharamaiah, 'Chaduranga', 'Bharatipriya', Niranjana and others. 'The stream of consciousness' technique, a result of the Freudian psychology, is influencing the 'new writing' in the field of short story, which has many votaries like Sadasiva, Ramachandra Sarma and others.

Another form of literary creation which owes its origin to western literature is the essay. This again appears in diverse forms like the personal essay, the thoughtful essay, the humorous skit, sketches and fantasies, pen-portraits etc. Sometimes, an idea becomes a nucleus around which cluster a host of other ideas, of thoughts which are associated with the original idea, and this type of digressive essay tends to be light and highly reflective. Another common type of essay is the parody or caricature. Writers like A. N. Murti Rao, Gorur, N. Kasturi, Sriranga, Karanth, and 'Nagemari' have distinguished themselves in this form of literature and have produced good models for later writers.

Besides these, there is a continuous flow of contribution in the fields of letter-writing, autobiographical reminiscences, accounts of travel etc. The reminiscences (*Kelavu Nenapugaḷu*) of Navaratna Rama Rao, who has also written some very good short stories, is a remarkable work of its kind. D.V.G., A. R. Krishna Sastri, C. K. Venkataramaiah, T. N. Sreekantiah and D. L. Narasimhachar have enriched modern Kannada prose literature by their outstanding works of literary criticism. R. S. Mugali has supplied a long-felt want by writing

his comprehensive history of Kannada Literature in Kannada. It is very interesting to find how the age-old art of travel-account scintillates with a new life and humour when veterans like Karanth, Gokak, and others handle it.

Looking at all these contemporary works of literary art, one feels that a change in outlook is taking place among many of our present-day writers. The age of discoursing on ideals and preaching morals in literary works is gone ; the modern writer is eager to convey his sensitivity to the facts of life as they are. This is a positive attitude that is coming to be adopted by the modern writer. The writers' thoughts are more in the present and the future than in the past, and deeply concerned in all that is happening around him. This is as it should be.

SANSKRIT

(MODERN PERIOD)

OLD MYSORE STATE :

There was an appreciable amount of literary activity in Sanskrit from 1760-1947 in the old Mysore State. Dalavoy Nanjarāja who occupied a very important place in the Mysore administration in the latter half of the 18th century, was able to find time to devote himself to literary pursuits. He translated many works from Sanskrit to Kannada. He composed *Sangeeta-gangādhara* in Sanskrit. It is in four cantos. The author follows very closely Jayadēva's *Geeta-gōvinda*. However, Siva is the hero here. Nanjaraja also liberally patronized learning. Narasimha speaks of him as the modern Bhōja in the prologue to his play *Chandrakalā-pariṇaya*. The hero of this play is the patron of the author himself. The author bore the title 'Abhinava Kālidāsa' and also wrote the alankāra (poetics) work *Nanjarāja Yaśobhūshaṇa*. The illustrative stanzas of this work are devoted to the praise of the patron.

Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodevar was himself the author of many works, besides being the patron of many men of letters. Some of his important works are : *Surya-Chandrādi-Vamśāvataraṇa* (1857) which relates one hundred episodes each from the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the adventures of the royal brothers, Yaduraya and Krishnaraya, the progenitors of the Mysore dynasty of

Wodeyars ; *Śritattvanidhi*, which gives stanzas on various deities culled from many sources ; *Daśaratha-nandana-charita*, the Rāmāyaṇa story told in the author's own words in 'Āryāvritta' ; *Grahaṇa-darpaṇa* (1842) which treats of 82 eclipses between 1841 to 1902 with diagrams ; *Sankhyāratnakōśa* (1856) and the *Chaturanga-sāra-sarvasva* (1856).

In his court there were many poets and authors, of whom the following may be noted :

Ramakrishna Sastri of Hassan was the author of the encyclopaedia *Bhuvanapradeepika* (1808). It deals with many subjects like creation, time, geography, astronomy, the purāṇas, the history of southern India and of Mysore, with many details of his patron.

Srīnivāsa Kavisārvabhauma wrote *Krishṇarāja-prabhāvōdaya* and *Krishṇa-nrīpa-jayōtkarsha-champu* dealing with the life of his patron. The 'champu' is a great poetic feat. With an alteration in the punctuation, the work becomes Sanskrit or Kannada. Ahobala Narasimha wrote *Abhinava-Kādambari* or *Trimurti-Kalyāṇa* (1795). This book was produced as a result of a challenge. It is in two parts and relates the adventures of his patron.

To the 18th century belongs Mallāri Ārādhyā who wrote his *Śivalinga-suryōdaya*, a play in five acts intended to establish the supremacy of the Veeraśaiva religion.

Tirumala Bukkapatnam Venkatachar, whose father Aṇṇayāchārya Dikshita was in the court of the Zamindar of Surapuram, wrote *Alankāra-kaustubha*. His brother's son, Surapuram Srīnivāsāchārya was the author of *Rasamanjari* and of the celebrated work *Tattvamārtāṇḍa*.

Udeyēndrapuram Anantāchārya of Mysore wrote, in 1817, a poem of great poetic skill, *Yādava-Raghava-Paṇḍāviya*, in which every verse is woven with the three stories of Krishna, Rama and the Pandavas. His daughter, Trivēṇī, was also an accomplished poetess. The poems, *Raṅgābhyudaya* and *Raṅganātha-sāhasra*, the lyric *Śukasandēśa*, the play *Raṅgavata-samudāya*, and the allegorical play *Tattva-mudra-bhadrōdaya* are some of her works.

In 1884, Chinchōḷi Venkaṇṇāchar published his *Ashṭādhyāpy-darpaṇa* which is an alphabetical sutra index to Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, indicating against each sutra, its corresponding position in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*.

Rājalingasūri, or Rajamallaya, was the author of *Mallikārjuna Panditārādhyacharita* (1884), dealing with the life of Mallikārjuna Pandita. The life of Pasava is also brought in as told by one of the disciples of the Pandita. The details of the doctrines of Veeraśaivism too find a place in the earlier part of the book. The special feature of the book is the absence of unnecessary descriptions.

Āryadharmā-prakāśika, a compendium of religion and philosophy, was published in 1890 by Maṇḍikal Rāmāśāstri. In 1914 appeared his important work, *Bhaimī-pariṇaya* or *Naḷavijaya*. The play in ten acts depicts the 'svayamvara' (marriage by open choice of the bride) of Damayanti. This play is written in simple and elegant Sanskrit and is not inferior to classical models. It is full of mellow experiences of human life and contains valuable teaching. In 1923, the same author wrote a short poem *Mēgha-pratisandēśa* with his own commentary. This is written as a supplement to Kālidāsa's famous *Mēghasandēśa*, which is its model. In the new text, the wife of the Yaksha sends her message to her beloved. The author tries to follow closely the style of Kālidāsa. His other works are the *Kumbhābhishēka-champū* and the *Kathāsaptati* (1924). The latter contains seventy stories written in very simple Sanskrit prose, inculcating morals and is very useful for beginners in Sanskrit.

Prākṛita-śabda-deepika (1890) is a Prākṛit grammar written by Narasimha Sastri of Kāṅkānahalli. The author follows the method of the Sanskrit grammarians in his treatment of Prākṛit but is interested more in giving the nominal inflectional forms of all types. He gives a list of some special words with their Sanskrit equivalents.

Sōsale Garalapuri Śāstri, wrote the Ramayana *Champū-Yuddhakāṇḍa* in 1891 on which Perisvami Tirumalāchār wrote a commentary. *Sri Krishṇabhūpāliya* (1931) is yet another composition of the author. It is an alankāra work. The definitions here are in the form of sūtras and the vṛiti is on the model of *Kuvala-yānanda*. Examples are devoted to the praise of the glory of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.

Nanjunḍa Dikshita, the Devanapuri āgamika, published his *Śaivāgamasāra* (1893), an elaborate āgama work dealing with 315 subjects.

Geetacharya's *Krishnarājyōdaya-champū* (1895), in seven chapters (laharis), is a work of some importance. The life history of Mummaḍi Krishnaraja Wodeyar is presented in an attractive style with charming descriptions of places and persons. It also gives some account of the royal family of Mysore beginning with the Yadu founders.

Mysore Seetarama Sastri is the author of several works in Sanskrit and Kannada. In Sanskrit, he published poems, *Sūktimanjari* (1929), *Krishṇōdānta-tarangīṇi* and others.

Sri Krishnabrahma-tantra-parakālaswāmi of Mysore was a versatile writer and nearly a hundred works have come out of his pen. In 1896, a masterly essay *Navyōpākarma-nirṇaya* was published. It deals in a clear manner with the problems connected with 'Upākarma'. In 1913, his exhaustive commentary,

Rasāsvādini on *Hamsasandēśa* of Vedantadēśika came out. His important work *Alankāra-Manihāra* (1917-1922) is an elaborate composition in the alankāra field. The special feature of this book is that the examples are the original compositions of the author himself and are all in praise of the Lord Śrīnivāsa. The views of some of his able predecessors, Jagannātha, Appayya Dīkshita and others have been discussed at relevant contexts. Among other works may be mentioned his poems, *Rangarājavilāsa*, *Nṛismha-vilāsa* and *Chapētahati-stuti*.

In 1898, Chamarajanagar Sreekanta Sastri wrote the *Dhāturūpa-prakāśika*, an exhaustive compilation of the conjugational and derivative forms of all the Sanskrit roots. He has also brought out a compilation of the roots of all 'gaṇas' and the treatise is in the form of stanzas easy to memorize. His *Yāmini-vinōdakathā* (1926) is the translation of *Arabian Nights*.

H. Subba Rao has translated into Sanskrit prose Herbert Spencer's work, *Education Vidyabhyāsa-paddhati* (1899), endeavouring to convey all that has been expounded by the original author in a simple style.

Sundaravalli, an accomplished poetess, wrote *Rāmāyana-champū* (1900), a beautiful poem in six cantos corresponding to the six kāṇḍas (books) of *Vālmiki Ramayana*.

Lakshmīpuram Śrīnivāsāchārya was a profound scholar and was the author of a good number of books on philosophy. In 1902, he published an essay, *Bhagavadgītā-prabandha-mimāṃsa*, wherein he discussed the views of all important schools of Indian philosophy or the *Geeta*. He wrote notes, *Mimāṃsabhāṣyābhūṣaṇa* (1928) following Kumārila, on the *Pūrvamimāṃsa-sūtras*. In 1933, another important work of his, *Darśanōdaya* came out, in which the author attempts at a reconciliation of the different philosophical theories and offers justification for the same. It gives also a comprehensive account of the different systems of Indian philosophy. The doctrinal discussions are summed up in a vivid and condensed form.

Kastūri Rangāchārya was a great scholar and the author of nearly thirty works. In 1896, he wrote a learned commentary, *Bhāva prakāśana* on the *Navyōpākarma-nirṇaya*. *Kāryādhikaraṇa-tattva* (1903) is a philosophical treatise on the problem of mōksha from the standpoint of Visiṣṭādvaita. A commentary on *Bhaṭṭa-dīpika* of Khaṇḍadēva and *Vachahsudhā-tattva* are among his other published works.

Chāmarājanagar Rama Sastri published with his own commentary a short but interesting poem, *Sitā-Rāvaṇa-samvādja-hāri* (1905) which relates the dialogue between Rāvaṇa and Sita in 108 verses. It shows mastery over the language and skill in handling it. By the manipulation of certain letters indicated in the final

pāda of the verses, a different meaning is made to emerge from out of the earlier three lines. In spite of the verbal jugglery of the work, one is kept fascinated throughout.

Kaḷale Venkatarangachar translated Goldsmith's *The Traveller* and Cowper's *On Receipt of My Mother's Picture* in his *Yātrika and Madambā-pratikṛiti* (1907). The poems are lucid and simple and are true to the original.

Rasika-jana-manōllāsini-sāra-sangraha-Bharata-Sāstram (1908) by Venkata-sundara Sāni is an interesting work. It is in three parts. The first part deals briefly with the definition of Kavi and Kāvya and the subject-matter of a Kāvya. The second takes up Nāṭaka, and deals with its varieties, the characteristics of heroes and heroines, and also touches on erotics. The third part is devoted to music and dance (nritya).

Yelandūr Sreekantha Sastri published *Jagadgurujaya-kāvya* (1914), a beautiful poem in four chapters (tarangas) dealing with the life and work of Sankaracharya.

Gauḍagere Venktaramanachar has maintained the Dvaita theory by writing a rejoinder, *Tātparyachandrika-prākāśa-prasāra* (1920) to *Madhvachandrikā-khaṇḍana* by Rāmasubba Sastri. He also repudiated the position of *Advaitadīpika* by his *Advaita-dīpika-vātāgama*.

Rajagopala Chakravarti's *Saivalini* and *Kumudini* are two romances in prose. The *Teerthāṭana*, a poem in four chapters, describes his pilgrimages round India. His original contribution is to be found in his *Kavi-kāvya-vichāra* (1927). This alankāra work combines in itself literary history and poetic criticism and incorporates the results of modern researches.

K. Vasudevacharya of Mysore struck a new path and entered into the realm of music composing many original keertanas in Sanskrit. His *Vāsudēva-keertana-manjari* (1929) bears ample testimony to his knowledge of musical science and skill as a musical composer.

Y. Subrahmanya Sarma's *Mulāvidyā-nirāsa* or *Sāṅkorahidaya* (1929) is a scholarly treatise in which an attempt is made to repudiate the acceptance of 'mūlāvidyā'.

Kalki Narasimha Bhagavan translated into lucid Sanskrit the *Tiruvaymōḷi* (the Tamil Prabandham) in his *Sahasra-gāthā-ratnāvali* (1930-34). He has translated the works of other Āḷvars also (1934).

Jaggu Āḷvār Iyengar (Jaggu Sri Vakulābhūshanam) is a poet of great merit. He has written some 27 works, plays, poems and romances. *Adbhutāṁśukam*

(1932) is a play in six acts, which purports to be the preliminary portion of *Vēṇisamhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. He follows the accepted tradition in writing the plays. *Jayantika*, written when he was twenty, is a romance of exquisite beauty, like the *Kādambari*. *Yaduvamśa-charita* is a prose work modelled on Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*.

Jaggu Venkatachar is a great scholar equally at home in poetry and philosophy. *Kaveri-mahimādārśa* and *Vyāghrataṭāka-bhuvivara-varṇana* (1933) are two fine descriptive short poems. The former is on the Krishnarājasagara Dam and the latter on the Hulikere Tunnel. *Rasagangādhara-marmaprakaśa* (1933) is a learned essay which points out and criticises the discrepancies in the commentary of Nagesabhaṭṭa on *Rasagangādhara*. Of a similar nature is *Kuvalayānanda-chandrikā-chakōra* (1943). The commentary of Vaidyanatha on *Kuvalayānanda* is subjected to a close scrutiny. Jagannātha's views are considered on relevant issues. It is a work of merit and refers to a number of advanced works in Alankara. *Alankāra-tattva* (1943), *Dravidōpanishatsāra-sangraha* and *Divya-prabandha-prāmaṇya-samarthana* are his other important works.

Kaṭṭemalavāḍi Venkatarama Avadhāni wrote *Yājushapūrva-prayōga-ratṛākara* (1934). Though this is intended as a hand-book for priests, it has academic interest also, as it quotes profusely from many authorities and discusses the issues bearing on rituals.

Narasimhārya of Koṭṭēśwara is the author of *Saudāmini*, a novel in eight chapters, describing the secret marriage of King Surasena of Magadha with Saudāmini, daughter of King Kāmapāla of Vidarbha. He has also written a prose *Bhārata-kathā* and other works.

Āpastambha-Dharmasūtra-manjari (1935) is a subject-wise rearrangement of the *Dharmasūtras* of Āpastambha by Sri R. N. Suryanarayana. Similarly, he has rearranged the stanzas of the *Bhagavad Geeta* under seven heads in his *Sampuṭikṛita-Bhagavadgīta* (1947).

C. Venkataramanaiah was a versatile scholar and has written many books. *Stutikusumānjali* (1936) is a collection of stōtras. *Umādarśa* (1937) is a small poem, being the translation of K. A. Krishnaswami Iyer's English poem 'Uma's Mirror'. *Karnala-vijaya-nāṭaka* (1938) is an adaptation in Sanskrit of Tennyson's 'The Cup'. This play is divided into scenes unlike others in Sanskrit and is not only cast in the dramatic mould but is full of poetic excellences and charm. *Sarvasamavṛitta-prabhāva* (1938) is a treatise on prosody. *Samskrita-vidyābhyudaya-champu* (1938) is a short poem tracing the progress of Sanskrit studies in Mysore from the times of Chikka-dēvarāya to 1920. His *Kāvyaśamudāya* (1944) is a collection of three original kāvyas and *Umādarśa* with the author's commentary. He has drawn upon the Vedic stories of Hariśchandra, of Viśvāmitra and of Nābhanēdiṣṭha as the themes

of his poems. *Jivasanjivinātaka* (1945) is a play in five acts. The plot is original and written to stress the usefulness of Āyurvēda. His poems bear the marks of a true poet, showing his admirable command over the language. He writes on elevating themes in a lucid and dignified diction. This author has also published *Sanātana-vijnāna-samudāya* (1944-46), a short compendium on various branches of sciences: Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Geology, Zoology and Physiology known to the ancient Aryans of India. Several scientific truths are expressed in simple Sanskrit. This being the first of its kind, it provides an interesting study of the use of Sanskrit terminology for the Sciences.

Dr. R. Shama Sastri of 'Arthaśāstra' fame, wrote a masterly and exhaustive commentary (1936) on *Vedānga-jyōtisha*, a work on Astronomy, wherein he discusses the views of both the classical and modern authorities and discusses many points at issue. He also translated into Sanskrit (1931-32) the play "Amelia-Galetti" of Lessing, a German poet.

Sri K. S. Nagarajan is a modern poet of a high order. *Stōtramuktāphala* (1946) is a compilation of his compositions. *Sitāsvayamvara* (1949), a mahākavya in sixteen cantos, gives evidence of his accomplishments. The language is flowing. It is artistic, simple and dignified.

The Journal of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore, was publishing scholarly essays, and works written by the Pandits of the College found a place therein. Of the works published in the Journal, the following deserve mention:

Sonādrivarṇana, a poem describing Kemmannugundi (1932), *Chetahprasāda* (1935), a poem on Kālātī Kumbhābhishēka, by Kukke Subrahmanya Sāstri of Shimoga, who is also the author of *Śrutidharma-Mimāmsa*, an essay on the 'Purushārthas'; *Atmanōmahima-tat-saktischa* (1932) and *Tantra-tattva-adhigamajijnāsa* (1940) by P. R. Sivasubrahmanya Sastri; *Bijāphala-vimarśa* (1933) and *Bhaumāntariksha-samsarga-nirūpaṇa* (1940), an interesting treatise on the relation of stars above and life on earth by Karūr Sēshācharya, a versatile scholar in Jyōtisha; *Yōgavāda* (1924) by Kāśī Pranēśacharya, a well-known scholar; *Rāmastava-ratnāvalī* (1935) by Kāśī Timmaṇṇacharya; *Krishnarāja-yasō-varṇana* (1936) by Srinivāsa Dēśikācharya; *Śrauta-prakāśika* (1939) by Nārāyanasvāmi Dikshita and *Dharmatattvadarpaṇa* (1939) by M. S. Venkatēśa Sastri, a well-known Vedānta scholar.

Perisvāmi Tirumalācharya's name deserves to be remembered for his easy primers in Sanskrit which did much for the propagation of Sanskrit during the last decades of the last century.

NORTH KARNATAKA:

During 19th century and the first half of twentieth century significant

contribution was made to Sanskrit literature both in the Sastras and general literature by scholars in the northern districts of Karnataka. Since this region was in the British province of Bombay during this period, state patronage for literary pursuits was practically unknown. With the establishment of modern educational institutions for English learning, much of the talent was attracted to these institutions. Therefore Sanskrit studies suffered a set-back. However, two factors helped the continuation of Sanskrit scholarship. Firstly, certain families were devoted to Sanskrit studies for generations and they continued their task even though a few in these families were also sent to modern educational institutions. Secondly, the rulers of small States such as Sangli, Miraj, Jamkhandi, Ramadurg, Sandur, Gadval etc., land-lords and religious heads encouraged Sanskrit scholarship by establishing Pāṭhashalas, arranging Vidvat-Sadas etc. As a result of these efforts a few outstanding scholars flourished during this period, and a few good works were written on different branches of Sanskrit learning.

In the field of Vedic studies, Purvamimansa and Dharma Sastra, mention may be made of *Chaturvēda Nityānhika Ratnamāla*, *Āpastambhasanskāra Ratnamāla*, *Āpastambha* and *Satyāshādha Srautasūtrabhāshyas* by Mahadeva Dixit Dandavati of Dharwar. These are all published. His commentaries on the Karmakanda portions of *Yajur-Veda*, explaining details of sacrifices, particularly, Sōmayāga, Chāturmāsya yāga, Sāvitrīchayana and Sautramaṇiyāga, still remain unpublished. *Pasvalambhamimānsā* by Nāgēśa Sāstri of Uppina-betigeri of Dharwar, is a re-statement of the arguments in support of offering animals in Vedic sacrifices. Apart from Jainas and some other non-Vedic schools opposing animal killing, the followers of Madhva also opposed it. This old controversy was revived by modern social reformers interpreting differently the Vedic quotations and pointing out the historical grounds of contacts with Pāśupata, Sākta and other sects. Therefore, Nāgēśa Sāstri found it necessary to re-state the position of those who supported animal offering. Nāgēśa Sāstri's Sanskrit introductions to *Pūrvamimānsadarśana*, *Darśapūrṇamāsa-prakaraṇa* etc., published in the Anandasrama Series reveal his deep scholarship in Pūrvamimānsa. He was a great scholar in Nyāya and Advaita Vedānta, and a reputed speaker in Sanskrit, Kannada and Marathi. But his Pūrvamimānsa works only are available. *Pishṭapaśumimānsa* by Vēdavyasāchārya Malagi also handles the same theme. Māhāmahōpādhyāya Vaidyanātha Sāstri has written a commentary on the Sabarabhashya (I-1) on the Jaimini Sūtras. Reddi Rangacharya's commentary on *Mimānsa-nyāyaprakāśa* of Apadeva gives a lucid explanation of many Pūrvamimānsa terms.

Dēvarāta Maharshi of Gōkarṇa has attempted to compose some hymns in Vedic metre and in Vedic Sanskrit. He has also introduced the accent system in his hymns. Kapāli Sāstri of Sirsi, who became a close disciple of Sri Aurobindo, has commented on the Rig-Veda in Sanskrit following the lines of Sri Aurobindo's interpretation. Tātācharya Panghri has commented upon the whole of the Rig-Veda following the method adopted by Sri Madhvāchārya in his Rigbhāshya. This

monumental work still remains unpublished. Chikkōḍi Bhagavanta Rao has commented upon one thousand hymns of the Rig-Veda in his work called *Brihati-sāhasra*.

Short treatises on Dharma Sastra such as *Gōtra-pravaradīpika* by Nagēsa, son of Lingabhaṭṭa *Prāyaścittamanjari* by Bāpubhaṭṭa Kēlkar, and *Smārta prāyaścitta* by Diwākar were written during this period. *Nibandha-chūḍamaṇi* by Tirumalāyya is a compilation of details on Dharma Sastra. Āyī Narahari has written a commentary on *Sadāchārasmṛiti* and *Chāturmāsya mīmāṃsa*.

Vedānta attracted considerable attention from scholars during this period. This interest mainly centred round the Dvaita-Advaita dialectics. Sriyāhpatyāchārya of Hulgi, a village near Koppal, encounters *Srutimatōdyōta* of Tryambaka Sāstri in his *Dvaitadyumaṇi*. He has three more works to his credit, i.e., *Sat-tattvapeṭikā Tarkatāṇḍavaṭippaṇi* and *Bhedōjjivanaṭippaṇi*. *Vākyārtha-ratnamāla* of Pāndurangi Narasimhāchārya of Māsūr, in Dharwar district, is a commentary on *Vākyārthachandrika* of Vidyādhīśa, which itself is a commentary on *Nyāyasudhā*. Vēdagarbha Padmanābhāchārya's *Madhvasiddhāntasāra* is analogous to *Yatindramatadīpika* of Ramanuja's system. Saṭāri Raghavendracharya of Gajendragadkar's family was a reputed scholar both in Vyākaraṇa and Vedānta. He has written commentaries on the *Geetā*, *Svētāśvatara Upanishad* and *Vishṇusahasranāma*. *Pramāṇa Sangraha* by Pāndurangi Srīnivāsāchārya is a short summary of *Pramāṇapaddhati*, while *Sūtrapramēyāvali* by Pāndurangi Huchchāchārya of Tirupati is a conspectus of the *Brahma Sūtras* in verses. *Adhikaraṇārthasangraha* by Kallāpur Aṇṇayāchārya, *Srutyartharatnamāla* by Toṇaśi Srīnivasa, *Srutyarthaprakāśa* by Rāmakiishna. *Sūtrrayuktisangraha* by Kolaryasishya are some of the works intended to aid the study of the *Brahma Sūtras*.

Perhaps, the greatest Vedānta scholar of the first half of the 20th century was Satyādhyāna Teertha. He was a master of all the three schools of Vedānta and a deep scholar in Nyāya. He conducted Vidwat-Sadas (assemblies of scholars) in all parts of the country and encouraged philosophical discussions. He wrote in Sanskrit as well as other Indian languages, i.e., Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, and Marathi. His *Chandrikā-maṇḍana* is a reply to Ramasubba Sāstri's *Chandrikā Khaṇḍana*. *Gitāvimarśa*, *Brahmasūtravimarsa* and *Advaitabhṛanti-prakāśa* are his other works. His *Sabhasārasangraha* contains a series of literature on the *Geeta*. He gave an exposition of Vedāntic doctrines following the procedure adopted in a civil court for presenting the evidence and for cross examination. His two close disciples, Pāndurangi Krishnāchārya and Varakhēḍi Narasimhāchārya also wrote replies to the criticisms of *Chandrikā* by Ramasubba Sāstri. This Dvaita-Advaita scholastic controversy was kept alive by Anantakrishṇa Sāstri by his *Advaitatattvasudhā*. This resulted in a re-statement of all the issues involved and a fresh refutation in *Sudhāmaṇḍana*.

by Satyapramōda Teertha. *Sudhāmaṇḍana* is one of the great scholastic works of our times. *Sudhātattvasamīkṣha* by Vidyāmānya Teertha deals with the same subject in a categorical way.

Bhagavanta Rao of Chikkōḍi and Krishnāvadhūta Pandit are two other writers of this period. Bhagavanta Rao's commentary on the *Brahm Sūtras*, viz., *Bhāvaprādīpa* was published at Belgaum. He has also written commentaries on *Tattvasamkhyāna* and the *Bhagavata*. Krishnāvadhūta Pandita of Hospet was a versatile scholar. His *Sūtrarthāmṛitalahari* was published by the Madras University and *Advaitanavanītam* by the Karnataka University. *Viśiṣṭādvaitanavanītam* *Madhva-tattva Sūtrāṇi* and *Madhvamata-sarvasvam* are his other works on Vedānta.

Though high proficiency was achieved in Nyāya, not many works were written on this system. However, one or two outstanding works and a few minor works written during this period, may be noted. *Naukā*, a commentary by Virūpākṣha Sāstri Hāṅgal on *Kūlya* of Nṛsimhabhārati Swamiji of Srīngēri Maṭha which itself was a commentary on *Kōṭi* of Kuṇigal Rāmā Sāstri, is an outstanding Nyāya work. In this trinity of higher logic, advanced parishkāras of certain Nyāya definitions are made. *Krōḍapatras* (supplements) on *Krishnabhāṭṭi* by Uppina Betigeri Krishna Sāstri of Dharwar are also of a very high order. *Tarkanavanītam* *Padārthasāgara* and *Tarkasamgraha-vyākhyā vivṛiti* by Krishnāvadhūta Pandita of Hospet are elementary but very useful works on Nyāya. *Prāchīna-nyāyasāra* of Pāṇḍurangi Venkataramaṇāchārya of Chikkērūr is a rare work on the Prāchīna School of Nyāya giving a summary of the views of Udayana and other earlier writers. *Nyāyakōśa* by Zalkikar Bhīmasena of Bijapur is a compilation of definitions and explanatory phrases of Nyāya. It is a very useful reference work and has been a model for *Mīmāṃsakōśa*, *Dharmakōśa* etc., compiled later.

The studies in Vyākaraṇa and Alankāra also kept pace with the studies in other branches. Raghavendracharya Saṭhāri of Gajendragadkar family has written commentaries on *Paribhāṣhēnduśēkhara* (Tripathaga), *Śabdēndu-Śēkhara* and *Sabdaratna* (Prabhā). Kundalagiri's *Bhāṭṭojikuṭṭaṇa* is an answer to Bhāṭṭoji Dīkṣita's criticism of certain usages of Madhva. *Sulabhasādhya-vyākaraṇa* by Krishnāvadhūta Pandita is a text-book of grammar for beginners. Zalkikar's commentary on *Kāvyaṇṇaprakāśa* is a monumental work on Alankāra during this period. The points from about forty earlier commentaries on *Kāvyaṇṇaprakāśa* are brought together and a good many fresh points are also made in this voluminous work. *Nauka* by Ātmā Sāstri Jāḍe of Sankēśwar is a commentary on *Rasatarangīṇi*. *Kāvyaṇṇalakṣhaṇa-Sangraha*, *Sārasvatāṇṇalankāra-Sūtra* and *Bhāṣhya* are the works on Alankāra by Krishnāvadhūta Pandita of Hospet. Reddi Rangacharya's commentary on *Kāvyaṇṇadarśa* of Daṇḍin is a lucid explanation of the text with a critical outlook. *Alankāra mauktikamāla* is a biography of Satyasandha, each stanza containing an alankāra.

In the field of general literature also some good works are found. *Sarojini* is a beautiful Sanskrit novel by Navalgund Tammaṇa Sāstri of Dharwar. *Dēvi Vasanī*

is also a charming novel by Ramacharya Galagali. *Madhvilāsa Champu* is another by an anonymous writer. *Krishnavilāsa* by Sēsha Dīkṣita, *Indirābhyudaya* by Raghavacharya, *Mukundavilāsa* by Raghuttama, *Lingalilāvilāsa Charita* by Mahalinga, *Vardhamāna Charita* and *Draupadyutpatti* by an anonymous poet are notable poems. *Satyanidhivilāsa* by Srinivasa and *Satyadhyāna Vijaya* by Kēśava are biographical poems. *Guruchandra Kālodaya* is a drama depicting the life of Satyadharma. *Kākadūtam* is a khaṇḍakāvya by Sahasrabuddhe of Dharwar on the lines of *Mēghadūta*. *Vividhapadyāvali* is a collection of poems by Kāvyananda (Punekar) of Dharwar. His son's collection of poems is a collection of humorous stanzas composed at different times. The poems of Galagali Rāmāchārya, Burli Srinivāsāchārya and Galagali Paṇḍharināthāchārya are scattered over the issues of 'Madhuravāṇi'. 'Saiśavam' is a collection of poems on different topics by K. T. Pandurangi. His *Sarvajnavachanāni* is a rendering of about a hundred of Sarvajna's Kannada stanzas into Sanskrit. Similarly, his *Purandaravāṇi* is a collection of a hundred quotable lines from Purandara's songs reflecting his philosophy and mystic experiences. *Nabhōvāṇi rūpakāni* is a collection of Sanskrit Radio plays by the same author. This contains *Tapahphalam*, *Sitātyāga* etc., four Radio plays. Sali Ramachandra Rao's *Sudāmā Charitam* is a sweet poem in five cantos. His *Abhisārika* is a laghu kāvya. His *Vachana Rāmāyaṇa* is a simple prose summary of Vālmiki *Ramayana* mostly in Vālmiki's own language. *Tilakacharitam* and *Dēśabhaktacharitam* are prose biographies by Paṇḍharināthāchārya of Galagali.

Apart from these conventional forms of Sanskrit writing, this part of Karnataka played a leading role in Sanskrit journalism. 'Sanskrita Chandrika', a leading monthly in Sanskrit, though started from Kolhapur had its contributors mainly from this part of Karnataka. This journal was known for its charming Sanskrit prose, sweet poems and forceful critical articles. 'Sunritavāḍini' was also run by the same editor. After 'Sanskrita Chandrika', 'Madhuravāṇi', started at Belgaum by Galagali Ramacharya and Burli Srinivasacharya, took the field. 'Madhuravāṇi' attracted contributors and readers from all over India and a few articles from abroad also. 'Amara Bhāratī', though issued from Banares, had as its editor Varakhēḍi Naraśimhāchārya and many contributors were from Karnataka. The 'samasyapūraṇas' of both 'Madhuravāṇi' and 'Amara Bhāratī' were very popular with the Sanskrit readers of those days all over India.

South KANARA :

Sanskrit authors of the South Kanara District were chiefly inspired by religious and philosophical themes pertaining to Vedānta and Jainism, of which Udupi and Mūḍabidri were radiating centres. Udupi emerged as a prominent seat of Vedāntic learning and Vaiṣṇavism, soon after the great Madhvāchārya established his Dvaita School of Vedānta about the middle of the thirteenth century. Mūḍabidri has been a well-known centre of Jainism for many centuries.

These two places played a great role in the creation and cultivation of Sanskrit literature throughout the district.

With the advent of English education, the study of oriental languages suffered neglect, and the prospects for Sanskrit learners became gloomy. The glamour of the English language and the western mode of life made people look down on their own native tongues and indigenous literatures—a malady from which we have not yet fully recovered.

Notwithstanding this general reaction to Sanskrit language, there were scholars in the district who rendered yeoman service to the cause of Sanskrit literature, and kept the torch of Sanskrit scholarship burning bright during the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the second half of the 18th century, there lived a great scholar in Udupi, Viśvapati Teertha by name, a Pontiff of the Pejāvar Maṭha. He is much-remembered by the students of Madhva philosophy, because of his valuable commentaries on important works such as *Dvādaśa Stōtra* of Madhvācharya, *Vāyu Stuti* of Trivikrama Panditāchārya, *Sangraha Rāmāyana* and *Madhva Vijaya* of Nārāyaṇa Panditāchārya. His commentaries are still unsurpassed, and are considered almost on a par with the works of the master-commentators belonging to the Dvaita School. Besides these commentaries, Viśvapati Teertha is believed to have composed a few stōtras of his own.

Early in the 19th century (1802 A. D.), Sri Vibudhavarya Teertha of Sōde Maṭha, Udupi wrote an epic entitled *Subhabrāharaṇa*, on which Pandit Laxminārāyanāchārya (1836–1914), also from Udupi, brought out a gloss. Kāsi Timmaṇṇācharya, an outsider staying at Udupi, wrote a new commentary on *Nyāya Sudhā* of Jaya Teertha (*Kāsika*), besides several other commentaries, which bear ample testimony to his unmistakable scholarship in Vedāntic lore.

Elattūr Krishnāchārya, also an outsider staying at Udupi, was a widely admired figure among the scholars of the 19th century. He was a gifted scholar of the 19th century. He was a gifted scholar in Nyāya and Vēdānta. He wrote a commentary on *Tarka Sangraha*, which is popularly known as *Kāmākshi Vyākhyāna*.

Shaṭpurācharya, whose proper name is not known, wrote a biography of Sri Vādirāja Teertha during the 19th century. The name of this author suggests that he should have belonged to a village called 'Ārūr', situated six miles north of Udupi. Beḷḷāḷ Nārāyaṇāchārya of Ambalapāḍi (near Udupi) wrote a detailed commentary on *Sadāchārasmṛiti* of Madhvāchārya, at about the same time. His work is considered an authority.

The 19th century was, perhaps, a very dull period for Sanskrit. The Sanskrit educationist was constrained to feel apologetic, and never assertive in advocating the cause of Sanskrit education. To this general trend, Pandita Ramā Bai of Kārkala (1832 A. D.) was a notable exception. She acquired international fame having become a Christian. Even as a girl of twelve, she undertook a tour through northern India, delivering lectures on behalf of Sanskrit education particularly for women. The young girl's dialactic, and spell-binding speeches attracted the whole world. She went to western countries, and established a Vidhavāśrama at Bombay. Her enterprise and activities for the cause of Sanskrit learning are indeed unique.

Smt. Kamala Bai, another woman scholar of the 20th century, from Udyāvar (near Udupi) wrote a thesis on Kalidāsa and his works. (*Kālidāsaḥ Tatkritischa.*)

Krishna Kavi, the author of *Mandra-Maranda Chompu* is also a writer, believed to have belonged to South Kanara, But his time and place are not yet known. *Mandara Maranda Champu* is a scholarly work on poetics (Lakṣhaṇa Sāstra), dealing incidentally with the life-history of Madhvācharya. Its author, Krishna Kavi, mentions Guhapura as his native place (*Guhapurānilayēno*). It is likely that this Guhapura is none other than Subrahmaṇya, the great centre of pilgrimage in the district.

The 20th century, witnessed a new revival of Sanskrit learning in the district, as a result of national awakening, and a more organized effort at the dissemination of Sanskrit literature with the aid of the printing press. It is noteworthy that in spite of the rapid decline in the traditional modes of Sanskrit teaching, South Kanara has contributed quite a few examples of creative writing in Sanskrit during the last sixty years.

The late Srīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa of Biliyāru, who worked as Sahitya Prādhyaṇika at S. M. S. P. Sanskrit College of Udupi in the first half of this century, was gifted with poetic talents. He is the author of many poems and a few dramas, such as *Rāmānandam*.

Ālevūr Sitarāmāchārya, who also served as a Prādhyaṇika at the S.M.S.P. Sanskrit College of Udupi, is an eminent scholar in grammar. Being gifted with a lucid style in Sanskrit he has writteḥ some 'laghu kāvyas', a few dramas such as *Bhaishmī Pariṇayam* and a gloss on *Daśāvtārastuti* of Vādirāja Teertha.

Padamannūr Nārāyaṇāchārya, Tarka Kēsari, Nyāya Vēdānta Vāchaspati, is a great scholar both in Nyāya and Vēdānta. He served as Vice-Principal, and Professor of Vedānta from 1915 to 1960 at the S. M. S. P. Sanskrit College, Udupi and taught most of the contemporary Swamis of the Udupi Maṭhas. He wrote *Sangarahārtha-sangraha*, a commentary on *Tarka Sangraha* of Aṇṇambhaṭṭa. His

other philosophic works are *Nyāyāmritakūṭya*, a summary of *Nyāyāmṛita* of Vyāsa Teertha and a commentary on *Sannyāya Ratnāvalī* of Vādirāja Teertha.

Subraya Purāṇika, Professor of Vedānta at the S. M. S. P. Sanskrit College of Udupi, is the author of a Vedantic thesis entitled, *Isvara-Mīmāṃsa*, written in the nineteen-thirties.

The name of late K. L. V. Sastri, Mahāmahōpādhyāya and Sāhitya Bhūṣhaṇa, is well-known to all students of Sanskrit in the Madras State. He was born at Koluvebail, near Mangalore, and later settled in Madras, where he worked as Senior Pandit at the Presidency College. He passed away in 1963. Sri Sastri has done much constructive work in writing useful text-books such as *Prathama Pāṭhāvalī*, and *Dvitiya Pāṭhāvalī*, for beginners in Sanskrit. Being gifted with poetic talents, he has also written a few kāvyas such as *Madhvānanda Lahari*, and dramas like *Vidyunmāla*. Among his works are *Pūrṇaprajna-nāṭakam* and *Kālidāsiya Nāṭaka Kathā Sangraha*.

The present Swami of the Srī Bhandārkēri Maṭha, Bārkur (13 miles from Udupi), Srī Vidyāmānya Teertha is the author of a work entitled *Advaita Tattva-sudhā Samiksha*, which is a polemical reply to *Advaita Tattva Sudhā* written by Sri Anantakrishna Sastri, an eminent Advaitic scholar. Srī Swāmiji has also translated some Dvaita texts into Kannada.

The late Nārāyaṇa Ballaḷ of Ambalpāḍi (near Udupi) was the author of a discussion on Dharma Sāstra, entitled *Āśauchaśiddhānta Sārasangraha*.

The Jaina Maṭhas in Mūdabidri and Kārkala have rendered great service in patronizing Sanskrit scholars and in fostering the Sanskrit language as part of their endeavours at exposition and interpretation of Jaina texts.

Sāntirāja Sāstri of Kārkala, has translated a few Jaina texts such as *Mahāpurāṇam* into Kannada. Being an authority on Jainism, he was honoured by the then Maharaja of Mysore as Āsthāna Vidvān.

Lōkanātha Sāstri of Mūdabidri, a contemporary of Sāntarāja Sāstri, has translated *Jinastavas* into Kannada.

The late Chinamma of Kārkala was the authoress of a few translations from Hindi into Sanskrit. She is the only woman of the district, so far known among the Jains, to have written in Sanskrit.

Pandit Bhujabali Sāstri (Vidyābhūṣhaṇa) of Mūdabidri is an authority on Jainism in this part of the country. Srī Sāstri is the author of several works in Sanskrit, Hindi and Kannada. Apart from his rendering into Hindi of Sanskrit works like *Bhujabali Charitam* and *Munisuvrata-kāvyam*, Srī Sāstri has also written some original Sanskrit poems like *Sānti Śringāra Vilāsam*.

Kārkala and Mūḍabidri are native towns of several Jaina scholars, who are now found in different parts of the country, working for the cause of Sanskrit in some capacity or other, among whom may be mentioned. Subbayya Sāstri, working as Sanskrit Pandit at the Chamarajendra Sanskrit Maha Pathasala, Bangalore.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of Sanskrit scholars and authors of the district. Presumably, there were, and still are, in various parts of the district, authors whose names have not got publicity through the press.

THE KANNADA STAGE

(MODERN PERIOD)

The earliest available Kannada play is 'Mitravinda Govinda' written in the last quarter of the 17th century by Narasingārya, a pandit in the court of King Chikkadevaraja of Mysore. The play was, in fact, a Kannada rendering of the Sanskrit play 'Ratnāvalī' of Sri Harsha. No play of an earlier date has yet been discovered, but, then, it would not be correct to surmise that the Kannada country had no drama of its own before the 17th century. Recent researches have established that there was a tradition of stage entertainment in the Kannada country even from the 10th century A.D. 'Nātaka', the Kannada equivalent of the word 'Drama', occurs very frequently in our ancient classics. There are also frequent references to 'nātaka sāle' (theatre) both in ancient Kannada literature and in epigraphs. The earliest available epigraph which bears a reference to 'nātaka sāle' is on a stone slab dated 1045 A.D. It stands weather-beaten to this day at Mulugunda, a village 9 miles west of Dharwar.

Scholars now agree that in the Kannada country there was a kind of drama (nātaka) from ancient times and that it grew in two branches, one nourished by the royal courts and providing entertainment to the educated classes; the other born out of the soil and flourishing on the support of the people. The latter is believed to have been much older than the court theatre and was probably a type of performance which was a mixture of both music and the spoken word. But the 'nātaka' of the court was more a theme-dance like the 'Kathakali' than

a drama with dialogues. This inference is supported by the definition of the word 'nāṭaka' by Abhinava Mangarāja, a lexicographer of the 14th century A.D., and also by the description of the term by ancient poets like Adi Pampa, Kavi Kāmadēva and Ratnākaravarṇi. In addition to the theme dances, however, well-known Sanskrit plays and, in some cases, Kannada renderings of Sanskrit plays were also brought on the court stage. It is thus an established fact that the Kannada country had its stage at least from the 10th century A.D.

Antiquity is not the only glory of the Kannada stage, though it claims to be perhaps older than any other regional theatre in this country. Our Folk Theatre which has attracted western attention provides a varied fare with its colourful Yakshagāna, Bhāgavatara-āṭa, Doḍḍāṭa, and Saṇṇāṭa. Our commercial stage is about 75 years old now, but in this short period it has brought to light eminent play-wrights like Bnsavappa Sastri ('Abhinava Kalidasa'), Kerur Vasudevāchār, Narayana Rao Huilgol, Garud and B. Puttaswamiah. It produced scores of talented stage artists, a great galaxy that included A. V. Varadachar, Md. Peer, Handiganur and Hirannayya. It has had effective producers like Shirahatti Venkobarao and G. H. Veeranna. Many well-equipped troupes with bands of talented artists frequently went round the country and created a taste for dramas not only in Karnataka but in the whole of South India.

To say that early dramatic literature in Kannada came from other languages like Sanskrit and English, is not to under-value the original contributions of Sānta Kavi (Sakkari Balāchārya), Srinivāsa Kavi (Venkannacharya Agalagatti), Veerappa Sāstri, Rājākavi Srinivasa Iyengar and others. By 1921, Bellāve Narahari Sāstri had, in the words of E. P. Rice, become, 'one of the most prolific dramatic authors'. Narayana Rao Huilgol and Garud had written even social plays for the stage and Kundgol Hanumanta Rao joined them later. The early plays dealt with different themes mostly drawn from ancient romantic lore, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavata*.

Later, beginning with the third decade of the present century, lives of saint poets like Tukaram, Kabir and 'Sarana Basava' (by Garud), 'Hēmaredḍi Mallamma' (by Bellave) and 'Akka Mahadevi' (by B. Puttuswamiah) came to be presented on the stage. In the new atmosphere of resurgent nationalism came the plays dealing with the lives of our heroes and heroines like Echchama Nayaka, Tipu Sultan, Nargund Baba Sahib and Kittur Chennamma. Occasionally, even a social play like 'Sikshaṇa Sambhrama' or 'Samsāra Nauka' crept in. But the stage looked too much overloaded with gods and goddesses, demons and witches. The language of the plays was heavy, pedantic and artificial. The presentation was crude with excessive settings and gaudy costumes. Pantomime was substituted for acting. Stage music ran riot, except when handled by a genius like Varadachar. The shows were far too lengthy and slow-moving, for they had to span the period from dusk to dawn.

This caused a natural reaction among the newly educated intelligentsia, who demanded the intellectual play and a rational presentation. There was a move to get away entirely from the fashions set by the commercial stage and to put something better in its place. Iconoclastic play-wrights like Kailasam in Mysore, Sriranga in North Karnataka and Karanth in South Kanara ushered in the period of revolt in the twenties of this century.

A new type of dramatic literature with its new technique of drama emerged. Tastes had changed and the amateur stage entered the field. This inevitably had its effect on the professional, who had to make hurried compromises by changing his themes and manner of presentation. The Halageri Company had already switched over to the social play. Garud's plays like 'Paśchāttāpa' and 'Satya Sankalpa', though historical in setting, were social in spirit and implication. The celebrated Mohammad Peer held the stage with Simha's social play 'Samsāra Nauka'. Later, K. Hirannayya triumphed with his great satires like 'Dēvadāsi' and 'Makamal Tōpi'. Even the Gubbi company, which had found its greatest glory in mythological themes, took to staging social plays like 'Nishāmahime' 'Sāhukāra' and 'Kālachakra'.

The amateur stage continued to gain strength. Its aim was now to see that the theatre did not remain a mere entertainer. Its role was to teach as well and to combat social evils like blind faith, illiteracy, casteism, unequal marriage, the dowry-system, drunkenness and the like.

The new drama developed and flowed in diverse channels. The legendary play, verse-play, the musical phantasy and the opera followed. Later, the discussion play, the impromptu-play and the radio play came into the field. Though mythological and historical themes were touched upon now and then, this period marked the predominance of social themes which started with Narayan Rao Huilgol in North Karnataka and Kailasam in Mysore. Kailasam Sriranga and Karanth, the talented trio, that led the revolt, wrote fearlessly and ceaselessly for three decades using the sharp weapons of irony and satire. Karanth remained a great experimenter in themes, mostly dealing with middle class life ripping open the social organism, and laying bare all pretension and hypocrisy. A. N. Krishna Rao brought in his scalpel too. A touch of high individual brilliance was given by D. R. Bendre with his biting satire in plays like 'Uddhāra' and 'Sāyō Aṭa'. V. K. Gokak gave a glimpse of his pointed humour in his 'Vimarśaka Vaidya', but turned to more purposeful ideological plays like 'Jananāyaka' and 'Yugāntara'. Senior writers like R. S. Mugali, Krishna Kumar Kallur, L. J. Bendre and N. K. Kulkarni added a good deal of variety to the social drama of North Karnataka. The Kailasam tradition was brilliantly continued by the ever original G.P. Rajaratnam and was kept up by 'Parvatavāṇi'. 'Ksheerasāgara' and Kaiwara Raja Rao gave interesting domestic pictures. One-act plays came into their own. A host of writers old and young including

K. T. Puranik, M. N. Babu, Kumara Venkanna, K. Gundanna, Sadasivaiah and Dāsarathi Dixit contributed to the bulk of the new dramatic literature.

Thus Kannada dramatic literature came to be substantial in volume because of its social drama, but, surely, it would have suffered in substance and variety but for the blank-verse drama built to such a grand eminence by K. V. Puttappa and his senior contemporaries like B. M. Srikantiah, Māsti Venkatesa Iyengar, D. V. Gundappa and M. R. Srinivasamurthy. The historical plays of 'Samsa', that strange genius 'who possessed a Shakespearean apprehension of character, plot and atmosphere', the grand operas of P. T. Narasimhachar and also of Keertinath Kurtkoti, the striking folk plays of Ajjampur, the adaptations of Matthew Arnold, Moliere, Ibsen and Shakespeare by V. Sitaramiah, A. N. Murthy Rao, S. G. Sastry and 'Parvatavāṇi', the impromptu plays given by N. Kasturi and his gifted companions, the comic opera, shadow-plays and mimes fashioned by Karanth, the dramatic monologues of Kaujalgi Hanumantha Rao, 'Ksheerasagara' and Krishna Kumar, the radio plays of Sivaswamy, Ranganath, 'Chaduranga', 'Beechi', Betageri and Ramachandra Sarma and the children's plays by Puttappa, Hoysala and others have all helped to make the contemporary drama what it is. L. J. Bendre, V. M. Ināmdar, G. G. Hegde and 'Parvatavāṇi', hold out promise of becoming Kannada's major playwrights.

The eventful career of such a theatre could not but shed its influence on the theatres of neighbouring regions. The Kannada stage did bring considerable influence to bear upon the theatres of Maharashtra, Andhra and Tamilnad.

Critics like A. V. Kulkarni, Dr. Yajnik, V. P. Dandekar and Mama Warerkar of Maharashtra have acknowledged that the Marathi commercial stage was the outcome of the influence of the Kannada Folk Theatre. The Marathi 'Tamāsha' is nothing but a version of the earlier Kannada Dāsarāṭa. The Yakshagāna troupe of Kirki (North Kanara District) which visited Sangli in 1842 on the invitation of its chief, Srimant Appa Sahib Patwardhan, impressed the Raja so much that he considered it desirable to produce Marathi plays on the lines of the Kannada Yakshagāna. He instructed his gifted clerk, Vishnupant Bhāve, to write plays in Marathi on the lines of Yakshagāna. 'Seeta Swayamvara' was the first play thus written in 1845 by Bhāve. Encouraged by its success, Bhāve, wrote many more plays in Marathi. He also organized the famed Sanglikar Dramatic groups and inaugurated the career of the Marathi commercial stage.

The first translation of Kālidāsa's 'Sākuntala' in Kannada by Turamuri Seshagiri Rao is said to have inspired the Marathi translation of the same play by Anna Saheb Kirloskar. Both Turamuri and Kirloskar belonged to the same

village, Gurlhosur (Belgaum District), and had continued to be friends. Turamuri's translation was done in 1869, but he neither published nor staged the play immediately. About a decade later, Kirloskar brought out his Marathi translation of 'Sākuntala' and staged it immediately. A comparison of the two versions reveal the influence of Turamuri on Kirloskar. Many a Kannada folk-tune, jāvaḷi and Dāsarapada contributed to mould the music of the early Marathi stage. In later years, the troupes of Sanglikar, Kirloskar and Bala Gandharva paid frequent visits to the Kannada area in North Karnataka and earned both money and fame. Garud Sadasiva Rao of Gadag went out to important towns in Maharashtra and staged his plays.

Scholars like Dr. C. Narayana Rao of Andhra have had no hesitation in admitting the influence of the Kannada stage on the theatre of Andhra. He mentions that the first professional troupe which visited Andhra came from Dharwar in 1884. It staged impressive plays in the capitals of Andhra. Influenced by these performances, D. Krishnamacharlu, 'the Grandfather of Telugu Drama', wrote his first play 'Swapna Aniruddha', in Kannada. His friends, he says, were of the firm opinion that Kannada was the language for writing dramas. In later years, the Kannada and Telugu dramatic troupes freely visited the two linguistic regions and staged plays. T. Raghavachari of Andhra, a nephew of D. Krishnamacharlu, became a great luminary on the Kannada stage. Sthānam Narasimha Rao also earned great popularity here. The well-known Ratnavali troupes of Varadachar, and the Chandrakala troupe of Md. Peer and the Gubbi Company of G. H. Veeranna staged plays in many centres of Andhra. Andhra made a significant gesture of good-will to the Kannada stage in honouring G. H. Veeranna with the title 'Karnatakāndhra Nāṭaka Sārvabhauma'. N. Srikanta Sastri translated most of the important Telugu plays into Kannada.

The Kannada stage brought its influence to bear upon the theatre of Tamilnad also. D. Krishnamacharlu, who had been greatly influenced by the Kannada plays, started the famed 'Sarasa Vinodini Sabha' and made an extensive tour of Tamilnad. The Palace Company of Mysore also paid visits to important towns here. Gōvindaswāmi Raja, the first playwright of the Tamil stage, had lived in Karnataka and drawn inspiration from the Kannada and Telugu plays that he had witnessed. In later years, the Tamil troupes of Gnānāmbāl, Rājamānikkam Pillai and Gōvindaswāmi Naickar paid visits to important towns in Karnataka. The great Varadachar made Madras his second home. He, and later, Veeranna, made frequent appearances in Erode, Madras, Coimbatore, Tiruchi and Madurai. In 1917, under the presidentship of Annie Besant, Tamilnad honoured Varadachar, the Kannada veteran actor, with the title 'Nāṭaka Sīrōmaṇi'. Varadachar proudly bore this title on his breast till the end of his days.

Thus the Kannada stage has a rich and eventful past and has left its imprint on the stage of neighbouring provinces. But the outside world still knows

little about it. Quite a few books have now been written in English on the Indian stage. But one finds little mention of the Kannada stage in them. Dr. Yajnik, in his thought-provoking *Indian Theatre*, recognized the Kannada stage and its influence on the Marathi theatre, but even he thought that the Kannada stage was only in the erstwhile Mysore State and, that too, as a part of 'the Madras theatre'.

KARNATAKA MUSIC

(MODERN PERIOD)

The Haridāsas, noted for spreading the cult of devotion (Bhakti) down the centuries, kept up the tradition of Karnataka music through fascinating musical compositions during the 18th and 19th centuries. Their compositions provided definite new norms to the enrichment of Karnataka music and inspired composers who followed one another in unbroken succession. Of such composers, mention has to be made of the following celebrities, each one of them having an individuality of his own in the compositions, so far as their musical value was concerned. The following list is by no means exhaustive. There were other devotees whose compositions are not numerically so large, but they were by no means inferior in quality. They have passed into oblivion except for one or other of their memorable compositions which have come to light recently. Vijayadāsa, Gōpāladāsa, Jagannāthadāsa, Prasanna Venkaṭadāsa and Mōhanadāsa are some of the luminaries blazing the trail of the Haridāsa tradition and noted for their prolific composition of devotional songs during the 18th and the early part of the 19th centuries. Their compositions are rich with varieties of melody, including the distinct patterns of sulādis, ugābhōga philosophical songs, suvālī etc. Prasanna Venkaṭadāsa, a contemporary of the famous Vijayadāsa (18th century) belonged to Bagalkot and wrote the Kannada *Bhāgavata*, and *Jōguḷapada* (cradle-rocking songs). He made a notable contribution to Karnataka music by the characteristic lyrical style of his compositions. Equally noted for their facile expression are the compositions by the brother of Vijayadāsa who wrote with the *nom-de-plume*, Hayavadana Viṭhala. He is believed to have lived for seventy-five years from 1783 to 1858.

Sri Ānandadāsa of Surapura is said to be the contemporary of Sri Mummaḍi

Krishnarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore and is known to have visited the latter's court. He was as proficient in literature, logic and philosophy as in music. First he learnt Hindustani music, and later, took to Karnataka music in which he has composed his songs which have earned a distinctive title known as the 'Surapura style'. It is also authentically stated that he expressed his belief that Karnataka music is the only one that is favoured even by the gods. One can observe a happy blending of musical lilt and literary excellence in his compositions.

Mahīpati Kākhandiki, a native of Bagalkot, and Aṇṇāvadhuta, a scholar both in Urdu and Kannada, who was giving puranic discourses in both the languages, have made valuable contributions in handing down a rich heritage to posterity with their own exquisite and simple patterns. They were great mystics, and men of great spiritual realization. R. D. Ranade, the author of *Pathway to God in Kannada Literature*, speaks highly of Mahīpati's contribution and says he was 'a minister in the court three centuries ago.' (p. 70) His son Krishnarāya also has composed many songs.

A detailed assessment and evaluation of the originality of numerous composers would require a volume to do them justice. It would be sufficient for our purpose merely to mention the important names of the Haridāsas belonging to the period from the middle of the 18th to the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

Venkaṭaviṭhala, Vaikunṭha Kēśava, Achyuta Viṭhala, Vāsudēvaviṭhala, Kamalēśaviṭhala, Bhemēśaviṭhala, Janārdanaviṭhala, Sripativiṭhala, Raghunāthaviṭhala, Prānēśaviṭhala, Sridaviṭhala, Prasanna Venkaṭapati, Ananthādriśa, Abhinava Janārdanaviṭhala, Achalānandaviṭhala and Venkaṭēśvara are the names, or *nom-de-plumes*, that have illuminated the great tradition of Karnataka music during this period. Some of these compositions are full of didactical content and retain musical classicism in using both popular and rare ragas.

Vidyākānta, the sixteenth in succession from Śrī Vyāsarāya, distinguished himself by adding to the treasure of devotional songs (dēvaranāmas) in a facile and expressive style.

The family in Mangalore known as 'Tupāki' has enriched the tradition through the composition of its illustrious scions namely, Venkaṭaramaṇāchārya, Subbaṇṇāchārya and Rāmācharya. Of these, Śrī Tupāki Venkaṭaramaṇāchārya, who was a Munsif, devoted his later days to composing songs in a simple style full of direct appeal. Guru Rāmaviṭhala, the blind Haridāsa of Bāgēpalli in the Kolar District, is another important personage whose elegant songs full of emotion with novel structural patterns are becoming increasingly popular.

In tracing the remarkable and lasting contribution of the Haridāsas and the

Dāsakūṭa to the present day, names that cannot be overlooked are Sōsale Vidyā Ratnākara (‘Narahariviṭhāla’) and the present head of the Sri Vyāsarāya Maṭha, Sri Vidyāprasanna Teertha, known for their musical erudition which has expressed itself through their fine devotional songs.

Sivaśaraṇas, whose compositions lend themselves to musical rendering, have given great impetus to the development of music and added considerably to its repertory. Of these Sārpabhūṣaṇa Sivayōgi of Bangalore, popularly known as Sappaṇṇa Svāmi, belongs to this period and his compositions afford great scope to bring out rāgabhāva, the appropriate emotion associated with the raga.

The musical history of Karnataka in modern times will not be complete without referring to the great patronage and encouragement extended by the Mysore royal family during the 19th and 20th centuries. Mummaḍi Krishna-rāja Woḍeyar, who was a great connoisseur, honoured a good number of musicians befitting the dignity of his court. It is said that Veene Venkatasubbiah, the grandson of Veene Kuppier, the great musical composer of Tanjore, was invited by Poorniah, the Dewan of Mysore, and His Highness Sri Krishnarāja Woḍeyar III presented him with a golden Veena in recognition of his great musical talents. His successor, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar walked in his father’s footsteps and enlisted the services of Veene Seshanna, Subbanna and other eminent artists, who enjoyed all India fame in their time.

Mysore Sadasiva Rao, who has carved a permanent niche for himself by his flowery compositions, adorned the royal court of Mysore and was the guru of such celebrities as Veene Seshanna, Subbanna and others. Some of his kritis cannot be handled unless one has a good grip over time-measure (tāla and laya) and a rich and flexible voice. His works must be placed along with those of the great trinity of Karnataka music, Tyagaraja, Diskhitar, and Syama Sastri and form an integral part of that great tradition. Among his contemporaries mention must be made of Mugur Subbanna who was a great musician. The Mysore Palace invited great exponents of music like Patnam Subramanya Iyer, Tirukōḍikāval Krishna Iyer and Mahavaidyanatha Iyer and suitably honoured them.

The beginning of the twentieth century was a period of renewed impulse both in new compositions and artistic proficiency under the benevolent rule of Sri Krishnarāja Woḍeyar IV. Seshanna, the renowned Veena master, composed swarajatis, varṇas and tillānas, which are monuments of his musical genius. Sāmbaiya was another great composer of swarajatis in the period. Mention has also to be made of Biḍāram Krishnappa in this connection. Muthiah Bhagavatar and Vasudevacharya have left their indelible mark on contemporary music by their great compositions in numerous ragas. The former composed over a hundred and eight keertanas in an equal number of ragas in praise of Goddess Chāmunḍeśvari, under the patronage and inspiration of Sri Krishnarāja Woḍeyar. Many derivative ragas, hitherto obsolete, have been used in these

compositions heightening their charm for the listeners. The notable point is that these kritis are in Kannada. Vasudevacharya was a prolific composer both in Sanskrit and Telugu, and his compositions have earned the appreciation of experts all over South India. These compositions are noted for their spontaneity of expression, easy flow and richness of rāgabhāva (the true characteristic of a particular melody form), with the result that there are few musicians who do not render one or other of his compositions in their public performances. Dēvōttamma Jois made valuable contribution as the author of numerous Kannada songs. Sangītavidyā Kanṭheerava Karigiri Rao was another great musician who enjoyed the patronage of the Maharaja and composed a considerable number of keertanas under the *nom-de-plume* 'Narasimha'. Among his distinguished disciples were Biḍāram Krishnappa and Chikka Rama Rao.

Among lady musicians who made a name for themselves and became popular all over South India, mention may be made of Bangalore Nagaratnamma. In her younger days she had been a great exponent of Bharatanatya. She had a rich and resonant voice, was a pious lady and her recitals were marked by purity of diction and style. She rendered yeoman service to the memory of Tyagaraja, the great saint and musical composer, by undertaking to renovate his Samadhi at Tiruvaiyar, where the annual celebrations are held to commemorate the passing of the saint, and where distinguished Karnataka musicians gather to pay their homage to the saint.

The reign of Sri Krishnarāja Wodeyar IV can be looked upon as a golden age (1902-1940) for the revival and glory of Karnataka music. Innumerable Vidvans from all over India were honoured and treated with generous gifts. Not only great exponents of Karnataka music like Veene Dhanammal, Ariyakuḍi Ramanuja Iyengar, Tiger Varadachar but Hindustani musicians like Fiaz Khan and Abdul Karim Khan were invited and generously honoured. Karnataka music nurtured and fostered by many great royal houses and Zamindars through the ages, attained its pinnacle of glory under the fostering care of the Mysore kings. It is gratifying to note that H. H. Sri Jayachāmarāja Wodeyar, the Maharaja of Mysore, is not merely a great connoisseur but is himself a composer of distinction.

HINDUSTANI MUSIC IN KARNATAKA

Since the latter half of the 18th century Bombay Karnataka was greatly subjected to Maharashtra influence where the Hindustani style of music is prevalent. Only to a slight extent is felt the influence of the devotional Karnataka music of Purandaradāsa and other dāsas which were handed down in oral tradition. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that at Surapura in the Gulbarga District, there flourished not merely Karnataka music but the Bharatanatya system of dance, which is peculiarly South Indian. Gifted musicians and dāsas like Ānandadāsa kept alive the vigorous tradition till the middle of 19th century. These two systems differ mainly in their style of presentation.

There existed in the 18th and 19th centuries many artists in the old States such as Gwalior, Rampur, Baroda, Ichalakaranji and Aundh who were exponents of Hindustani music. The compositions of the older artists like Sadarang, Adarang and Manarang were popular among learners. It is thus that a taste for Hindustani music spread in North Karnataka, where the educated classes usually went to Poona and Bombay for their higher studies.

Mention may be made of the names of some outstanding artists of the latter half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century who exerted great influence in the field of music in North Karnataka in the modern period. Abdul Karim Khan who belonged to Miraj, just beyond the border of Karnataka, exerted much influence on the rising artists who practised Hindustani music. He had a supple voice of wonderful range, which glided effortlessly over the different notes of the octave. He could dwell on the half and quarter notes with rare mastery. He was able to draw connoisseurs of Karnataka music in its strong-holds like Mysore and Madras and win their unstinted admiration. He learnt the Karnataka style of singing also, and, if he had been spared longer, he would doubtless have made valuable contribution to bringing about a better understanding and appreciation between the votaries of the North and South Indian systems. Ramabhau Kundgolkar, better known as Savai Gandharva, was one of his distinguished disciples who, after retiring from the stage, made a mark as a fine exponent of Hindustani music. Savai Gandharva trained others like V. A. Kajalkar to carry on the tradition. Gwalior has been the home of a distinctive style of Hindustani music for several centuries and its Ustads, like Rahamat Khan and Nissar Hussain Khan, found talented disciples in Karnataka who adopted the Gwalior style (gharāṇa). Mention may be made of Ramakrishna Bua Vaze and Sivaram Bua; Guru Rao Desphande and Bhimasen Joshi, both of whom set Kannada devotional songs to new tunes and added them

to their musical repertoire. Gangubai Hanagal. Neelakanta Bua Gadgoli and Venkatarai Ramadurg have also been among the noteworthy exponents of the Gwalior 'gharāṇa'.

Mallikarjuna Mansur has adopted in the practice of his art the fine effects of both the Gwalior and the Jaipur Schools represented by gifted exponents like Manje Khan and Barji Khan. Mansur has trained numerous disciples and has developed an individuality of his own which is at once orthodox and pleasing.

Ubhayagāna Viśārada Panchāksharayya, born blind, was a musical genius to whom music was more a religious sadhana than the practice of a fine art. Among his disciples may be mentioned Basavaraja Rajguru.

Ustad Fiaz Khan of Baroda is the chief glory of the Agra ghārāṇa and belongs to what is usually called the Rangeeli School. The Agra gharāṇa is noted for retaining in its style all the glories of the classical Hindustani style. This style has been popularized in Karnataka by Sri Rama Rao V. Naik, now settled in Bangalore and he has trained many pupils. Himself a pupil of Atta Hussain Khan, the brother-in-law and pupil of Ustad Fiaz Khan, Sri Rama Rao Naik by virtue of his constant association with the great Ustad for nearly 10 years has qualified himself to expound the intricacies of the Agra style which retains perhaps in the largest measure the purity and majesty of the old Dhrupad style of singing.

Among instrumentalists special mention may be made of Hanumanta Rao Walvekar who created a vogue for the violin in North Karnataka; also fiddle Anantappa who was very popular for accompaniment to the music of folk dramas (doḍḍāṭa and bayalāṭa); Dattatreya Parvatikar, the Sadhu, who plays the Swaramandal and whose music is wholly devoted to spiritual ends, and Halagur Krishnacharya who played on the Kinnari, a rather rare instrument. Krishnacharya, in addition to being a great musician, was a distinguished musicologist and undertook considerable research in the science of music from ancient texts. Kannada devotional music is taking new forms and whether we may ever have Kannada compositions, composed and sung by some artistic genius of the future and raised to the status attained by Tyagaraja Keertans in Telugu depends on a possible integration of Hindustani and Karnataka music, or on restoring it to its pristine purity freed from the shackles of 'laya pradhana' rigidity of the South Indian style and the 'swara pradhana' indifference to the song texts seen in the style of North Karnataka adopting Hindustani music.

Light music is popular and includes bhavageetas, film songs, folk songs and such other simple varieties. Among popular singers may be mentioned Balappa Hukkeri, Usha Khadilkar, Gitabai Kulkarni and Shantimati Gangoli. Film music has been greatly influenced by the Western style of music and its

technique, usually now used as a background for the singer. It is rendered in new and strange patterns of melody and how much this will influence the raga system of Indian classical music in the future is very difficult to estimate at present.

YAKSHAGANA AND DRAMATIC MUSIC :

Bayalāṭa, doḍḍāṭa, bhagavatarāṭa and yakshagāna all belong to the same class and in combining dance and music which shows the least influence of north Indian music, they have made their own contribution to the artistic culture of common people.

Karnataka artists are best fitted to guide and bring about a synthesis of Karnataka and Hindustani music because Kannadigas in different parts (formerly distributed in the Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, Mysore and Hyderabad States) have been familiar in a greater or less degree with both the systems of Indian music, and they have a rich heritage of the past to help them.

DANCE IN THE (OLD) MYSORE STATE

A historical review of Dance in the Mysore State during the last century can only be obtained from the reminiscent versions of a few of our present-day octagenarians and nonagenarians who may happen also to be connoisseurs of the art. Unfortunately, there is little literature on the subject which the interested student can refer to. During this period, we learn that there was no stigma on the professional dancing women, or nayakasanis as they were generally called. Cities and towns like Mysore, Bangalore, Mulbagal, Kudoor, T. Narasipur and so on, had quite a few distinguished exponents of the art, most of them being attached to the temples as devadasis and as such residing around the temples. Quite often they were supported by rich merchants, landlords and connoisseurs of dance. These dancers were educated in the Sastras, Music and Bharata Natyam, and often possessed great intellectual gifts. Their presence in the community was accepted and established, because no marriage would be performed without the tying of the 'mangala sūtra' by these ladies who were called as 'nitya sumangalis'. Being attached to their patrons, they naturally wielded great influence on them. Their children, though not eligible to inherit the patron's property, were given

pieces of land as part of their share. It was this excessive influence exerted by them on their patrons which later on resulted in the formation of the anuti-nautch movement, with the result that these dancers came to be looked down upon by the community. The neglect of and aversion to dance and music increased with the growth of English education in the country. In spite of all this furore, however, there were votaries of the art, specially the musicians attached to the Palace and their friends who encouraged the art, and derived rich aesthetic delight from it. The festivals in big temples also provided occasions for the exhibition of the art, as also marriage festivities in rich households.

The disfavour with which dance and music came to be regarded by the educated public continued in the earlier years of this century also. Dance and music were considered, on the whole, to be bad and vulgar influences on the young and not to be encouraged by decent and cultured folk. But the wheel of time soon brought on a change. A new renaissance was witnessed in the realm of our fine arts.

In the days of the Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, there was generous royal patronage for dance and music. From 1860 to 1881, when the late Chamaraja Wodeyar was a minor, this patronage diminished to some extent, but after he ascended the throne of Mysore, the recognition extended to famous musicians and dancers became once again an important feature of the royal court. This increased during the reign of the late Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV of revered memory, as he was himself a great savant and a votary of the fine arts. Thus music and art flourished under such royal patrons, and the art lovers of those days spent their leisure deriving enjoyment in the pursuit of such fine arts.

Until the end of the 19th century and even up to the days of the first great World War, most towns in the Mysore State had well-known devadasis attached to the temples. In fact, most of the social life of the town was centred around these temples. In many of these places, such as Tiramakudlu Narasipur, Mulbagal, Hoovadi or Poovalvadi near Chintamani, usually there dwelt as many as 200 professional dancing women, along with quite a few 'naṭṭuvanars', or dances masters. In Mulbagal itself in one temple there were 14 nartakis attached to it and they had to offer temple service in the form of dance once a week. Apart from the naṭṭuvanars teaching dance to the devadasis, there were also many Brahmin scholars well-versed in Sanskrit and abhinaya (science of gesture) who trained these devadasis. One such illustrious person was Pansekari Venkatasubba Bhatta, who, in the late years of the 19th century, was a revered dance teacher in the town of Mulbagal. It is said he would tie strings to the feet of his dance pupils so that they would not go beyond a certain distance and he would hit them on their ankles if they went wrong. As a result of such rigorous training, dancers attained precision and skill in their foot-work became highly renowned. Among such fine artistes was one Bairkur Venkatalakshmi, well-known for her

DANCE IN THE (OLD) MYSORE STATE

subtle expressions and vivid abhinayam. Lovers of the art of the old generation were never tired of relating in terms of ecstatic praise the rendering of Jayadeva's song, 'Yāhi Mādhava, Yāhi Kēśava' by Tirumakudlu Sundaramma, for instance, who belonged to T. Narsipur. Among others who distinguished themselves in the dance world in the Mysore State were Chandravadanamma, Puttadevamma, Nagaratna and Varālu of Bangalore, Konamara Deviamma, Ramāmaṇi, Mugalor Tripurasundaramma (who donated a temple) and Jeṭṭi Thāyamma of Mysore. The fame of these dancers would take a year or two to reach the ears of the royal patrons. Even then the musicians and dancers had to pass a severe test. The Palace officials were fastidious and had to be personally satisfied that the dancing was of a standard worthy to be witnessed by the Maharaja. Ambil Narasimhaiengar of the Mysore Palace was, for instance, one such official who was hard to please, and was a connoisseur of the art commanding the confidence of the Maharaja in such matters.

The Mysore school of Bharata Natyam developed a distinct style, and had its beginning some 200 years ago, thanks to the scions of families of temple-dancers and their gurus usually engaged by the Palace. Mention may be made of Kaviśvar Giriappa and Kāsi Guru, stalwarts in the teaching of abhinaya, and later on of Amritappa, Appayya, Dasappa, Kittappa and Jeṭṭi Thāyamma. The pupils of these illustrious dance teachers are still practising this art in the Mysore State. These teachers evolved a sequence of Bharata Natyam items in the following order: Mangalam, Stuti, Alaripu, Swarajati, Varṇam, Thillāna and lastly Abhinaya, in which Sanskrit slokas and aṣṭapadis found a prominent place. The few names which are even today fondly remembered are those of the late Jeṭṭi Thāyamma of Mysore who died in 1947 and Kolar Kittappa and his pupil Kolar Puttappa.

Jeṭṭi Thāyamma, daughter of a famous wrestler Dasappa living under the patronage of Mummati Krishnaraja Wodeyar, was an extremely learned and sensitive artiste dedicated to the art with a sense of utter dedication. To her, dance was not a mere accomplishment, so much as a means of self-realization. She learnt nritya, or pure dance, from Subbarayappa, and later on, had her training in abhinaya under Kaviśvar Giriappa, Chandraśekhara Sāstri and Karibasappa Sāstri, well-known as 'Abhinava Kālidāsa'. Blessed by such learned teachers she became a great dancer in the early years of this century. She had in her repertoire thousands of padams, jāvaḷis, and slokas both in Sanskrit and Kannada. She was the recipient of great honours from Maharaja Chamaraja Wodeyar. Her reputation continued undimmed till her demise at the age of eighty-two. In her eightieth year Dr. Radhakrishnan conferred on her the title of 'Nāṭya Sarasvatī'.

Chandravadanamma was another great dancer who also enjoyed royal patronage. She was a superb musician and was also well-versed in bhāvābhinaya. Puttadevamma and her daughter, Chikkadevamma, were also renowned Palace dancers and were taught by the illustrious teachers, Amritappa and Appayya. In the

city of Bangalore, Vidvan Kolar Kittappa shone as a brilliant teacher and under him Nāgaratna and Varālu became well-known as expert dancers. Bangalore Nāgaratna first gained renown as a dancer, particularly as an exponent of abhinaya. Later on, her genius in music outclassed her greatness in dance. Kolar Kittappa, coming from a family of dancers, learnt his art under Kānchi Sadasiviah, a great exponent, who hailed from Kānchi and Pandanallore. The late Kolar Puttappa learnt his lessons as a naṭṭuvanar under Kolar Kittappa. He had a high reputation as a teacher of classical dance and lived till 1945, and was the first Bharata Natyam teacher of Ramgopal and U. S. Krishna Rao in 1939.

The art fell on evil days from 1910 to 1930 when there was much prejudice against these professional dancers. Yet the torch of this pristine art was upheld by some staunch admirers, teachers and amateur dancers. Temple dancing, a time-honoured custom, was abolished by law and convention, and dancers eked out a precarious livelihood by dancing in social functions and marriages.

Institutions like the Kalakshetra of Madras conducted by some of our most eminent artistes and sponsored by the most respectable members of the community, the exposition through books and articles in magazines of the beauties of our fine arts like dance, which are an ancient heritage and which have inspired some of the beautiful sculptures in our temples for centuries past, the great welcome extended by art lovers in the West to our dancers like Uday Shankar, Ramgopal, Mrinalini and others, all these helped to create a new interest and appreciation among the educated public who had turned their face away from it two generations ago.

Educated and cultured people devoted themselves more and more to the resuscitation of this art. Much credit goes to the internationally famous Ramgopal who started learning Bharata Natyam in 1937 and he was followed by U. S. Krishna Rao in 1939. Thus, this forgotten art gradually regained its place in the niche of the fine arts, and is now practised in a distinctly secular setting. During the war years a great impetus was given to Bharata Natyam in general, because in many big cities of the Mysore State, dance shows by famous dancers in aid of the War Fund were arranged. The general public were thus enabled to appreciate the beauty of this fine art.

The recognition accorded to dance, and the rewards to talented dance artistes by the State Lalita Kala Academies and the All India Lalita Kala Academy since we achieved Independence have opened a new chapter. Today every city and town boasts of dance teachers and reputed dancers. Dance has become also a subject of study in some schools and colleges in India. Indeed, the pendulum may be said to have swung to the other end, since dancing has come to be looked upon, along with music, as almost a necessary accomplishment to be cultivated

DANCE IN THE (OLD) MYSORE STATE

by a girl belonging to a cultured and prosperous home. There is, therefore, increasing demand for teachers of dance in the bigger towns and cities. One often wonders if this does not result in the deterioration of standards in dance which has crept in, as in other fields of classical arts and education.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

(MODERN PERIOD)

ARCHITECTURE :

With the lamentable fall of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1565, building activities suffered a temporary eclipse, though the Palayagars in different parts did what they could in a small way in their capital towns.

The latter part of the 18th century was a critical period in the history of our country marked by great political instability. There was a recovery on modern lines only after the beginning of the 18th century.

The Sultans of Bijapur had built the Jumma Masjid (1557-70) and the celebrated Gol Gumbaz (1626-56) in the Saracenic style. When Bijapur was taken by the Moghuls in 1687, the artistic capabilities of the Karnataka builders had to lie dormant to flower again under the Maharajas of Mysore.

It is not possible to see any uniformity in the buildings in Karnataka owing to natural and historical causes. Good building stone is not available in North and South Kanara. The art of building was not developed in Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar in later days, and lacked patronage. Belgaum and Dharwar were not cared for sufficiently.

The 19th century marks a transition in the builders' art in Karnataka. The tendency in the present century is not so much to build temples, mosques or churches, as schools, dispensaries, laboratories and workshops. There has been striking progress in this direction, particularly after Indian Independence in 1947. In less than two decades have sprung up formidable public buildings,

offices, hospitals, factories etc., such as could account for a century of building effort.

We may now have a look at what was achieved during these two centuries in spite of handicaps. The fortifications in Chitradurga, built with the help of French engineers by Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, are specimens of military architecture, with immense granaries and stores. The Palace of Tipu Sultan in the Bangalore Fort, the Daria Daulat in Srirangapattana on the bank of the Kaveri, standing on a high basement, and containing numerous wall paintings and the old Durbar Hall in the Mysore Palace, unfortunately destroyed by fire, were all built in the Moghul style of architecture in which Indian and Saracenic details are combined. Haidar and Tipu are said to have built their palaces on the model of the Sira Palace built by Dilawar Khan, a fine specimen of Moghul architecture. But perishable material was used and though profusely and thickly decorated with gilding and colour, hardly anything now remains of its elegance and beauty.

Tipu had a Mahal (Palace) at Chitradurga which was an imposing though a plain structure. It is now in ruins.

Other buildings in the Moghul style found in the State are the mausoleum of Haidar's family at Kolar; the great mosque at Srirangapattana built on the site of an old temple with two lofty minarets; and the well-known Gumbaz, the mausoleum of Haidar and Tipu at Ganjam near Srirangapattana. The mausoleum is an imposing building surmounted by a large dome. The building has a colonnade of pillars of black serpentine. The doors are made of ebony inlaid with ivory, a special art-craft of Mysore.

The new Palace at Mysore is Indo-Saracenic, the exterior being in the Moghul and the interior details in the Hoysala style. There are in it very artistically designed doors inlaid with ivory, and wood covered with silver plating. Scrolls of thin foliage pattern, reminiscent of the Belur and Halebid temples, are worked on it. The same style has been adopted for the palaces built for the princesses of the Mysore royal family.

When the Mysore P.W.D. was organized in the middle of the 19th century, a fresh style of architecture was introduced into our public buildings. The European engineers brought with them the Ionic, Doric, Corinthian and Composite styles which they inherited from the ancient Greeks as well as Italy and France of the Renaissance period. Instances of this style are the District Offices in Bangalore, the earliest of such buildings, built in 1856. The Athāra Cutcherry, or the Old Public Offices (1869), the Museum (1879) and the Daly Memorial Hall in Bangalore, these have been built in the European Renaissance style with classic details. The Maharaja's College (1894), the Jubilee Institute

(1894), the Public Offices (1895), and the Law Court Buildings (1899) all in Mysore, are in a plainer style.

To indicate how there was no one style of architecture even in the public buildings, we may notice these examples. The Central College in Bangalore (1901), is an elegant structure in the Gothic style, while the Bangalore Palace (1882) is on the model of the mediaeval castles of England or Normandy. The Victoria Hospital (1896) is in a different style. The Indian Institute of Science built early in this century with its imposing bell-shaped tower is a combination of a pleasing exterior with a convenient disposition of apartments in the interior. The library in the first floor is a model of its kind.

The Government High School (Fort), the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital, and the Seshadri Memorial Hall in Bangalore, and the Chāmarājēdra Technical Institute in Mysore are well-laid out buildings in the mixed style. The Sri Krishnarājēdra Hospital at Mysore (1918), is in the American Reconnaissance style. The Vāṇivilas Maternity Hospital in Bangalore is a modern building. The Lalita Mahal at Mysore is in a class by itself, loftily placed, elegantly proportioned and adorned by a high dome in the corners. The 'Rajendra Vilas' on the top of the Chāmunḍi Hills is a palatial building, surmounted by a dome and commanding a view of the garden city below. The new Railway Offices, the Palace Offices and Hotel Krishnarajasagara combine utility with an imposing frontage.

Sri Krishnarajendra S. J. Technological Institute with the clock tower and Sir Puttanna Chetty Town Hall in the classical style in Bangalore are worthy specimens of modern architecture, built of stone. The Agricultural College and the Offices of the Karnataka University in Dharwar are two modern buildings with an architectural frontage.

The Sankara Maṭha in Bangalore is a well-proportioned stone building in the Hindu style with turrets. In front of it to the right is the elegant shrine of Sri Sankarāchārya and to the left, that of Sri Śāradāmbā.

The granite temple of Sri Śāradā at Srīngēri (1915) is a revival of the ancient Dravidian style. This art is still preserved in the south, thanks to the liberality of the Nagartar (Nāṭṭukōṭi) businessmen of Tamilnad. The walls of the garbhagriha are in polished stone. The pillars in the mukhamanṭapa are carved with figures, lion-faces and pendants in traditional style.

There are several churches and mosques of architectural interest in Karnataka. The St. Aloysius' Church in Mangalore, St. Mark's Cathedral, the Trinity Church and the Jumma Masjid in Bangalore, and the St. Philomena's Church in Mysore may be cited as noteworthy examples.

The vast extensions to the administrative blocks, library, laboratories and workshops built during the last fifteen years in the Indian Institute of Science,

Bangalore, are typical of the orientation in the conception of architecture. Owing to the free scope afforded by the use of reinforced concrete, electric lifts, lighting and air-conditioning systems, the modern designs deal with each need in the laboratory and workshop individually.

Perhaps the latest developments in modern architecture are to be seen in dealing with the variety of needs in the self-contained building schemes in industrial concerns like the Hindustan Aircraft, Hindustan Machine Tools, Indian Telephone Industries, Bharat Electronics, and the structures and aerodromes of the Defence Department.

The Vidhana Soudha in Bangalore is reminiscent in its elevation of ancient temple architecture, while the plan, fittings and furniture are modern. This imposing building of composite style is situated in a commanding position opposite to the Public Offices, and is the seat of Government of the new Karnataka State. It attracts many tourists and is the only Secretariat and Legislative building of its kind in all the States.

SCULPTURE :

The traditions of Karnataka sculpture have been preserved without a break by a small number of families of artists and craftsmen. The marble image of Sri Sārada in Sivaganga is a marvellous piece of sculpture. The marble statue of His Holiness Sri Narasimha Bhārati, on the right bank of the Tunga at Śṛṅgēri brings, out with remarkable realism the benign expression on the sage's countenance.

To the celebrated artist K. Venkatappa who was essentially a painter, sculpture was a secondary accomplishment. The bust of Veene Seshanna is an expression of the artist's reverence for his guru, while that of Rabindranath Tagore (now in the Ravindra Kalakshetra, Bangalore) offers his homage to the sage of Śāntinikētan. Venkatappa has displayed his genius in the execution of bas-reliefs which are in the transitional region between painting and sculpture. Being made of plaster of paris, there is no variety of colour as in painting. There is no help from the third dimension as in sculpture proper, the projections being at the most only about two inches. Yes, the poetry of each situation is brought out in an inimitable manner. Mention may be made of Siva's Dance, Sakuntala's Leave-taking of Kanva, Sita's Chūdāmaṇi-pradāna to Hanumān, and Drona and Ekalavya.

The art of sculptors finds a freer expression in secular statues, mostly in marble. The equestrian statue of Sri Chāmarāja Wodeyer in Lal bagh is full of life. The marble statues of the King in Cubbon Park, Bangalore, and near the

Mysore Palace and that of Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar near by, are outstanding examples of the sculptor's art in Karnataka.

Silpa Siddhanti Siddalinga Svami was a talented sculptor using black stone as his medium. In the life-size statue of Goddess Kaveri in the Brindavan Gardens, water flows out of a sacred pot held in the hands of the goddess.

The temples of Gāyatri and Bhuvaneśvar in the Mysore Palace are the handiwork of this artist. The figures of Sāvitri and Rājarājēśvari deserve special mention. This artist has executed a large number of idols of several temples in the State. Mention may be made of Srī Subrahmaṇya, Kōdandarāma and Ganēśa in Subrahmaṇyapura near Bangalore. In addition, a school of sculpture where young men are trained in the practice of this art is being run now in Mysore by those belonging to this family.

The technique of the gudigars in Sagar, Sorab, Sirsi and Siddapur is essentially that of the sculptor through the medium of sandalwood and ivory. The Siva Tandava dance may be cited as an elaborate instance of this art.

Carving in ivory is an exquisite form of sculpture practised in several parts of Karnataka. 'Arjuna Vishada on the field of Battle' has earned special reputation.

CHAPTER XV

THE CONGRESS AND KARNATAKA

THIS chapter intends dealing with the organizational and other aspects of the national awakening of the Congress movement ; a separate chapter will treat with the powerful movements in Karnataka during the struggle for freedom.

Freedom is the life-breath of every nation as much as that of every individual. It is the basic condition for the healthy growth and purposeful functioning of a people. It is in this fundamental sense that Lokamanya Tilak declared, 'Swaraj or self-rule is our birth-right' ; and Gandhi vowed that we will have it : and we won it, not in the ordinary way and by conventional means but in a unique way and by non-violent weapons.

The Indian National Congress is the organization which brought us Swaraj in the way indicated above. It has been instrumental in rousing the people to mighty efforts and in devising ways and means to wrest freedom from the vice-like grip of the British. Swaraj came as a result of the massive response of the people of all parts of India to the call for a non-violent fight by Gandhi, the greatest leader of men and masses the world has seen so far.

Karnataka, its men and women, played a notable part in the ceaseless war of liberation waged actively by the Congress since 1906, but more effectively from 1920 to 1947. It is impossible to tell in brief the whole epic story of the contribution made by Karnataka. This book, however, would be incomplete if at least an outline of the struggle in this province is not given. An attempt has, therefore, been made to present a bird's-eye-view as to how the people of Karnataka 'wrought for freedom' along with other brothers and sisters of India.

It may be noted that even after the firm establishment of British rule in India, examples of sporadic attempts, peasant risings, brave resistance as early as 1824 like that of Rani Chennamma of Kittur, to the imposition of the will of foreign rulers, were not wanting. All such attempts, symbolic of the will of the people to resist foreign rule, culminated in the first War of Independent of 1857. Unfortunately, it proved unsuccessful almost on account of the very reasons which enabled the foreigner to enter and entrench himself. The nation had to

wait for a quarter of a century to realize that no armed resistance or revolt could succeed against an organized government supported by a modern military machine, equipped with weapons of mass destruction. Resistance of a different type was indicated. Formation of public opinion, strengthening of the will of the people calculated to result in readiness to resist civilly the will of the foreign rulers, was the new path for achieving freedom. Attempts along that line made in the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta ultimately culminated in the emergence of the Indian National Congress.

Strange to say, it is Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a foreigner, to whom goes the credit of sponsoring and giving shape to the Indian National Congress. To him service of India and sacrifice for her uplift were dearer than the Lieutenant-Governorship of a Province, which, it is said, was offered to him. He had read the signs of the times and had access to some seven volumes of material which revealed to him the real sufferings and near-revolt feelings of the people. The main grievances and the grave defects of administration centred round (a) an unsuitable, costly and delaying system of civil and criminal justice, (b) a revenue system which was harassing, (c) a corrupt and oppressive police administration, and (d) utter want of sympathy for the sufferings of the people.

It is on record that Mr. Hume addressed the graduates of the Calcutta University in 1883. After drawing a gloomy picture of the situation in the country, he appealed for a batch of fifty young men of character who would be willing to serve the country without any selfish aims. How this appeal for selfless workers is almost always relevant whenever the people are suffering and are in distress !

Mr. Hume's earlier idea about the Congress was, no doubt, that it should be a forum for political thinkers, but it should be presided over by the Governor or administrative head of the Province in which it was held. However, when the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, was consulted, he had the political acumen to suggest that if the administrative head presided, only sycophants would gather round him and frank expression about grievances, their causes and remedies would not be encouraged. How true !

Ultimately, the honour of holding the first session of the Congress under the presidentship of Sri W. C. Bonnerji went to Bombay. It was held in 1885 in the premises of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road. It is reported that seventy-two delegates from all over India were present. Among them, though the name of Sabhapathi Mudaliar is also mentioned, the only person who could be said really to hail from Karnataka was Kolachalam Venkatrao from Bellary, a philanthropist and a man of wide sympathies. It should be mentioned here that another Karnataki, Sri Narayan Chandavarkar, who in 1900 graced the *gādi* of the Congress, was already a prominent public man in Bombay and had gone in deputation in 1885 to England a little before the Congress session.

It may be noted here that at that time, there was neither an administrative division called Karnataka nor any aspiration of the Kannada-speaking people to have anything of the kind. In fact, after the dismemberment of the kingdom of Tipu in 1799 by the British, what remained was the Mysore State area as a unit. All other portions were distributed among contiguous districts and provinces. Even the District of Kanara (Kannada) was split up into two on account of something like a non-cooperation movement and the two portions were attached to Madras and Bombay provinces respectively. It required about fifty years for the Kannada people to feel the necessity of coming together and then to demand in 1917 for a Congress circle in order to shape their common destinies as a people with linguistic, historical and other affinities.

It was at the time of the great Swadeshi agitation against the partition of Bengal in 1905-06, that something like a new awakening and participation in a national movement throughout Kannada-speaking areas was dimly visible. It was this awareness which developed nationalism and led to a demand for a Congress circle in the Congress organization, Karnataka had to wait till 1920 to get a Congress circle of its own. Andhra was given a Congress circle in 1917 and Sind in 1918.

Here it must be pointed out that the Non-cooperation Movement by landholders of the Kannada District in the early part of the 19th century during the regime of Thomas Munro who was the administrator, was not merely a symbolic demonstration. When a new revenue system was sought to be imposed by the government at that time, the landholders were asked to produce documents of title. The Government wanted to issue its own *pattas* or title-deeds. The landlords, small and big, became highly suspicious and they started non-cooperation. The people in towns and villages used to vacate their residences and spread in the fields when revenue officers arrived with their paraphernalia. This struggle went on for months and the Government could not do anything about it. It was in connection with this strategy of the people of the Kannada District that Thomas Munro wrote in one of his letters that it was far better to be 'a sergeant in an island than to be a king of Canara'.

This struggle and the way the people of the Kannada District carried it out was but a forerunner of the glorious no-tax campaign which the peasants of North Kanara conducted in 1930-32-34, nearly a century later.

In the earlier years of the life of the Congress in India there was not much that was either sensational or exciting or revolutionary. Among the resolutions passed in the Christmas week of every year, we find the familiar reiteration of loyalty to the Crown and the general demand for more Government posts, reduction of military expenditure, simultaneous holding in India and England of the Indian Civil Service Examination, a general demand for a proper and legitimate share

in the Government, and so on. The tone of the resolutions, however, went on becoming stronger and the language clearer and the demand more insistent as years went by. The national character of the Congress became more and more pronounced, as leaders from almost all important communities and provinces took part increasingly. Its secular nature was evident from the very beginning as it did not take up any religious or communal problems. In one of the sessions (1895) which was held in Poona, the organizers of the Social Reform Conference wanted to use the Pandal in which the Congress was going to be held. But Tilak was against it, as he said that there should not be any mix-up between the political and economic problems on the one side and the social, communal and religious problems on the other. A far-sighted statesman and an intrepid fighter for freedom that he was, his argument was that opinions on social matters differed widely and the Congress should have nothing to do with those problems. He said that the unity of the Congress, which concentrated on secular problems and on which there was near unanimity, should not be jeopardized. The then President of the Congress, Sri Surendranath Banerji, agreed with Tilak's view and endorsed the same. One significant thing, however, which was developing behind the mild facade of the annual Congress meet, was the focussing of the political thought and aspirations of the country and the acceptance of the Congress voice by all as the voice of the people.

Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra and Tamilnad had at that time hardly any existence as homogeneous political or even cultural entities. There was not much of awakening on those lines. So far as Karnataka, or rather the Kannada-speaking people, were concerned, they were mainly distributed over five administrations, apart from about fourteen other smaller 'Indian States', as areas under the princes were called in those days. This name, Indian States, or Indian India, distinguished them from what was called in lump, British India. The five administrations were, the Bombay Presidency, the Madras Presidency, the Mysore State, the Nizam States and Coorg. It is relevant to mention these things here because the gospel of nationalism and the new political awakening came to the indifferently distributed parts of Karnataka in different ways and uneven proportions. Belgaum, Dharwar, Karwar and Bijapur Districts were part of the Bombay Presidency. Being contiguous with Maharashtra and part of the Bombay Presidency these four districts were influenced by the awakening in the neighbouring regions. Though one in language and culture and contiguous with the Mysore State, these districts had no common political or even much of economic and social bonds with it. Mysore though enlightened was politically backward. Though Bijapur verged on the Nizam's dominion and was contiguous with Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar, they had no other common ties as the Nizam's rule was antediluvian. No one could do anything about it till late in the forties after freedom, when by police action it was incorporated into the Indian Union. Though both coastal South Kanara and inland Bellary were in the Madras Presidency, they are so far apart that there was no contiguity and common bond of interest between them. Coorg, though

contiguous with Mysore, was entirely cut off from the other parts of Karnataka so far as political life was concerned.

Since our subject is Congress and Karnataka, we may safely skip over about two decades and come to the year 1904. This was a significant year not only for India but for the whole of Asia. That was because of the rise of the oriental nation of Japan and the crushing defeat it gave to Russia in a naval battle. The defeat of Russia by a tiny eastern nation filled the eastern countries with self-confidence and all the inferiority complex fled away, at least for the time being. The Indians, especially the youth, felt their blood flowing more vigorously in their veins as they overcame the mystical superstition that the west was invincible.

In the meanwhile, Lord Curzon, the most imperialistic Viceroy India had ever seen, prepared the ground by his mischievous ideas about the antagonism between Hindu and Muslims and by the partition of Bengal, for an unprecedented upsurge of national feeling, which led to action in the form of the great Swadesh Movement of 1905-06.

Whatever might have been the motives of Lord Curzon, it is obvious that he had not counted the cost with regard to Bengal Partition. There was first an outburst of strong feeling against the move for the partition of Bengal which could be said to be local. Though it was designed to give weightage to the Muslim population in the proposed division, the Muslims themselves protested equally strongly and joined the agitation. It was thus on national lines and based on secular interests that the whole movement advanced. But it did not limit itself to Bengal and Bengalees but spread throughout India.

The Congress had been holding its sessions every year and passing progressively stronger resolutions. It was making more and more comprehensive demands with the idea of securing more political rights for the people. Through these activities, it had been successful in creating an all-India platform and a common consciousness of a united people and of a single nation. This national awareness stood the people in good stead; when Bengal started the agitation, it was taken up by other regions throughout India. It was very soon obvious that the nation had taken the partition not merely as an insult to the Bengalees but as a national grievance worth fighting against.

It should be noted at this stage that the agitation did not end only in protest meetings, petitions, and weighty deputations. The Bengalees became the torch-bearers of the gospel of nationalism and the idea spread and caught the people's imagination in the whole country. The Bengalees and others felt that some drastic action was called for. They also felt intuitively that the removal of individual or local grievances was not the final or adequate remedy. The

removal of the British bureaucratic government itself was necessary since the root-cause of all grievances, big and small, lay in the rule of the exploiting foreigners.

It is worthwhile remembering that the first act of mass civil disobedience in India is to be traced to a procession led by the veteran nationalist fighter, Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal. The Provincial Conference of Bengal had been summoned to meet in the town of Barisal and a procession was to be taken out before the meeting was held. An order under Section 144 Cr. Pro. Code was served on the organizers. But Dutt decided to defy it and the procession was taken out. The police dispersed it with force and the usual lathi charge and arrests followed. There was absolutely no violence on the part of the processionists and they bore with patience the brutal onslaught on the peaceful demonstration. The impact of this unprovoked and unjust act on the part of the police was electric and it served the purpose of hardening the determination of the people to resist the authorities and defy them peacefully wherever possible.

Very few people pause to think how gifted literary persons sometimes give an aesthetic shape and form to the inner aspirations, hopes and fears and ambitions, of a whole nation. In the tradition of Bengali patriotic efforts, there was a story current about a Sannyasi rebellion against the British rule. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the great Bengali novelist, took up the theme and wrote a novel called *Ānandamath*, which has been translated into Kannada also. He had composed the now famous national song, 'Bande Mataram' (Bow to Mother India) which gave a call to the Sannyasins to serve the motherland and lay down their lives, if need be. The song lay there as mere words for years ! It now came handy and suddenly became the national song of India ! Similar was the case in Karnataka with Sāntakavi's 'Matrubhūmi Janani ninna charaṇa sēve māḍuva' which, while standing the trial, served as a daily marching song for the innocent patriotic sufferers unjustly convicted in the Dharwar Riot case in 1921. 'Udayavāgali Namma Cheluva Kannada nādu' of Huilgol Narayana Rao came later at the time of the Belgaum Congress in 1924 and it still holds the ground as the most patriotic popular song of Karnataka.

The anti-partition movement, or the Swadeshi movement, as it came to be called, was remarkable in many respects and most of all in the active programme which it placed before the nation. The programme was fourfold ; (a) the use of Swadeshi goods and the promotion of indigenous industries ; (b) boycott of foreign goods, especially of British goods ; (c) national education as different from the soulless education which was meant only to manufacture intelligent clerks, and finally, (d) demand for Swaraj, or self-rule, on the same pattern as England itself. This programme was placed before the sessions of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1906. It was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji, the grand old man of India. By that time the names of Lokmanya Tilak Babu Aurobindo Ghosh, Lala Lajpatrai, Bepin Chandra Pal, Surendranath

Banerji and others had already become household words throughout India as leaders of a new militant nationalism which would not rest till Swaraj was won.

It is in this perspective that the stirrings in Karnataka during the years 1904-06 are to be considered and studied. It is unfortunate, however, that no connected or uniform story of those days can be told about the whole of the Kannada-speaking area, because the different administrations were affected differently according to the administrative province in which people found themselves. Broadly speaking, it can be asserted that the general characteristic of the Kannada people, namely, fighting heroically for defending right causes, was evident in all parts of the Kannada area. The inclination of the people in general has been towards extremism rather than towards what is called liberalism or moderatism. For instance, Gopalakrishna Gokhale and others represented the moderate school in Indian politics, while Lokamanya Tilak stood for extremism. One could easily see that in Karnataka there was overwhelming support for Tilak's point of view. Another trait of the people is the propensity to hero-worship. Gandhi, for instance, almost since his first appearance in Indian politics, has been held in high reverence and his following in Karnataka has been on a mass scale and consistent, steady and devoted. The same could be said in a somewhat modified form about Nehru.

It is needless to say that the wave of resentment against the Bengal Partition swept throughout the Kannada-speaking area, as in other parts of India, when it took the shape of the Swadeshi movement in its fourfold aspects. The Kannada people developed the same in the whole region, though it could not be said that it was uniform in its intensity. Before going into the details of this movement in these parts, the movement as represented by the Indian National Congress may be divided into periods, so that it may be easier to deal with each one of them.

Though the Congress started in 1885, it had neither a broad base nor a mass appeal till the Bengal Partition shook the whole country. It unified India on the common political issues of cancelling the Partition and demanding Swaraj, and infused a new spirit of patriotism throughout. This wave which was generated in 1905-06 rose unabated till 1907 December, when at Surat there was a serious split between the extremist forces of nationalism led by Tilak and Aurobindo, on the one hand, and the moderates, on the other. Karnataka delegates ranged themselves on the side of Tilak. This was the opportunity the Government was waiting for, and they tried Lokamanya Tilak for seditious writing and sentenced him to six years' imprisonment. He was sent to Mandalay in Burma for serving his term'. Sri Aurobindo and other colleagues of Tilak kept the flame burning, but Sri Aurobindo exiled himself in 1910 to Pondicherry in French India in response to an inner call for Yogic sadhana. It was only in 1914 that Tilak returned from Mandalay and started outside the Congress the Home Rule League, and set on

foot a new all-India agitation. Mrs. Annie Besant, who had not interested herself earlier in politics, moved the intellectuals to their roots by her tearing campaign for Home Rule both through the press and the platform, on behalf of her own All-India Home Rule League. This went on till the year 1918-19 when the Rowlatt Bills, called the Black Billss gave an opportunity to Gandhi to try his new weapon of Satyagraha. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919, without any provocation whatsoever, exposed the deadly fangs of British rule in India as nothing else had done before. Then came the abolition of the Khaliphate which, coupled with the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, gave a signal opportunity to Gandhi to mobilize public opinion both of the Hindus and the Mussalmans, against the British Raj. He designated these acts of injustice as 'the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs'. The Muslim leaders were furious and accepted the programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the Government offered by Gandhi. A new era in public agitation on a national scale was thus opened and the whole programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation was accepted by the Indian National Congress at its Nagpur Sessions in December 1920.

From 1885 to 1905, the Congress laid the foundations of national unity among the educated during those days; and in spite of differences in religion and language, in spite of regional claims, communal and caste considerations, it brought people on a single political platform. This was the beginning of the secular outlook of the Congress on all common problems of the body-politic. The Congress through thick and thin and in spite of the attempts of the British bureaucracy to divide and rule has maintained that secular outlook both during the struggle for Independence and even after the advent of Swaraj.

The period from 1904-1910 may be described as the years of real and deep-rooted national awakening, when the masses too became conscious of the nation's plight under the British. Another significant factor was that the forces of extremism asserted themselves and, though the extremists could not work from within the Congress, they certainly carried the people with them. The Government thenceforward had mainly to deal not merely with petitions and courteous requests but had to take note of the non-violent sanctions like Swadeshi and Boycott which were forged during this period.

From 1910 to 1914 was a period when the Government might have felt that the forces of the Congress and of the extremists had been rendered ineffective both on account of internal differences and repression.

The period from 1914 to 1920 was full of constitutional agitation when the idea of Home Rule or Swaraj took deeper root.

The year 1916 was important in the life of the Congress as the extremists entered the organization after being in the wilderness since the split at Surat in December 1907. The moderate element in the Congress lost all hope of ever

regaining its former status either in the Congress or in the country. The years 1916 and 1917 were significant as Lokamanya's plea that the demand for Swaraj *i.e.*, for a democratic form of government was a legitimate one; and criticism, however strong, of the administration and of the bureaucracy was declared by the High Court of Bombay to be within the law. Dr. Besant had been interned for her whirlwind campaign for Home Rule but the Congress elected her as the President of the 1917 session at Calcutta! Thus unmistakably the Congress approved of the constitutional campaign for a democratic government on the lines of Irish Home Rule.

It is needless to point out that the year 1919 proved the most crucial year. Hindus and Muslims were brought together as never before or after, on account of the Khilafat agitation. It was also the year when the Government made a final attempt to suppress the nationalist movement by giving the widest arbitrary powers to the executive in the name of the preservation of peace and order. The Rowlatt Bill was introduced in the Central Legislature and we know how Gandhi and the Congress reacted and how even the most moderate people stood against it. The birth of Satyagraha, of Non-violent Non-co-operation and the appearance of other weapons in the armoury of Gandhi add special importance to the years 1919-20.

The years between 1920-1922 can be described as those of intense Non-violent Non-co-operation with the Government and the lamentable episode of Chauri Chaura as well as the consequent withdrawal of the Bardoli no-tax campaign. Gandhiji's incarceration for six years for sedition followed. In the wake of this, 1923 saw the emergence of the Council-entry party led by C. R. Das of Bengal.

In 1924 Gandhi was released and he presided over the Belgaum Congress. The period from 1929 was one in which Congress worked on two co-ordinated fronts, the legislative and the constructive work fronts. Gandhi was the originator of the latter and he identified himself with it but did not pit himself against the Council-entry party. During the year 1928-29, the Congress busied itself with attempts to present a united national front by convening an All-parties' Conference and formulating a constitutional demand to be placed before the government. It could not fully succeed on account of differences between the Congress and the Muslim League. In 1929, the Congress, after vainly attempting to negotiate with the Government on the basis of granting Swaraj within the British Empire, declared in its Lahore session that complete Independence was India's goal.

From 1930 April to 1931 March, the Congress was busy with a widespread civil Disobedience movement. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact came into operation from the 5th of March 1931 but it proved temporary. In the meanwhile Gandhi attended the Round Table Conference in London as the sole representative of

the Congress but returned empty-handed, both on account of the short-sightedness of many of the Indian leaders and the machinations of the British. In 1932 civil disobedience had to be renewed. It went on lingering till 1934 with the Harijan fast and the all-India Harijan tour of Gandhi thrown in. Civil disobedience was formally withdrawn in 1934, and in 1935 the Congress decided to fight the elections under the new Reforms Act, which virtually conceded Provincial autonomy. the Congress formed ministries in the Provinces but the second World War intervened when Congress ministries resigned as a protest, because India was declared to be at war with Germany without the popular ministries being consulted.

The Congress was again in the wilderness and there was the Individual Civil Disobedience move in 1940-42. But it soon gave place to what came to be called the 'Quit India' Movement in August 1942. Near-revolt conditions prevailed for a period throughout the country till 1944, when Gandhi was released and the period of tripartite negotiations began among the Government, Congress and Muslim League for transfer of power to Indian hands. This ultimately led to the British Parliament's Act of Independence in 1947. Unfortunately, the partition of India became the precondition for grant of Independence.

The Constituent Assembly had been sitting since 1946 December and it forged a Constitution for free India which came into operation on 26-1-50. Since then the most significant event from the point of view of Karnataka, has been the formation of the Karnataka State (1-11-56) called Mysore State on the basis of the recommendations of the States' Reorganization Commission, formed by getting the surrounding Kannada areas integrated with the old Mysore State.

The above may be said to be the landmarks in the story of the Congress in India. It would now be easy to see how Karnataka contributed its significant mite in the epic and unique non-violent struggle of India for independence and the subsequent formation of the Karnataka State, now called Mysore State.

Though Kannada-speaking people were scattered over something like nineteen different administrations, they were as much caught in the wave of real national awakening and the Swadeshi agitation of 1905-10 as other parts of India. Only the difference was that the movement was not of the same intensity and uniformity in the various parts of Karnataka. It may be said that the four districts adjacent to Maharashtra were more in the picture than others. The reason was obvious: they were part of the Bombay Province and nearer to the source of inspiration, namely Lokamanya Tilak of Poona. All students for higher education in those four districts had to go to Poona or Bombay and thus the influence of the capital city and of Poona was easily felt. The main thing in those days was really the basic national awakening and a strong desire to throw off the British yoke. Both were exhibited in strong speeches in meetings and writings in

newspapers in Karnataka. These were manifested in the boycott of British goods, mainly cloth and sugar, the use of Indian-made goods and the starting of a few national schools here and there. Lokamanya Tilak visited Belgaum in 1906, which gave a fillip to the agitation and local leadership arose. Gangadhararao Deshpande of Belgaum, Srinivasarao Kaujalgi of Bijapur, Venkatrao Alur and Gadigeyya Honnapurmamath of Dharwar could be mentioned here. A few attempts by Hebbal Alagwadi and others were made to start small industries for weaving, match-manufacture, slate-making, bangles and pencil-making and so on. British cloth, sugar, kerosine were boycotted. National schools were attempted in Belgaum, Dharwar, Hubli and Bagalkot by Kaka Kalelkar, Alur Venkatrao Burse, Jayrao Nargund and others. It was significant that picketing of liquor shops was resorted to in Belgaum. Three persons, including Dr. Joshi of Pachhapur and Govindarao Yalgi of Belgaum were sentenced to a week's imprisonment in 1906.

There was also a loose link-up with the revolutionaries of Bengal and Maharashtra. Bhimrao Bevoor and Dr. Handur of Dharwar were arrested and interrogated, with torture added on. They were implicated with the arrival of two Bengali youths to Goa and Hubli with a view to make Goa a centre for revolutionary activity. Gangadhararao Deshpande himself was sought to be implicated by the police in a bomb-manufacturing case.

The whole of Bombay Karnataka was decidedly extremist and at the Surat Congress in 1907, the delegates from these parts including Venkatrao Alur, Srinivasarao Kaujalgi, Hoskeri Annacharya, Gangadhararao Deshpande stood for Tilak. Govindrao Yalgi attended the secret meeting convened by Sri Aurobindo and took the oath of dedication to the cause of the country. The brutal sentence of six years passed against Tilak in 1908 shocked the whole of Karnataka and even school students went on strike. Though the movement waned outwardly for the time being, the seeds of patriotism were sown in fertile soil only to sprout vigorously later.

In South Kanara, Amembala Pai, Subraya Baliga, P. K. Rao, Panje Mangeshrao and others lighted the torch and kept it burning. Bellary had the veteran Kolachalam. In the Mysore State of those days Venkatakrishnaiah was a name to reckon with.

A small incident may be mentioned here typical of the atmosphere of those days. A school teacher in Bijapur, Bheemacharya Chimmalgi had kept Lokamanya Tilak's photo in his house and was also selling photoes of patriots. The police ordered him not to do so. He persisted and had to resign his post. He migrated to Hyderabad for finding some vocation. Of course, he later prospered there as a photographer and a dealer in cameras and radios. That is another matter.

Karnataka gave enthusiastic response to the call of Lokamanya Tilak's

Home Rule movement. Alur Venkatrao instinctively thought it necessary that the movement should be carried on in Kannada and all the literature should be published in the language of the people. The logic of his argument was unassailable and a Karnataka branch of the Home Rule League was established in Dharwar in May 1916, with Gangadhararao Deshpande as the President. Long ago in 1906 when Tilak visited Belgaum, Shahapur, Gurlhosur and a few other places, he had clearly told Gangadhararao and others that Kannada should be the language of the movement in Karnataka. With the true instinct of a mass leader Tilak was never in doubt about this matter and he knew that what he could do in Maharashtra through his 'Kesari' in Marathi, he could never have been able to do in any other language. He did start the English weekly 'Mahratta' but it had very limited influence.

One more significant contribution of Karnataka to the Home Rule Movement and to the decision of the Extremist party under Tilak to join the Congress was the holding of the Bombay Provincial Political Conference in Belgaum in 1916. Mahatma Gandhi visited Belgaum and, for the matter of that, Karnataka for the first time at the special request of Gangadhararao. Lokamanya Tilak visited Dharwar and some other places also, which roused the people to be ready for the revival of the national movement for Swaraj. Section 144 of the Cr. Procedure Code was put in action against his public speeches in Dharwar. Nothing daunted, the big private compound of Bellary Ramarao, a noted pleader, was made immediately available and crowds gathered there to listen to Tilak. It was in the 18th Bombay Political Conference at Belgaum (1914-1916) that a resolution exhorting extremists to reenter the Congress was passed. The Moderate Congress leaders of those days made it easy for the Extremists to enter by making suitable amendments in the rules. Tilak was the master-spirit behind all these new moves and he had also the foresight to make suitable moves, so that at the Lucknow Congress the Muslim League made common cause with the Congress.

The Home Rule Movement spread in many parts of Karnataka and it popularized the idea of Swaraj in some details. Tilak explained it clearly and fearlessly as the government of the people of India by Indians, may be under the aegis of the British Crown. He defined the British Crown as only an ornamental head. The essence of his teaching was that real power must be vested in the people on the lines of parliamentary government. He said that good government was no substitute for self-government, and no national progress was possible without Swaraj.

The years 1916-1919 were not very significant in Karnataka except for the fact that along with hunger for Swaraj, awareness of the necessity to have Karnataka as a political and administrative entity grew apace. Alur Venkatrao, Kadapa Reghavendraro and others started in 1916 what was called the Karnataka Sabha in Dharwar for educating the people on this subject. In fact, a demand

was placed before the Congress in 1917 at Madras to concede a Karnataka Circle. While Andhra got it in 1917 and Sind in 1918, Karnataka failed to get it till 1920. One more thing of importance in Karnataka during those years was one more tour of Tilak in parts of Belgaum, namely Chikodi, Nipani and other places. This was on the occasion of the Belgaum District Political Conference at Chikodi on 12-4-1917. Another event was the holding of the next Bombay Provincial Political Conference at Bijapur in 1918 where Vithalbhai Patel presided. Gandhi too attended it. This was his second visit to Karnataka. It was there that when he was asked to address the Untouchables' Conference, he asked the question as to where the untouchables were since none were present. Gandhi was always unconventional and unorthodox in his approach and methods of work, because he was always original and forthright.

Thus Karnataka had the distinction of holding two Bombay Provincial Political Conferences in three years and one District Political Conference, all of which were attended by Lokamanya Tilak, 'the Father of Indian unrest'. The Belgaum District which had distinguished itself since the days of the Swadeshi Movement was naturally in the forefront. Gangadhararao Deshpande and Srinivasarao Kaujalgi were household names in Karnataka and were known throughout nationalist India.

The Home Rule Movement and the persistent demand for Swaraj from all platforms and the fiery but very cogent and logical speeches of leaders like Tilak, Besant, Surendranath, B. C. Pal and others did not go in vain. The then State Secretary for India Mr. Montagu visited India in November 1917. Lokamanya Tilak led a deputation on behalf of the Home Rule League. Gangadhararao and Belvi from Karnataka took part in it along with Khaparde, Karandikar, Dr. Munje and others.

The Congress not only adopted fully the extremists' views but it passed on from what were called constitutional ways of agitation to the unorthodox and original methods of Gandhiji during this period of 1918-20. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were unsatisfactory and unacceptable to the Congress. The Rowlatt Bills, called the Black Bills, roused the indignation of the whole nation including the Liberals. The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre of innocents and the British Parliament's attitude towards the culprits, the Martial Law brutalities and the way they were justified by the authorities exposed once for all the iron heel that was hidden behind the so-called political reforms.

This was Gandhi's opportunity and he boldly seized it. The era of Tilak was fading and Gandhi openly declared that legal hedging and fencing as well as constitutional methods had their own limits. Beyond that lay the land of Satyagraha, civil resistance, self-suffering, but without any ill-will against the evil-doer. Lokamanya had seen the force of Gandhi's logic and, while going to England for

the Chirol Case, had enjoined his followers not to oppose Gandhi. Tilak passed away on the 1st of August 1920 and Gandhi dramatically announced the same day that Non-violent Non co-operation with the British Government was the only honourable way left to the Khilafat Committee and to a self-respecting nation. The Muslims who were enraged at the abolition of the Khilafat readily took up the programme proposed by Gandhiji and even before the special Congress in September and the Nagpur Congress in December 1920, the Khilafat Committee adopted the programme of Non-cooperation in their June meeting at Allahabad. Hindus and Muslims in Karnataka fell in line with it.

It is needless to say that Karnataka whole-heartedly supported Gandhiji and from as early as 1920 it began to be called a 'Gandhi Province'. More details about Karnataka's part in the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement are given in a later chapter.

While on the national front, Karnataka was wholly with the Congress, it was very keen that it should have a separate Congress Province to start with. Strangely enough, Lokamanya Tilak stood for it as early as 1918, though at that time Gandhi was indifferent. It must be said to the credit of Lokamanya that having linguistic provinces was one of the objectives of the Democratic Swaraj Party which he launched in the evening of his days. In 1920, Raghavendra Rao Kadapa, the dynamic protagonist of united Karnataka, enrolled well over eight hundred delegates for the Nagpur session of the Congress and put the demand vigorously before Gandhiji. In the new constitution of the Congress passed in December 1920 at Nagpur, Karnataka was given a separate province and it began to function with its headquarters at Gadag from then onwards.

Once there was a Congress Province, the nationalist forces in all parts of the Kannada-speaking region rallied to the call of Gandhi. The history of the Congress in Karnataka really started after Karnataka began to function as an organized unit under the designation of Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee (it is today called the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee). It started giving a good account of itself from 1920-1921 in spite of the fact that practically half of the Kannada-speaking area was under the Indian princes (Mysore and Hyderabad of those days).

The period of twenty-seven years (1920-1947) was really the crucial period in the Indian struggle for freedom.

It can generally be said that Karnataka has always stood in the forefront regarding the demand and struggle for the freedom of the country under the leadership of Tilak, Gandhi and the Congress. There have been no active revolutionary trends as such in Karnataka which believed in violent action, as in the Punjab, Bengal and Maharashtra. Stray individuals there have been and there has always been enough sympathy for the revolutionaries. But it may be noted that ideas of

a bloody revolution did not take root in this soil. When one takes into consideration the fact that the Congress has always stood for non-violent action and even extremist leaders like Tilak, Aurobindo, Lajpatrai have believed principally in mass action, one can see how persistently Karnataka has been loyal to the teachings of the Congress.

In the Gaya Congress in 1922 December, when Gandhi was in jail, there was a battle royal between the two wings of the Congress. One stood for the strict continuance of the four boycotts while the other wing led by C. R. Das of Bengal wanted to lift the ban on Legislatures. The no-changers won, and Das who was the President resigned and started the Swarajist Party outside the Congress. It is needless to say that Karnataka stood by no-change advocated by Rajaji. It was left to the wise and accommodating leadership of Gandhi after his release in 1924, to bring the two wings together and establish co-ordination between them.

In 1924, the Congress met at Belgaum under the presidentship of Gandhi. In jail or outside, he was the soul of the Congress Movement. He graced the Congress *gadi* only once and that was in Karnataka in 1924.

The Congress session in Karnataka in 1924 under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi may be said to have achieved some very important things from the national point of view, in addition to the consolidation of Kannada-speaking people in a significant national effort. Gandhi brought about a conciliation between the two wings of the Congress, the no-changers and the pro-changers. He continued to discount work in the Legislatures but allowed C. R. Das and his friends to carry on under the name of 'Swarajist Party'. He introduced the spinning franchise for Congress membership and tested the faith of his followers. He had to modify it later. The more important thing was that he took up the direct leadership of the Khadi and Village Industries Movement and began the organization of a number of activities which, in their totality, came to be called the Constructive Programme. Another landmark which the Congress at Belgaum registered was the regular emergence of the Hindustani Seva Dal under the able and continued inspiration and leadership of Dr. N. S. Hardiker of Hubli. It had already been launched at the Cocanada session under the aegis of the Congress and Jawaharlalji encouraged it from the very beginning. At Belgaum, it played a significant role in the matter of organization and disciplined work and introduced the national flag-hoisting ceremony as a regular ritual at Congress functions. It then grew from strength to strength, and the Dal was absorbed into the Congress organization in 1931 and still continues as the volunteer wing of the Congress under the name of the Congress Seva Dal.

Karnataka can well be proud of Dr. Hardiker who still continues as the guiding spirit of the Dal. The Dal by its activities and effective work in the

struggle for freedom during the critical period of 1930-34 became so prominent that the Government refused to lift its ban on it as being an unlawful assembly, even after lifting it from the Congress in 1934. The ban continued till 1937.

As in the political struggle for freedom, so too in Khadi and other constructive activities, Karnataka followed Gandhi with great devotion and enthusiasm. The Karnataka branch of the Charkha Sangha was organized under the lead of Gangadhararao Deshpande. Hanumantarao Kowjalgi, Siddurao Pujari, Karnad Sadasivarao, Parmanna Hosmani, T. S. Nayak and others took up the work. Significantly enough, the Mysore State was the first among Indian State Governments to take the initiative in organizing a Khadi centre. It was at a village called Badanval. Gandhi was pleased at this development and had a word of appreciation for the popular Maharaja.

1924-1929 was a period of intense activity in the constructive field in Karnataka as throughout India. The contacts with the rural population, which developed during this period on account of Khadi and other work, stood in good stead when the Civil Disobedience Movement for Swaraj was launched in 1930. Gangadhararao's Hudli, Hosriti Ashram with young Hallikeri and Magadi, other centres in Nileshwar, Ankola and Kaladgi came into prominence. Hundreds of workers went about among lakhs of villagers with the message of Gandhi and Swaraj through the cult of the charkha, self-sufficiency and simple living. The importance of work among the masses was realized when it was seen that a general awareness and hunger for Swaraj was engendered.

The successful no-tax campaign in Bardoli in 1928 on the economic issue of excessive increase in land revenue at the time of revision was a new discovery both for the people and the Government. The leaders, Vallabhbhai, Nariman and others realized that it was constructive work among the masses and Gandhian technique alone which could generate the sense of solidarity and identity between the leaders and the led. The people realized that they could, if they would, give battle to Government if truth was on their side and if they could stick to it non-violently. The Government realized that the instruments of coercion, however brutal and however successful otherwise, were blunt against a people who were willing to suffer and determined not to yield. The message of Bardoli reverberated throughout India's villages and Karnataka took its lessons from it for her own no-tax campaigns in Hirekerur and the North Kanara District in 1930-34.

It may be mentioned that on the constitutional front an attempt was being made by the Congress legislators to unite the forces of the Muslim League and other parties for a united demand for Swaraj. An All-Parties' Conference appointed a Committee with Motilal Nehru as the Chairman to draw up a Constitution to be placed before the Government for acceptance. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee jointly with the Karnataka Unification Conference prepared a memorandum and presented it to the Nehru Committee in 1928. The Nehru Committee not only commended the way in which the case was presented

before the Committee at Allahabad but conceded in its report that there was a *prima facie* case for the formation of a united Karnataka province even without including the Kannada portions in the Indian States of those days. Later, at the All-Parties' Conference held at Lucknow, both Andhra and Karnataka presented their cases and succeeded in convincing Motilal Nehru, the Chairman, that there was a strong case for linguistic provinces.

It need not be said that Karnataka delegates in 1929 whole-heartedly supported Jawaharlal Nehru who presided over the sessions at Lahore.

The refusal of the Government to consider the demand for Swaraj within the Empire and the declaration of the Congress that complete Independence was its goal led to the natural sequel of total civil disobedience for unqualified Swaraj in 1930. It began with the Dandi March by Gandhi ending on 6-4-30 and ended with the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience in 1934, with the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931, and Gandhi's visit to London for the Round Table Conference thrown in.

Though the C. D. Movement waned gradually in 1933, a very important event took place and that was the Communal Award, as part of the new Constitution, by the Prime Minister of England. It sought to give separate electorates to the untouchables. Gandhi saw that it would drive a permanent wedge into Hindu society. He staked his life and fasted even while in jail. The Yeravada Pact, which stood for joint electorates for all Hindus, followed and Gandhi broke his fast. He undertook an all-India Harijan tour and Karnataka responded splendidly both by pledging itself to the removal of untouchability and by contributing funds. The Harijan Sevak Sangh, with leaders like Veerangowda Patil, was formed and the Karnataka branch is continuing to work along the lines followed by the All-India Sangh.

The C. D. Movement was formally withdrawn in 1934, by a resolution of the A.I.C.C. at Patna. During that year, the most disastrous earthquake in living memory in Bihar shook the whole of India. Fifty volunteers from Karnataka were sent to help the people there very promptly by Dr. Hardiker. The systematic, disciplined and effective work done by the volunteers sent by him drew the attention of Rajendra Prasad, who was guiding the relief operations.

In its Bombay session in October 1934, the Congress under Rajendra Prasad emphasized the constructive programme and waited for the political reforms which were to come under the Government of India Act 1935. The period from 1935 to 1939 was one in which Karnataka, like all other provinces, engaged itself in elections to the legislatures on the one hand and constructive work on the other. Karnataka gave a good account of itself in both the fields of activity. In Karnataka there was no worth-while organized party to oppose the

the Congress candidates at the polls. As a result of success at the elections, the Congress formed ministries in seven provinces, and M.P. Patil of Belgaum was included in the Bombay Government Cabinet and Dr. A. B. Setty in the Madras Cabinet. But in 1939, when the British Government declared war against Germany and declared India also to be at war without consulting the popular ministries, the Congress ministries resigned and the Congress was again in the wilderness. The next step in connection with the freedom struggle which Gandhiji took was the campaign of individual satyagraha as a protest against the Government's action of forcing India into the war without her consent. It was launched in 1940 and Karnataka under the leadership of Dr. Nagangowda, whole-heartedly participated in it. Smt. Krishnabai Panjikar, who was then the Vice-President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, took the first long list of more than two hundred leading congressmen to Gandhi at Sevagram for approval. He was pleased at the response.

The World War grew grimmer and grimmer and the Japanese were at the north-eastern doors of India. Congress leaders were baffled and knew not what to do. Continuance of non-co-operation with the war effort of the British Government would probably mean acceptance of Japanese rule. That was the feeling and Gandhi differed from the other leaders. Ultimately in August 1942, Gandhi came out with a bold programme called the 'Quit India' Movement. He was intuitive more than logical in this matter and he knew that the masses were behind him though not the leaders. The leaders had to toe his line, and on 8-8-42 the 'Do or Die' Movement was launched. If he had remained out of jail how he would have guided the Movement is a matter of speculation. The Government however swooped on all the most prominent leaders to imprison them and almost declared war against the Congress and started the most ruthless repression.

The British Government about this time was thinking seriously about the problem of India's political future. The elections to the Central Legislature held in 1945 distinctly proved that the Congress had a stronghold on the minds of the people. What followed through the following two years, 1945-1947, with regard to negotiations for Swaraj and the tragic partition of India, need not be recounted here. After Independence in 1947, the main problem which engaged the attention of Karnataka was its unification under a single administration. That was achieved only after implementing the recommendations of the States' Reorganization Commission headed by Fazl Ali. On the 1st of November 1956, Karnataka can be said to have come into its own as an administrative unit. But on account of the insistence of the representatives of Mysore, the new State came to be called Mysore State *i.e.*, Karnataka. With its rich cultural heritage, immense and varied material resources, potential human talents, Karnataka can well be on the road to all-round progress if the same vision and selfless service and sacrifice,

visible during the struggle for freedom, continue to inspire to guide the men and women of the new State.

The Congress and Indian States in Karnataka

The Congress movement and the spirit of rebellion against the British authority engendered by it naturally found full expression in the areas directly under British rule. But it happened that more than half of the Karnataka area was under the rule of Indian princes. There was the State of Mysore which accounted for a little less than half of the whole of Karnataka area. There were the three Kannada districts of the Hyderabad State ; there were, besides, nearly a dozen small States like Sandur, Savanur, Ramdurg, Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Akkalkot etc., ruled by princes who were mostly non-Kannada speaking. These small principalities were the result of historical accidents. There was Coorg which was administered directly from the centre, and had its own non-democratic political set-up.

The people of these Indian States who were under separate administrations were like islands surrounded on all sides by British Indian provinces and open to the currents of political agitation and upheaval that flowed over from the neighbouring British-ruled areas. The citizens in these Indian States had intimate domestic, social, cultural and economic ties with their Karnataka brethren in British India. It was only natural that they shared the political aspirations for democracy of their fellow-citizens living across the border. The political upsurge in British India could not, therefore, leave the people of these Indian States unaffected.

The earlier phases of the national movement like the Swadeshi Movement in 1905-6 and the Non-co-operation Movement launched by Gandhiji in 1920-21 produced repercussions in the Indian States also, but did not result in any appreciable conflict between the citizens and their rulers. But, when the Congress passed the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in 1929 and followed it up by the Salt Satyagraha of 1930, political agitation all over the country acquired a new tempo, and citizens of Indian States were also drawn into the vortex. Hundreds of them crossed over and took significant part in the movement as volunteers. Occasions for conflict with authority in the Indian States increased, particularly in respect of salutation to the Indian National Flag. Repression was resorted to, which only increased the spirit of resistance. The Indian National Congress was unwilling to interfere with the affairs of Indian States, but gave their moral support directly or indirectly through the 'States'

Peoples' Conference' to the legitimate political aspirations of the people of the Indian States.

The Indian States' people, being left to their own resources, organized themselves, adopted the techniques of political agitation like Satyagraha practised in British India, and had often to pass through suffering sometimes more severe than what their fellow-citizens in British India had to go through.

When the elections were held in British India according to the 1935 Reforms Act and the Congress candidates were returned in large numbers to enable them to form ministries in a majority of the Indian Provinces, the movement for the establishment of responsible government in Indian States became more intense.

In many of the smaller States where mediaeval notions still prevailed and where the rulers looked upon their territories as personal property, it was difficult for the rulers to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing conditions. The people of several States, however, carried on their brave struggle till the goal was reached. Popular leaders came into conflict with the rulers and, though the struggle was on the whole non-violent, in very rare cases ugly scenes ending in violence and repression were witnessed, as in Ramdurg. But there was also a State like Jamkhandi which had a wise ruler who recognized the new spirit and responded to popular aspirations. In fact, it was the first State to respond that way. Ultimately, however, all the States big as well as small, had to fall in line with India and its democratic constitution. It may be mentioned here that it became impossible for the princes to resist the waves of democracy which installed the Congress in power in the surrounding areas, and to stem the tide of popular awakening led by leaders like Andanappa Dodmeti, Munavalli, Veerangowda Patil, Hanumantarao Kowjalgi and others. One by one, the Indian States in Karnataka had to yield, till they were finally merged in the surrounding areas by Instruments of Accession offered by Sardar Patel.

CONGRESS AND THE MYSORE STATE :

After the Nagpur Congress of 1920 when the Congress recognizing the principle of linguistic provinces established the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee (then located at Gadag), Congress Committees were also set up at Bangalore, Mysore, Tumkur and Kadur in the Mysore State to work out the constructive programme of the Congress, like Hindu-Muslim unity, Swadeshi and Khaddar, prohibition and anti-untouchability. The first President at Bangalore was S. S. Setlur, a retired Judge of the High Court, who had worked with Lokamanya Tilak, and the first Secretary was S. N. Razvi. Tagadur Ramachandra Rao tried to work out the several items of the programme

intensively in his village in the Mysore District and had the guidance of M. Venkatakrishnaiah, 'the grand old man of Mysore'. K. Ranga Iyengar and others worked at Tumkur, Congress leaders from North Karnataka like Kadapa Raghavendrarao, Gangadhararao Deshpande, Krishnarao Mudhvedkar, Dr. Hardiker, Pandit Taranath often visited the State, and conveyed the message of Gandhiji, specially its social and economic aspects. The holding of the annual session of the Congress for the first time, at Belgaum in 1924 and under Gandhiji's presidentship brought the Mysore State people closer to the Congress. Many young men took training as volunteers under Dr. Hardiker in the newly started Hindustani Seva Dal, and served the people at the session. The State took active part in the Congress Exhibition, and many distinguished Palace musicians were present at Belgaum to participate in the musical and cultural programmes arranged for the entertainment of the delegates.

When Gandhiji had a slight stroke in April 1927 in North Karnataka, after a strenuous tour, the Dewan of Mysore invited him to recoup his health by a stay on the Nandi Hills. Gandhiji's stay of over four months provided occasion for the visit of many Congress leaders to Mysore. After recouping his health, Gandhiji toured the Mysore State, and provided a rare opportunity to the citizens all over the State of seeing him and hearing his message. A Khadi Centre had been opened by Government at Badanval, and Gandhiji opened a South India Khadi Exhibition at Bangalore before he left the State.

The passing of the Independence resolution in the Lahore Congress of 1929 and the Flag-Hoisting Ceremony on 26th January 1930 produced great repercussions in the Mysore State. It was then for the first time that the Congress organization came into sharp conflict with the Mysore Government. The Salt Satyagraha subsequently launched by Gandhiji was enthusiastically watched by people in the State and many volunteers went to Karwar and other places to participate in it. From this time onwards, a regular flow of enthusiastic young workers began to take part in the no-tax and other civil disobedience campaigns in the British Karnataka areas.

Things were moving fast in British India and the demand for responsible Government became more and more insistent in Mysore and other States. With the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, which granted provincial autonomy and the setting up of responsible ministries in British Indian provinces and the decision of the Congress to contest elections and take office, the tempo of political activity quickened in the Indian States also. There had been political parties functioning in the Mysore State. But they had confined their agitation mostly to securing justice for backward communities in regard to Government appointments etc. But with the resounding success achieved by the Congress in British India in 1937, political leaders in Mysore realized the need to make common cause with the Congress.

THE CONGRESS AND KARNATAKA

It was thus that the Mysore Congress came into existence in 1938, and its first session was held at Sivapura, near Maddur, with T. Siddalingiah as its first President. The Mysore Congress was an independent organization not affiliated either to the Karnataka or the All-India Congress organization. The securing of responsible government was its main objective. The Mysore Government did not view this development with any favour, and flag-hoisting and other demonstrations were prohibited. At Viduraswatha, the police opened fire on a crowd which had assembled in spite of prohibitory orders. Many congressmen were arrested. In addition to an Enquiry Committee into the Viduraswatha disturbances, the Government appointed a Reforms Committee to consider the grant of constitutional reforms, but Congress would have nothing to do with it. Repressive measures reached such a pitch that Gandhiji had to use his good offices with the Dewan and sent Sardar Patel and Acharya Kriplani to bring about better relations between the Mysore Congress and the Government. The flying of the National Flag along with the Mysore Flag at the same height was permitted by the Government. But the cold war continued. In the 'Quit India' Movement of 1942, Mysore Congress workers and volunteers took active part both in and outside the State. The Mysore Government adopted the usual methods for the maintenance of law and order; meetings and processions were banned, lathi charges were made, fines were imposed and the jails were filled. There were strikes in educational institutions and factories lasting for considerable periods. It is estimated that 2,500 were imprisoned, 156 died and 789 wounded as a result of firing at several places. A punitive fine of Rs. 2,000 was imposed and collected from four villages.

When the Second World War ended in 1945 high level political negotiations started between Britain and India. The later political developments in Mysore and India have been referred to in the last Chapter.

The Mysore Congress was formally dissolved in August 1950, as its objective had been achieved. The Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee, affiliated to the All-India Congress body, was formed with K. Hanumanthiah as its first President.

HYDERABAD KARNATAKA AND THE CONGRESS :

The Hyderabad State was a stronghold of British imperialism and a centre of Muslim feudalism. It was educationally poor. There were no civil liberties nor any Municipalities and District Boards. No private school could be started without the prior permission of the Government. There was no freedom of speech. Bribery, corruption and mal-administration were rampant. Indirectly, the British Resident controlled the Nizam and his State. He would not allow the people of the State to do or say anything against British rule. Under the

circumstances, the people of the State had to fight the twin forces of imperialism and feudalism.

Even before the First War of Independence in 1857, Veerappa*, a prominent Zamindar of Koppal, rose in revolt in 1819, against British rule in the fort of Bahadur Banda. The British military marched against him. He was captured and executed. In the Koppal revolt in 1857, Bhimrao** and his colleague Kenchen Gowda fell fighting on the battle-field and 77 persons were blown up by the cannon and two were hanged. In the Shorapur revolt, Raja Venkatappa Nayak resisted the British rule and laid down his life and became a martyr.

In recent years, when Mahatma Gandhi launched non-violent Satyagraha, following the noble traditions of sacrifice of life for freedom shown by the heroes of Shorapur and Koppal, people came forward to fight against the Britishers. Before the advent of Gandhi, Tilak's politics influenced the people of Hyderabad Karnataka. His slogan was "Educate, agitate and organize to fight". They started the Nutan Vidyalaya, a National School, at Gulbarga and another National School at Chincholi. Later, the Hamdard School at Raichur, and the Vidyananda School at Kuknoor were started with the object of imparting national education. These institutions not only educated the students, but supplied thousands of volunteers for Satyagraha.

Pandit Taranath, a pioneer in the political field, was responsible for spreading Gandhism in Hyderabad Karnataka. On account of his national activities he was deported. In 1934, leaders of Hyderabad Karnataka, who had come to attend the Kannada Literary Conference, decided to start the Hyderabad Karnataka Parishad to voice the aspirations of the people. This Conference held five sessions and created sufficient political consciousness in the three Kannada districts. It propagated the Congress ideals and carried out the constructive programme of Khadi, Village Industries, Hindu-Muslim Unity and the removal of untouchability. It started by passing a resolution of loyalty to the Nizam, but also passed a resolution calling for the establishment of responsible government at the proper time.

As stated earlier, Hyderabad Karnataka was a part of the Nizam's State. 30,000 Kannada people lived in Hyderabad city. Sri G. Ramachar and Sri Janardhana Rao Desai conducted the movement from the Capital. It was working with the sister organizations, the Andhra Mahasabha and the Maharashtra Parishad to create political consciousness among the people. It was then felt that a state-wide organization was necessary, so that all the three linguistic parts could have a common platform. The State Congress was formed in 1938. It was

* from "History of Freedom Movement in Hyderabad", Vol. I, page 101.

** from "History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka", Vol. I, page 440.

banned by the Government before it came into existence. Under the leadership of Sri Govind Rao Nanal, Sri Janardhana Rao Desai of Karnataka, Sri Srinivasa Rao Borikar of Maharashtra, Sri R. Narayana Reddy of Telangana and Sri Ramakrishna Dhoot of Hyderabad City, the ban was defied. Many courted arrest. Satyagraha continued and about 400 persons were arrested. On the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, Satyagraha was suspended. Gandhiji undertook to see that the ban was lifted. Correspondence between Gandhiji and Hydari, the then Prime Minister, continued for a long time. Gandhiji wrote to Hydari regarding the atrocities on the majority community and asked him to lift the ban on the State Congress. The second Karnataka Conference was held at Bidar and before people could reach Hyderabad after concluding the Conference, parts of Bidar City were on fire. Gandhiji exclaimed : "After Lanka Dahan, came Bidar Dahan". The relevant portion of Gandhiji's draft letter in his own handwriting is given below :

"Events of Bidar are an eye-opener. They put the coping stone on what has been going on in the State for some time. There is, no security of life or property in the State for those who will not be practically slaves. But their communique on the events in Bidar shatters all hope of justice being obtained in Bidar and, in our opinion, makes the case for responsible government irresistible. But the immediate object of a good citizen is to do everything in his power to secure redress and make a repetition of Bidar impossible."

When the Congress movement was in full swing, students throughout the State organized 'Quit-College' movements, which were popularly known as Bande Mataram strikes. Government had banned singing of 'Bande Mataram' in College hostels. The students protested. The movement spread like wild fire throughout the State. Hindu students boycotted the colleges and schools throughout the State. Dr. Padmanabha Puranik of Gulbarga and Narendra Dutt of Bidar were the prominent leaders of the Students' Movement. The Students' revolt had a great effect upon the Government.

The 'Quit India' Movement launched by Gandhiji shook the foundations of British rule in India. After the Second World War, things were fast changing. The Cabinet Mission visited India with the object of transferring power to the Indians. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the Nizam to lift the ban on the State Congress. Sri G. Ramachar was corresponding with the Government to lift the ban. Swami Ramanand Tirth formed a Committee consisting of Sri A. K. Waghmare, Sri G. S. Melkote, Sri Digambara Rao Bindu, Sri Krishnacharya Joshi to offer Satyagraha for implementing the resolution of the State Peoples' Conference. Then Government agreed to lift the ban on the State Congress.

Swami Ramanand Tirth, who hails from the Gulbarga District, was the acknowledged leader of the people. He kept the Congress flag flying for eight years, though the organization was under a ban. Naturally, after the ban was

lifted, all the three provincial conferences, *viz.*, Karnataka Parishad, Maharashtra Parishad and Andhra Mahasabha were merged into the State Congress and formed its provincial organization. Swami Ramanand Tirth was elected as the first President of the State Congress. The First Session was held in July, 1946. The following two resolutions were passed :

(1) that Hyderabad State should accede to the Indian Union and (2) that Responsible Government should be granted.

It was a critical time in the political history of the people of the State. When India was going to become an independent Sovereign Republic, the Nizam of Hyderabad wanted to stay out and remain independent. This challenge was taken up by the people who made great sacrifices. By a notification, the Nizam banned the hoisting of the Indian Union Flag, on 13th August 1946. Swamiji appealed to all the people to hoist the national flag with due ceremony. The people of the State took Hyderabad as an integral part of India and the flag as their own and determined to hoist it at any cost. The Government of the Nizam wanted to prevent this flag-hoisting ceremony. The police arrested Swami Ramanand Tirth, President of the State Congress, with Sri G. S. Melkote and Sri Krishnacharya Joshi, two members of the Committee in the early hours of 15th August 1947 under the Preventive Detention Act. On the same day, arrests were made throughout the State. As far as Hyderabad Karnataka was concerned, prominent Congress leaders, Sri Srinivasa Rao Ekhellikar of Bidar, Hanumantha Kakkuri of Gulbarga and Gudihal Hanumantha Rao of Raichur were arrested with many prominent workers. The struggle started by the Hyderabad State Congress continued for 14 months. About 20,000 persons were arrested throughout the State and about 5,000 persons were reported killed. Atrocities by Razakars *i.e.*, armed muslim volunteers who were supported by the Nizam, were increasing. Sri Bhimsen Rao Desai of Banakal was lathi-charged to death in the Gulbarga Jail and Sri Basavaraj of Chetiguppa fell in the border area. There was no law and order in the State. Razakars began to attack the surrounding villages of the Indian Union. Thousands of Congress workers started a resistance movement in the border. Sri Janardhana Rao Desai was in charge of border activities, with Gadag as his headquarters. Leaders in Karnataka helped the struggle for Freedom in the Nizam's State.

The Stand-still Agreement was signed with the Nizam on the 30th of November, 1947. Negotiations for settlement were going on between the Nizam and the Government of India. The Nizam refused to accede to the Indian Union. Razakars threatened peace in South India. Chaotic conditions were prevailing in the State. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, had, at last, to intervene by taking Police Action on 13th September, 1948. and this brought about the successful culmination of the Peoples' Movement in Hyderabad.

THE CONGRESS AND KARNATAKA

After the Police Action, peace was restored in the State. Hyderabad acceded to the Indian Union and became an integral part of the Indian Republic. The State Congress merged with the Indian National Congress and became a provincial body of that great organization.

The Freedom Movement in Hyderabad has got historic importance. It can be compared with the Freedom Movement in Kashmir and Goa. In all these three States, the Government of India had to intervene with the police and the military. People had to struggle hard to become a part of the Indian Union. After the re-organization of the State, Hyderabad Karnataka, that is the districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar, with this political background, became an integral part of the present Mysore State.

CHAPTER XVI

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

THE Chapter on Congress in Karnataka has already given a brief account of the growth of nationalism and the national movement. It has been thought necessary to give a short resume of the mass-scale major freedom movements in this part of the country and the contribution Karnataka made towards the achievement of freedom in August 1947.

Non-violent Non-co-operation in 1921-22 was the first nation-wide mass movement. Though ostensibly it was for righting the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs, 'Swaraj in one year' was the slogan. The next was the Civil Disobedience Movement which began in 1930 with Salt Satyagraha and ended formally by its withdrawal in 1934. Then came the Individual Satyagraha in 1940, followed soon in 1942 by the 'Quit India' struggle. The latter was the last mass movement which paved the way for the coming of Swaraj.

It is true that in Karnataka the Justice Party and the Non-Brahmin movement had their sway in the beginning. In spite of that, though most of the leaders of that movement kept aloof, it can be said that generally the masses responded to the call of the Congress even in 1921. The mighty wave of Salt Satyagraha in 1930, however, assumed mass dimensions when Siddappa Hosmani and Manjappa Hardekar held conferences and passed resolutions calling upon all to join the Civil Disobedience Movement for Swaraj. Thereafter there was solid support to the Congress all through.

I. Non-co-operation

By the time that Gandhiji started the Satyagraha Movement in 1919, Karnataka was already ripe for the making of a significant dash in the struggle for freedom. The Amritsar Congress (1919) drew a large number of delegates from all parts of Karnataka and as many as 800 attended the Nagpur Session in 1920. Gandhiji's tour a little earlier had created a great wave of patriotic enthusiasm. Those who attended the Nagpur Congress brought great inspiration

with them. People breathed a new sense of liberty. Mahatma Gandhiji's saintliness pervaded the people's minds and, for the first time, people sensed the possibility of achieving Swaraj in the near future. Old and new newspapers spread the message far and wide.

For the first time, whole-time workers having cast all lucrative careers to the winds, came forward to devote their whole life to national service. Dedicated satyagrahis like T. S. Nayak of North Kanara and Kaka Karkhanis of Bijapur stayed in the Sabarmati Ashram of Gandhi and imbibed true satyagraha principles; they continue even today their service, respectively, in the field of Sarvodaya and Harijan uplift. Apart from the noted leaders who suspended practice, Ranganath Diwakar, Veerappa Wali, Neelakanthappa Sugandhi, Channmallappa Kurle, Dr. Hardiker, Hanumantarao Kowjalgi, Hanumantharao Mohare, Paramanna Hosmani, were amongst the new workers who staked their all in the cause of freedom. Numerous other younger workers joined with their great sacrifice and courage. Manjappa Hardekar, who had earlier devoted himself to social and religious work as well, propagated the principles of Gandhism, some of which in their catholicity of social outlook were akin to the principles preached by the Veerasaiva saint and reformer, Sri Basavesvara, of the 12th century. Most of the leaders still belonged to the educated classes, but the masses had begun to be awakened.

This period was to Karnataka what the Swadeshi Movement era was to Bengal and Maharashtra. Karnataka was fast coming into its own. The actual programme of the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement consisted of the boycott of titles, of schools, of courts, of foreign cloth, eschewal of liquor, removal of untouchability, and propagation of Khadi. In addition to this, Gandhiji was nursing the Bardoli Taluk in Gujarat for a no-tax campaign. Karnataka gave a fairly good response to the movement. Hundreds of students boycotted schools and colleges and joined the newly started national institutions and took to village work. About a hundred lawyers suspended practice and actively participated in the movement. Khadi came into universal popularity and at many places liquor shops were picketed. 48 National Schools came into being with more than two thousand students on their rolls. But more than all these, the popular awakening was phenomenal and led to the utter hatred of foreign rule. Gandhiji occupied a place of pride in the hearts of even those who did not actually join the movement. When the Non-co-operation Movement was suspended in 1922, the Karnataka that emerged was wholly different from what it was before the movement. The movement, conducted under the guidance of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee which came into being in 1921, permeated all parts of the province and gave the people a sense of oneness which it had never seen before. The brunt of the work for the spread of Gandhism naturally fell on the press. Weekly journals like 'Karmaveer' and its later English counterpart, 'Navashakti', 'Karnataka Vaibhava', 'Karnataka Vritta', 'Rashtrabandhu', 'Viswakarnataka',

'Satyagrahi', 'Sharana Sandesha' and numerous others contributed substantially to the spread of the movement.

Apprehensive of the growing volume of the movement, the bureaucracy launched prosecutions for speeches and writings. Gangadhararao Deshpande was sentenced to six months' imprisonment; Diwakar, Hanumantharao Mohare, Hanumantarao Kowjalgi, D. R. Majli and many others were sentenced for a year or more. But the happening that attracted the greatest attention was the police firing at Dharwar on the evening of June 30, 1921 on a peaceful assemblage in front of the liquor shop which was being picketed. Three persons were killed on the spot and several were injured. A committee, appointed by the All-India Congress Committee to enquire into the incident, found the firing wholly unjustified and uncalled for. Following the firing, the vindictive authorities launched a false case against 27 persons, including Khilafat leaders, prominent political workers, lawyers and journalists, for alleged rioting, arson, attempt to murder, etc. All-India leaders advised the accused to offer no defence. Perjured evidence was concocted against them and 23 of them were sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment extending to 3 years. Diwakar, who was also an accused, refused with others to participate in the proceedings. His statement before the court created a great effect on the people and 5,000 copies of the statement were sold out in a few hours. He recalled how, a few days before the firing, the Collector of the district had called him and another colleague, Kabbur Madhwarao and said that he was incensed with the writings in the 'Karmaveer', that he was thirsting for their blood and would be happy to see them in jail for at least a year. Foiled in this case, the Collector got Diwakar sentenced in another case, under the preventive section, for sedition.

Gandhiji withdrew the proposed no-tax campaign in 1922 in Bardoli on account of the tragic happenings in Chauri Chaura in U.P. He was sentenced in 1922 to six years' simple imprisonment for sedition and taken to Yeravada. When asked by Karnataka leaders already there as to the frustration which ensued on his withdrawal of the Bardoli no-tax campaign, he solemnly replied that, even so, the country had advanced by thirty years and it was nearer Swaraj than ever before !

Such was Gandhiji's confidence in his methods of truth through non-violence.

II. The Satyagraha Campaign (1930-34)

After the suspension of the Non-co-operation Movement, the Council-entry programme was there ; and the formal launching of the constructive programme

came in 1924. The next big wave, however, swept the country in 1930 beginning with Salt Satyagraha.

If the Non-co-operation Movement gave the country a rude shake regarding the real nature of the alien Government and created unprecedented discontent and strengthened the Congress as a national organization, the Satyagraha Movement of 1930 carried the nation another great stride forward on the road to freedom. The essence of Satyagraha is to hold on without violence to truth, blunt the oppressor's weapons by self-suffering without ill-will, and strengthen the cause for which the suffering was undertaken.

In fulfilment of the Lahore resolution of Independence in December 1929, Gandhiji chose a simple method of inaugurating the Satyagraha Movement. He chose the Salt Tax for disobedience. Symbolically it represented the iniquity of British rule in India: it could be defied by simply collecting, manufacturing or distributing salt without the required license and permission. The breach of the law could be practised by old and young, the illiterate and the educated alike. As Gandhi proceeded on foot from Ahmedabad on the great Dandi March of over two hundred miles, in Gujarat, his utterances breathing sedition against the Government, the whole country reverberated with his clarion call and began to get prepared for the new peaceful battle. The meetings held throughout India on the 26th of January 1930, in which millions of people took a vow to face all suffering in the cause of Freedom, had shown the high mettle of the people and their readiness to undertake the struggle. A committee consisting of Karnad Sadashivarao, Gangadhararao Deshpande, T. S. Nayak, Parmanna Hosmani, Diwakar, Hanumantarao Kowjalgi and Dr. Hardiker chose Ankola on the sea-coast in North Kanara as the most suitable venue for commencing the Salt Satyagraha. The same Committee with Tekur Subramanyam and Shankararao Gulvadi was constituted into the Karnataka Satyagraha Mandal to guide the campaign. The Hindustani Seva Dal organized by Dr. Hardiker mustered all its volunteer strength and held Satyagraha camps. Intensive propaganda was undertaken in all districts and when Hardiker and Kowjalgi interviewed Gandhiji and appraised him of the preparations, Gandhiji gave his blessings and hoped that Karnataka would give the fullest response to the nation's call.

On the appointed date, the 13th April, one week after Gandhiji himself made a symbolic breach of the Salt Law, three different batches of satyagrahis from Hubli and Belgaum converged at Ankola for the satyagraha. M. P. Nadkarni was the first Satyagrahi and prepared contraband salt from sea-water amidst scenes of tremendous enthusiasm. He was arrested and sentenced after a few days and so were some other associates. Diwakar, who was then President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, was sentenced to six months. Dr. Hardiker continued to hold and guide the camps of hundreds of Satyagrahis assembled at Ankola. The campaign thus inaugurated caught fire throughout the province.

The movement assumed a mass form in North and South Kanara, and in all important places in the various districts symbolic Satyagraha was offered. Mass raids were made on salt depots in North Kanara. The authorities arrested only the prominent satyagrahis but popular enthusiasm grew with such arrests and convictions. Sentences ranged up to a year but produced no deterrent effects. Open tax-free bazaars were held in Ankola and other places and the salt depots at Sanikatta, Goa and Bangre were raided and the looted salt was freely distributed.

The Salt Satyagraha was followed by a breach of the forest laws. Cattle were let out to graze freely on Government land. Government auctions for letting out these lands were successfully picketed to the detriment of Government revenues. In the Dharwar and Belgaum districts toddy trees were cut down by tens of thousands. In the North Kanara and Belgaum districts, forest trees were cut and taken away by the people. The dates of these campaigns were announced earlier and huge crowds proceeded with axes to the venue singing songs and shouting slogans, but only a few were arrested. While forest satyagraha went on from May in the other districts, it was systematically organized in August in North Kanara under the leadership of Dr. N. B. Kabbur. The first satyagraha undertaken in Sirsi on 4th August attracted 2,000 people who took out a procession with music and cut the trees in the forest. Officers including the Divisional Forest Officer, the Mamlatdar, the Police Sub-Inspector, the forest guards and twenty policemen were present. A large number of fuel and sandalwood trees were cut and taken away in carts. Only 17 of the satyagrahis were arrested and sentenced. The movement spread like wild fire to all parts of the district and it was simply impossible to curb it in spite of numerous arrests. In Karwar, a huge crowd was mercilessly lathi-charged.

Along with the destruction of toddy trees, vigorous picketing of liquor shops was undertaken in all districts. In Mangalore, orders banning public meetings and processions and collection of more than five persons were promulgated, but a large number of satyagrahis broke these orders and courted arrest. The movement had complete popular support and the whole mercantile community took a huge procession and promised all help. On 25th June, a big procession taken out in defiance of the order under the leadership of B. Mukundarao was attacked by the police and an inhuman assault was made on it. Lathis with sharp ends, canes with sharp iron nails and whips were used to disperse the people. One person was beaten unconscious; another kicked with boots and even ladies were not spared. But undaunted, more than 150 satyagrahis courted imprisonment during a brief period of two weeks. In all districts, including Coorg, the anti-liquor campaign was prosecuted vigorously and, as a result of picketing, the Government had to suffer great monetary loss in the auctions and a number of shops had to be closed.

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

Various other activities were undertaken to promote the cause of satyagraha. National flags were put up on their own offices by a number of municipal bodies. The decennial census was boycotted. Prabhat Pheris in the early morning were a regular feature, and cyclostyled bulletins were issued in defiance of Government orders. Proscribed literature was publicly read and distributed and resolutions calling upon the police and military to resign were openly publicized. Elections to the Legislature were effectively boycotted and polling booths were picketed. In all these activities, women vied with men but only a few were arrested. The Government armed themselves with greater repressive powers like the Instigation Ordinance ; powers under 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code were freely used, and in November the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee and associated organizations and the offices at Hubli and Bagalkot were seized and Government took possession of the same. In all, 32 public bodies including peasants' organizations were outlawed. Physical violence was indulged in by the police. Lathi charges were made at Sirsi, Siddapur, Mangalore, Udupi, Karkal, Belgaum, Honavar, Karwar, Halyal, Hubli and Bellary and even a light bayonet charge was made at Sirsi.

The cause of Swadeshi also received a great fillip by the intensification of the boycott of foreign cloth and yarn, sugar, tea, glass, cigarettes, bangles and soap on the one hand and by organizing the production of Khadi and other Swadeshi consumer goods on the other. The Karnataka Swadeshi Samiti under the guidance of R. S. Hukkerikar worked ceaselessly for the education of the public mind in this direction.

In all these activities the Hindustani Seva Dal played a crucial part. In fact, the Seva Dal volunteers and leaders bore the brunt of the struggle and it was partly their discipline and endurance that galvanized the people and developed a successful struggle.

After the Salt, Forest and other types of satyagraha, came the finale in the shape of the no-tax campaign. The no-tax campaign in Ankola Taluk was undertaken as a part of the Satyagraha Movement. R. R. Diwakar guided the campaign and Karmarkar directed it in co-operation with Ram Naik Basgod. Krishnabai Panjekar and Bevir Bhimarao, along with a number of volunteers from the Mysore State, actively assisted the local leaders. Volunteer camps were organized, news bulletins were regularly circulated and the peasants systematically organized the campaign. Experienced workers from all over Karnataka participated and the 13 camps set up were manned by 40 local and 30 outside volunteers. The whole organization was supervised by local leaders like Ram Naik Basgod, Subbarao Nadkarni and Ram Naik Bhavikeri. The unity amongst the townsmen and villagers was so great that the workers, though functioning in broad daylight, could not be traced and arrested by the police, as no news could reach them. Diwakar, Narayanarao Joshi and B. N. Datar visited the area and enthused the people. Numerous patels resigned, thus crippling the Government

organization in the villages. Village Panchayats in two villages were declared illegal, but more people joined the illegal bodies. Government undertook coercive processes, and the Ankola landlords being vulnerable paid the taxes. But those villagers (and some whole villages) who had participated remained firm till the last. The movement in Ankola was stopped in March 1931 as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

As an indirect support to the political no-tax campaign in Ankola Taluk, bad season and failure of crops conspired to make the ryots of Hirekerur, Sirsi and Siddapur resort to no-tax on economic grounds. Crops had failed and prices had fallen in these Taluks. Numerous representations were made for relief by way of remission of land revenue, but the authorities turned a deaf ear and a no-tax campaign had to be resorted to under the guidance of Veerangowda Patil in Hirekerur Taluk and of R. R. Diwakar, R. S. Hukkerikar and K. A. Venkata-ramaiya in the Sirsi and Siddapur Taluks. After a conference of ryots presided over by Siddaramappa Pavate of Hubli, 16 camps were established in Hirekerur Taluk, from which the movement was organized. A belated attempt was made to pacify the peasants by an announcement of remission of Rs. 46,000 due on account of water tax, but to no avail. At the time for payment of the first instalment, Rs. 1,82,000 remained unpaid out of Rs. 1,91,000. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact resulted in a suspension of satyagraha in March 1921 as also the political no-tax campaign in Ankola, but with Gandhiji's consent the campaign in Hirekerur went on, as it was on economic and not on political considerations. Of the second instalment also only Rs. 12,000 were paid. The campaign was suspended in May after there was an agreement called the Diwakar-Smart Agreement. The Commissioner of the Southern Division accordingly promised necessary relief.

In Sirsi and Siddapur Taluks also, the peasants resorted to a no-tax campaign on economic grounds. Coercive measures were undertaken for the realization of the arrears of Rs. 45,000 in Sirsi and Rs. 40,000 in Siddapur. 80 attachments of property in Siddapur and 65 in Sirsi took place and in 7-8 cases the attached properties were sold, officials being the only bidders. Properties attached included household utensils, milch cattle and rice, and even trinkets worn by men and women. At long last, coercive measures were stopped under advice from the Government of India and, though those that were able paid the arrears in accordance with the agreement between Diwakar and Commissioner Smart, Government did not observe their part of the agreement for giving necessary and adequate relief to the peasants.

KARNATAKA TOO COULD DO IT

It was but natural that people had thought all along that what Gujarat and

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

Bardoli could do, especially the no-tax movement, with the leadership of Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel at hand, other provinces might not be able to accomplish. This presumption was proved groundless by Karnataka. Intense love for freedom, readiness to sacrifice to the utmost, faith in Gandhi, and proper leadership were the things necessary. All these were available in Karnataka, especially in the taluks of Ankola, Hirekerur, Sirsi and Siddapur. With the coming in of the masses of North Karnataka districts under the leadership of Hosmani Siddappa, Hardekar Manjappa, Veerangowda Patil, T. R. Nesvi, Kallangowda Patil, M. P. Patil and others in 1930 and onwards, with the younger group consisting of Hallikeri, Magadi, Doddameti and others already working vigorously, the future of the Gandhian Movement in Karnataka was assured.

III. The Civil Disobedience Campaign (1932-33)

The net result of the Satyagraha Movement of 1930-31 was that the cause of freedom's struggle was strengthened, the Congress organization grew stronger, there was an unprecedented awakening amongst the masses and Gandhism made a deep impress on the minds of the people. All parts of Karnataka, including the Mysore State which contributed greatly by sending its leaders and workers to participate in the struggle, indirectly helped the cause of a united Karnataka. The struggle received a great impetus by the bold lead given by S. K. Hosamani and Manjappa Hardekar who, as presidents of two conferences, called upon the Veerasaiva community to join the Congress. There was no rift left in public opinion and the Congress was the one organization to which the people tendered undivided allegiance. Truly did the Commissioner of the Division describe Karnataka as "the Gandhian Province".

The interval between the suspension of Satyagraha in March, 1931 and the recommencement of the struggle in January, 1932 showed an uneasy lull. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact no doubt conceded some points like the free manufacture of salt for personal use and the right of peaceful picketing of foreign cloth shops, but bureaucracy smarted under the peaceful policy of Lord Irwin, the Viceroy. Gandhiji came back disappointed in December 1931 from the Round Table Conference. But, before he arrived, Jawaharalal Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been arrested and repressive measures had been adopted in respect of the no-rent campaign started in U. P. by harassed peasants. The Government precipitated a conflict after the meeting of the Working Committee early in January 1932. The Working Committee had recommended the resumption of Civil Disobedience in the event of a failure by Government to take conciliatory measures. Government took the initiative by banning every Congress and allied organization, promulgated ordinances giving Government extensive powers of

arresting individuals and seizing properties. All leaders and leading workers were arrested in one swoop. But all this panicky effort was in vain. The struggle for freedom was like the rising waves on a stormy sea. If the number of arrests in the country was 30,000 in the Non-co-operation Movement, it swelled to 90,000 in 1930-31. In Karnataka also, if the number of arrests and imprisonments was only small in 1920-21, more than 1,700 persons courted imprisonment in open defiance of unjust laws and orders during the movement of 1930; even the tiny district of North Kanara contributed more than 400 satyagrahis. Jawaharlalji's visit to Hubli in December 1931 for the Seva Dal Convocation added to the great enthusiasm of the people and his clarion call for fight and sacrifice resounded in the ears of the people on the eve of the struggle in 1932.

The struggle began with the arrest of Gandhiji and members of the Working Committee in the first week of January, 1932. All Congress organizations were declared illegal, but in spite of the ban, the All India and the Provincial organizations functioned regularly and secret instructions were issued from time to time. The 12th of January 1932 was observed as an All-Karnataka Satyagraha Day and hundreds courted arrest; later, similar days were duly observed in defiance of Government orders. The picketing of foreign cloth shops was pursued in spite of imprisonment and physical assaults. Toddy trees were cut in thousands. Liquor shops and auctions were successfully picketed and Ankola in the North Kanara District was rendered practically dry, liquor shops being picketed day and night. Newspapers refused to furnish security and, for this reason and due to the arrests of their editors, 'Karmaveer' of Dharwar, 'Karnatak Kesari' of Bellary, 'Samyukta Karnataka' of Belgaum, 'Taruna Karnatak' of Hubli, 'Udaya' and 'Karnataka Vaibhava' of Bijapur suspended publication. But illegal news sheets took their place and were regularly issued from all important centres. Heavy sentences were imposed and the arrests during the first four months only exceeded 2300. Lathi charges were resorted to, to disperse assemblies of people at numerous places including Mangalore, Udupi, Kasargod, Kottur, Gadag, Hubli and Haveri. Inhuman atrocities were indulged in both in respect of men and women, Mangalore District coming in for the worst of them. The struggle took an intensive form in the North Kanara District, particularly in Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola. The Mamlatdar of Ankola reported that of the 38,000 people in the Taluk, 15,000 were active participants and the remaining 23,000 were active sympathisers. Everywhere in the province defiance of unjust Government orders was the rule. A provincial political conference was held at Bagalkot under the presidentship of H. R. Purohit under the nose of helpless authorities. One of the remarkable phenomena was the universal participation by village folk in their thousands. The movement was no longer led by the select educated few. Every village found its Hampden. The struggle was carried on logically to its finish in the North Kanara District, which deserves a little more detailed mention.

In an informal meeting of the Congress workers at Dharwar, it was decided

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

in the first week of January, 1932 that R. R. Diwakar should proceed to Sirsi and Siddapur area and D. P. Karmarkar to Ankola with a view to organize a no-tax campaign., Diwakar, with the police close on his heels to arrest him, visited important centres and met about 70 principal workers at Bilgi, including Nagesh Ganesh Hegde, Dodmane Shivaram Kannaya Hegde of Kanalli, Subrayabhat Balambhat Shiralgi, Ganesh Hegde of Hoskop, Kolsar Ramappa Hegde, who led the campaign at great risk and sacrifice and against great odds. A no-tax campaign was unanimously agreed upon and Diwakar later visited some centres in the Sirsi Taluk before he was arrested.

Karmarkar entered the Ankola Taluk with a trusted co-worker, K. G. Joshi, and found the field ready for the contemplated no-tax campaign. The campaign in Siddapur was further strengthened by a unanimous decision at a meeting of representative workers at Huvinamane, when seven dictators for the campaign were nominated to succeed each other. K. A. Venkataramaiya, Dr. Hardiker's chief lieutenant in the Hindustani Seva Dal, went in March and organized the headquarters for the campaign in the two taluks of Sirsi and Siddapur. 18 camps were put up in the villages in Siddapur and in Sirsi, and at each camp were posted trusted trained workers to enthuse the people, to distribute bulletins, to gather news and pass them on to headquarters. Similarly, in Ankola, the headquarters camp was at Kangil directly under Karmarkar, and others at the principal villages. Numerous trained workers from the Hindustani Seva Dal manned these camps, which were the nerve centres of the whole campaign, and which continued functioning till its end. The taluk and village leaders bore all the burden and, besides those above-mentioned from Siddapur, Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde, Ganapatibhat of Bisalkop, Krishnabhat of Soogave, Ramakrishna Hegde of Mandagesar, and Paramayya Ganapayya Hegde took the lead in Sirsi Taluk and Ram Naik Basgod, Bommayya Naik of Bole, Jogi Naik of Shetgeri, Birannaik of Hichgad, Subraya Naik of Vasre, Bommayya Naik of Surva and others bore the brunt of the campaign in Ankola. After Karmarkar's arrest in March, V. S. Narayanarao, and, after his arrest, Tengse assumed headquarter's charge in Ankola. Trained organizers joined from all parts of Karnataka, including Mysore and Coorg. The organization was naturally carried on in secret, but there was no demoralization whatever, as there was no cowardice in that secrecy. In fact, the enthusiasm to keep the secret organization intact galvanized the spirit of the people. Traitors there were, but they were very few. The whole area was practically sealed as against the Government. Officials received practically no co-operation from the area affected by the campaign.

A no-tax campaign is considered as the last weapon in the armoury of civil resisters. It implies the non-recognition of the Government in power. It invites the maximum possible suffering to the resisters: attachment of moveable property,

forfeiture and sale of land, and imprisonment. During the campaign, 400 peasants in Ankola Taluk resisted to the last. There were 900 attachments and the value of the attached moveable properties was Rs. 55,000. About 625 acres of rice land were forfeited. Rs. 35,000 was realized as punitive fine for posting the special police force. Surwa, Vasarakudire, Bole and Kangil were prominent by their wholesale participation. In the Siddapur Taluk, 420 peasants fought till the last. Attached moveable properties like pots, rice, and milch cattle were worth Rs. 54,000. 1400 acres of betelnut gardens and rice, lands worth about 6.7 lakhs rupees were forfeited. In many homes, all adults were arrested and jailed. In one family, for instance, 4 men and 7 ladies were imprisoned, leaving only one lady at home. In both Ankola and Siddapur, many homes were forfeited leaving the occupants stranded. Similar repressive measures were undertaken in Sirsi also.

It was a peaceful war—perhaps a unique demonstration of non-violence and an assertion of independence of an unarmed people in the face of one of the mightiest of empires. Though the actual participants in the struggle were relatively small in number, the spirit of satyagraha permeated almost every one. In spite of temptations, threats, imprisonments, and physical violence, the spirit of these brave peasants and their sympathisers remained uncurbed. In this brief account, we can recapitulate only a few aspects of this unique campaign.

As a first step in the realization of land revenue, the authorities began to attach the moveable properties of the resisters. Many of them in Siddapur Taluk had successfully hidden moveables like pots and pans, but the milch buffaloes came in handy and were sold to distant buyers. As a counterblast, the brave women-folk of the Taluk undertook fasts for the return of the sold cattle. The first such fast was undertaken by Shrimati Gowramma, wife of K. A. Venkata-ramaiya, at the house of Ramappa Patel in Hecche in Sorab Taluk in the Mysore State on 29-3-1932. After a fast of 3 days the buffalo was duly returned. Ramappa hosted the satyagrahis for 2-3 days and sent them in a procession with the buffaloes. A similar fast was undertaken by two ladies on 30th March at the house of a purchaser at Shiralgi on April 3rd. A sub-inspector of police came with a posse of 30 constables and arrested both of them with five others. Two of the ladies took their places and were joined by the original satyagrahis, who, in the meantime, had been released. The satyagraha went on for 22 days and at last the purchaser repented and paid the price of the buffalo as fine, as the animal had been sold away by him. When the same above-mentioned satyagrahis undertook a similar fast at another place, the police after giving them a good beating took them to the police lock-up. The brutal treatment meted out may be given in the words of Gowramma herself, in her statement to the Magistrate : 'It is a fact that I had gone with my party to Mahadevappa's house that day ; at that time the inmates of his house had taken their food and gone to sleep. On our going, they offered us seats, and made us welcome. We accordingly sat and,

were talking with them. Meanwhile, the circle inspector, the shanbhog and two policemen came there. They told us that we were going from house to house on Congress work and that if we were disgraced we would stop doing so. I told them that we would commit suicide if they disgraced us. They then let the smoke of the beedies (country cigarettes) fly in our faces. After this we left the place. The policemen then abused us and the shanbhog kept laughing. They then said that we were under arrest and told us to go to the sub-inspector of police. We refused to go on foot. They then took us in a cart to Siddapur. A person named Devdas beat us on the back. The Police Inspector then abused me. The S. I. then gave me a stroke with a cane on the left leg. Then some other policemen beat me on the neck, and also pushed me at my back with the butt end of a gun. Then somebody beat me on the right knee. Somebody then dragged me from the road. One of my companions came to my rescue. She was also beaten. The Police Inspector then kept us waiting in the cutcherry and let us off at about 11 P. M. asking us to come on the next day. On the next day (Sunday) at 10 A. M., we went to the police cutcherry. The Police Inspector again abused us and asked what we would do if we were disgraced. He went away and we kept ourselves in the cutcherry. In the evening, the Inspector came and he beat me again, though the sub-inspector told him not to do so. My clothes were then changed and I was put in the lock-up. The sub-inspector then stopped the inspector from coming to the lock-up. It is true that I had told Mahadevappa that he should restore the she-buffalo or give me its price. This he did in the interest of the poor defaulter whose animal had been attached." Gowramma, after all the brutal treatment, continued her fast even in the lock-up. Incensed with the treatment meted out to the satyagrahis, another batch of lady satyagrahis came up, and then the purchaser agreed to return the buffalo. The satyagraha at Mavingudi, in which two ladies undertook a fast for 31 days and 22 days respectively and were severely beaten during that period attracted country-wide attention and ended in success, as the Government servants who had purchased the buffaloes under attachment restored them to their owners. Space forbids further examples, but the heroic fasts by these brave daughters of India were unique in India's freedom struggle.

Along with the no-tax campaign, other types of resistance were also going on. At Bilgi on 27-3-1932, a Prabhat Pheri was sought to be dispersed by a cane charge. When one batch of ladies was arrested, another came up. All were arrested and later released, except 5 volunteers. On 4th March, all ladies participating in a Gandhi Day procession were prodded on to the lock-up by bayonet-ends resulting in severe injuries. Devotees of car processions belonging to temples refused to remove the national flag from the *Rathas* (Chariots) and some of them were severely maltreated. Ultimately, owing to the continued defiance by the people, these processions were allowed to proceed unmolested. A crowd which had offered Forest Satyagraha at Sirsi on 10th May was declared arrested and marched to the police lock-up, where only twenty-three were detained. Another

huge crowd came with wood cut, in defiance of forest laws and was severely lathi-charged. But the mounting defiance was so great that the authorities quietly let Prabhat Pheris and Forest Satyagraha go on unmolested.

As a further step in coercion, the lands of no-taxers were forfeited and an attempt was made to sell betelnut produce of those lands in outside markets, but in vain; the local merchants were told by the Bombay dealers that they would have nothing to do with them as that produce was from forfeited lands. The authorities abandoned their idea of selling the betelnut crop and the owners then sold their own crops freely. Lands forfeited and put up in auction attracted no bidders and very few individuals could be persuaded to buy the lands.

A typical instance is that of Uluware, when Ramadas and his fellow no-taxers lost their lands and were ousted from their homes, but bore all the privations with fortitude. The purchaser, one Bahadur Khan, tried to cultivate the lands, but in vain. When asked how he felt about his loss, Ramadas said calmly: "When I had the lands I did not feel I had them; now that I have lost them I do not feel that I have lost them!"

Mr. Matters of the India League, London, visited the area in September 1932 and found by personal experience how utterly non-violent the resisters were and how peaceful demonstrations and processions were dispersed by violence.

However much the authorities tried to break the morale of the people by various means, the peasantry remained stubborn and there was not even a single instance even of apology. The movement, however, came to an end in 1934 when the Congress withdrew civil disobedience by a resolution at Patna.

It was only when the Congress agreed to run the provincial Government and took office in 1937 that most of the lands and property were restored to the sufferers.

IV. The "Quit India" Revolt

On the failure of the Cripps Mission in 1942, Gandhiji declared that "whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too, lies in the orderly and timely withdrawal from India." On the 14th of July, 1942 the Congress Working Committee resolved to adopt prompt action in case the British rejected the demand for withdrawal. The momentous session of the All-India Congress Committee on the 7th and 8th of August declared that the withdrawal of the British from India was an urgent necessity both for the sake of

India and for the success of the cause of the Allied Nations. The continuation of that rule was degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom. It repeated with full emphasis the demand for British withdrawal. It further declared that "the Committee resolved, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest scale possible." Gandhiji in a speech towards the close of the session indicated that he would first try to wait on the Viceroy, but, if a struggle ensued, he declared that in the absence of himself and other leaders every patriot should be his own master to carry on the struggle in a purely non-violent way. "Do or die" was the message he gave to the nation.

The Government of India acted immediately and Gandhiji and members of the Working Committee and other prominent persons were arrested and spirited away to prison in the early morning of the 9th of August 1942. Congress organizations were outlawed and arrests on a large scale of all prominent leaders were made in all parts of the country. Meetings and processions were banned and dispersed even by resort to firing. What Gandhiji launched was a revolution, and the Government began meeting it as if it was a war. Bombay got the first dose of what was to come and some persons were killed by police firing on the morning of the 9th of August.

Gandhiji this time was not able to define the scope and methods of the struggle. The idea in the public mind was that this was a non-violent war on Government, and, subject to the limitation of non-violence, that war could be waged by open defiance, by attack on Government seats of power like offices and chowkies, by dislocation of Government activities, by cutting off means of communications such as wires, stopping of trains, and in other ways. In fact, Kishorelal Mashruwala, the authentic exponent of Gandhism, in the course of an article in the 'Harijan', indicated that everything was permissible, subject to the limitation of non-violence to person and personal property. Some of the Karnataka leaders who had been present in Bombay, including Sri Channabasappa Ambli, General Secretary of the Congress, R. R. Diwakar, R. S. Hukkerikar, M. P. Patil, D. P. Karmarkar, Veerangowda Patil and others evolved a programme on the basis of Kishorelalji's article and sent round circulars to all centres in Karnataka advising the workers that, in addition to open defiance programmes, dislocation of Government work and machinery was also permissible. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee continued to function during the whole of this struggle, and was run by prominent members of its executive. A Committee of Action was established with Sri Ambli as Chief and Diwakar as Secretary. Other members were Srinivasa Mallya, D. P. Karmarkar and R. S. Hukkerikar. The headquarters of the Committee was in Bombay. It kept a close liaison with the underground office of the All-India Congress Committee, gathered regular reports from districts and submitted them to the All-India Congress Committee,

collected funds and distributed them to the workers in Karnataka to the extent possible. Most of the above-mentioned persons went underground and so did hundreds of workers in Karnataka. The organization worked efficiently and well, and it was largely on account of this that the people were correctly guided along the lines of non-violence to person and personal property. The workers observed the limitation so scrupulously that, in solitary cases, where officials were deprived of personal property like a watch, it was immediately restored to the owner.

The struggle that commenced in the country on the 9th of August, 1942 took varied forms in the different parts of India. The first phase of the movement was an open attack on Government machinery. In many places, Government offices were attacked in broad daylight, and people lost their lives on account of police firing. Parts of Bihar and U. P. saw temporarily in some areas the disappearance of British rule. Students took a prominent part.

According to Government estimates, 319 railway stations were burnt, 945 post offices were attacked, damaging 25 and destroying 60. Damage caused to the railway stocks amounted to Rs. 18 lakhs, and losses sustained by destruction of railway stations and equipment amounted to Rs. 6,50,000. Trucks of the value of Rs. 9 lakhs were destroyed. Telegraph wires were cut down and the consequent loss was to the tune of Rs. 11,282. War effort was also impeded on account of these attacks. Communications had to be completely suspended in parts of Bengal, U.P. and Madras. Railways had to stop functioning for days together in Bihar, Madras and Eastern U. P. Some offices and courts also were attacked and captured. In some cases, prisoners were rescued from jails. In fact, it was a people's revolt, peasants and students freely participating in it. Government resorted to measures of mad repression. According to Government estimates 1,028 persons were killed and more than 3,000 severely wounded by police and military firing on 538 occasions. More than 900 persons were whipped. More than 60,000 persons were arrested. This was the Government version. But according to popular estimates, more than 10,000 persons were killed. In spite of all these savage measures, the people remained largely non-violent, though some people frenzied by Government's barbarities took recourse to physical force only in 5 places in Madhya Pradesh and at one place in Bihar. According to the Government version, however, 60 military personnel and 648 policemen were killed. The revolt continued in force till February 1943, but subsided completely on Gandhiji's release in 1944.

The events in Karnataka at first were in the nature of an open defiance of British authority. Students left schools and colleges in thousands and organized huge processions and meetings. Hundreds of members belonging to Government organizations resigned, including Sri R. A. Jagirdar, Government Pleader of the Bombay High Court. There were strikes on a large scale in the Mysore State, where thirty thousand workers from the leading factories in the State went on

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

strike for months together. There were twelve lathi charges in Bangalore City itself, and repeated firings, particularly in Bangalore, which resulted in 156 deaths in the old Mysore State. A boy of 14 was killed in a police firing at Hubli in the first week of the movement. A leader of a procession at Kadvi Shivapur in Belgaum, named Shetappa Iyobennavar was shot at point blank range by a District Superintendent of Police for refusal of the order of dispersal of a procession in his village which had declared independence. Issur, a village in the Shimoga District, declared independence, and, on refusing to yield, firing was resorted to, which killed three people including a boy. The incensed mob in its fury killed the Amildar and the police officer who had gone there, resulting in a trial, as a result of which 5 villagers were hanged and a number of persons, including two ladies, sentenced to imprisonment. In spite of Government repression, processions, Prabhat Pheris and meetings were held in hundreds in open defiance of Government, irrespective of consequences.

It was naturally relatively easy for Government to try to restrain such public demonstrations by the people. What was more serious was the organized attempt by the people to dislocate Government activities by cutting off communications, burning of Government records, destruction of post boxes and post offices, burning or otherwise immobilizing railway stations, destruction of dak bungalows, where Government officers could camp, and similar other activities. These dislocation activities were conducted under the direct leadership of known and trusted leaders, mostly of the younger generation.

The first such activity was organized on the night of 15-16th August, when four railway stations in the Bombay-Karnataka area were burnt and instruments and records damaged. The authorities received a rude shock. 28 stations in all in the State were damaged or burnt. Rails were removed at 5 places and 25 bridges destroyed. As a result, railway communication was completely stopped on some sections and the night running of trains was suspended on other sections for weeks on end. Even when the regular running of trains was resumed, armed pilot trains preceded the regular trains and the provision of armed guards were a regular feature on all important trains. Roads were also damaged, resulting in irregularity in the schedule of the movement of troops.

The postal system was also attacked and the post office at Nippani was completely burnt. Post boxes were removed and postal runners deprived of the mails they were carrying. Telegraph wires were cut down at least 170 times and, in some cases, miles of wire removed. Village post offices were closed in a number of places and money orders could be delivered only at the head offices. Postal administration was paralysed in some places.

Public rest-houses, where touring officers used to camp, also received attention and 34 of them were destroyed. At numerous places, village records

were completely destroyed. Village officers were then instructed to deposit all their records in the Tahsil offices. In fact, authority began to recede from the villages to the towns. The police were advised to move only in good numbers and properly armed and, in a few cases, police-posts in outlying areas were closed due to insecurity.

The cause of prohibition was promoted by an attack on toddy and liquor shops. 62 such shops were damaged or destroyed and 39 toddy leather bags were destroyed. Public auctions of liquor shops fetched reduced revenue. A number of schools also were burnt. At Uluvaré, a police party guarding a ferry was disarmed and the ferry set on fire. Government timber depots at Gangavali, Hattikeri and Sirsi, all in the North Kanara District, were burnt, resulting in substantial loss to Government. In Belgaum, two big haystacks belonging to the military were burnt.

During the time of revenue collections, 29 policemen were disarmed and revenue taken away at 8 places. It was at one place, Hosaritti, that Mahadevappa Mailar, a Dandi-marcher, a dedicated patriot and one of Gandhiji's close disciples, attacked a police chavadi where collected land revenue cash was kept, was bayoneted and shot, and achieved martyrdom with two of his colleagues, after successfully leading in 75 brave actions. His wife, Siddamma, was equally heroic during the movement.

During the whole of the period from August 1942 to September 1943, open defiance of authority continued. A few instances only can be cited out of the hundreds. On October 23rd, 1942, two girl students entered the District and Sessions Court, one of them occupying the Sessions Judge's seat and the other acting as Bailiff, and called upon the Sessions Judge, who was standing near by, to join the Freedom Struggle, in default of which he would be punished as a traitor. The Sessions Judge good-humouredly remarked that the sentence was rather hard. When the police came to arrest the girls, they had already disappeared in the crowd, but were later arrested and sentenced. On the occasion of the visit of the Assistant Educational Inspector, the girls of the Balika Adarsa Vidyalaya at Belgaum walked out shouting slogans. Processions were freely held in defiance of law in numerous places.

Government took to severe repressive measures to put down the defiance of law, but in vain. The police resorted to firing at 18 places killing 186, and wounding hundreds of other participants. Lathi charges were freely resorted to at 33 places to disperse 'unlawful' assemblies, hurting hundreds. Whipping was also indulged in. 58 workers were declared absconders and prizes ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 5,000 were promised for information about them, but not one was betrayed by the people. The number arrested or sentenced rose to about 7,000 workers. Heavy sentences ranging from 2 to 7 years were imposed. Punitive fines amount-

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

ing to Rs. 3,36,000 were levied, Nippani alone, where a post office and sub-registrar's office were burnt, coming in for a fine of more than Rs. 1,00,000. All this repression went in vain. In fact, the entire population, men and women, young and old, villagers and townsmen participated in the grim struggle for freedom. If newspapers were suppressed, underground bulletins were cyclostyled and published.

There were reasons for the success of the people's struggle. They were all of one mind ; there was no rift. All classes participated irrespective of caste and creed. The whole organization was kept intact from top to bottom. Elders guided the revolt and hundreds of young workers of unquestionable integrity and intense patriotism and rare bravery led the revolt in their respective areas. Above all, both workers and the people, eschewed violence completely, and, if in any case, personal property was taken by mistake it was restored to their owners intact. It was, in the fullest sense, a rebellion against British rule, albeit a peaceful one. The whole of Karnataka, including Mysore and Hyderabad Karnataka, moved in unison and as one people.

As has been already mentioned, the Action Committee of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was maintained intact, giving guidance and monetary help to the districts. In the districts also, various groups worked under the district organizations. In the Dharwar District, the groups were led by Bindacharya Burli, K. F. Patil, Shivarayappa Mannavar, Shivasankarappa Devpur, Kariyappa Yereshime, Thimmangowda Menshinhal, Mahadevappa Mailar, Govindacharya Agnihotri, Shivappa Nesvi, Musheppa Yabannavar, Narayan Hoskeri and Narasimha Dabde. They led the various groups consisting of about 500 workers. Senior leaders in the Action Committee gave them all assistance. In the Belgaum District, Kamat, Channappa Wali, Vamanrao Bidri, Venkareddi Hooli, Annu Guruji, Appanna Patil, Jaydev Kulkarni, Vadavi Ramachandra, and others led the revolt. In the North Kanara District, K. G. Joshi, Dayanand Nadkarni and other local leaders led the campaign. Every other district of Karnataka had its own local leaders.

As a result of the public and secret defiance and dislocation, Governmental authority was demoralized. Arrests, lathi charges and firing could in some measure control popular wrath, but the workers, functioning secretly and attacking authority, could not be easily controlled. Government's authority slowly receded from the villages to the towns, where all the police force was concentrated; but even there, there was a sense of insecurity and uncertainty prevailing in Government quarters. A casual rumour that the 'Police headquarters at Dharwar was proposed to be attacked' created such a great sense of fear that additional police personnel was mustered for protection of the headquarters ! What was most disconcerting to the bureaucracy was that, in spite of lorry loads of police scouring the countryside day and night, there were no results by way of capture of those wanted. Even severe repression could not cow down the people.

Creation of Special Courts, with powers of inflicting a sentence of death for acts of sabotage and heavy sentences, were of no avail. In February 1943, a provincial C. I. D. officer reported that the "K. P. C. C. functioning from underground sends money to these leaders through contacts of established integrity. These leaders of various batches are required to send reports to the K. P. C. C. of their own activities organized and carried out." On 3rd February, the Police Inspector, Intelligence Bureau, reported from Poona that "there was no change in the political situation in Dharwar and Belgaum Districts...From talks which I had with some of the village officers of the district, it is learnt that the village officers are very much afraid of these 'hooligans' and therefore are not giving us correct information regarding the identity and movements of the hooligans...The village officers are afraid to displease both parties, i.e., the Government servants and hooligans. On account of this attitude of the village officials, the hooligans are able to continue their nefarious deeds." In fact, the Government reports indicated a break-down of its machinery in the rural areas of the Dharwar and Belgaum districts.

The situation became so serious that Government felt compelled to invoke the assistance of the military for combing out the workers and to re-establish its lost prestige and authority. In a conference held by the Governor of Bombay at the Secretariat, the Governor observed that "there were several gangs roaming the countryside committing various crimes and that the people, either because they were in sympathy with these gangs or out of fear for them, did not give any assistance to the authorities. The final objective of the troops must be to restore the authority of Government in the areas where these gangs operated. The troops must try to break up the gangs and not the innocent villagers." In a similar conference on 16th March, the Governor observed that "the present position is, although there is some lull in the activities of the gangs, they are still fairly active. The material damage is not serious but what is serious is the fact that there is so much lawlessness in the district (Belgaum). The object of the civil power and the troops must be to restore in the minds of the villagers respect for the authority of Government and not the authority of saboteur gangs". He further observed that the main point was that 'the police must be able to get the assistance of troops quickly.' Ultimately it was arranged that one battalion should stay in Belgaum and a company each at 8 centres in Belgaum and Dharwar districts. The military thus posted not only assisted the police in tracing workers, but route marches were also made obviously to frighten the people. But all this had little effect.

In course of time and as a result of the combined efforts of the police and military, as also confessions, extorted from arrested workers by unnameable torture, group after group could be captured and, by September 1943, a large number of effective workers were captured and put on trial. Tortures of various kinds were resorted to and confessions extorted and about 500 workers were put

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

on trial. A non-official committee was set up under the guidance of D. P. Karmarkar, who had been recently released from detention, and with the active co-operation of K. B. Dundur and R. V. Jathar, pleaders, for the defence of the workers. But owing to the irregularity of procedure and for want of proper evidence, most of the cases collapsed and a large majority of the freedom fighters were acquitted and released.

In February 1943, Gandhiji, then in Yeravada Jail, was duly contacted by Diwakar through Devdas Gandhi and was appraised through a written report of all aspects of the revolt in Karnataka. He was also told of the utter scrupulousness with which non-violence to person was maintained and of the fact that no demoralization was seen amongst the people as a result of secret organization. After listening, Gandhiji said, "That all has gone on well till now does not mean that it will be so in future also," and he advised that no violence to property was admissible and that all resistance should be open. As a result of his advice, secret work was suspended and open civil disobedience activities were resorted to from 5th September 1943 to 5th May 1944. This was under the guidance of the Satyagraha Council of India. Sri Diwakar, who was still underground, also interviewed Gandhiji when he was convalescing in Juhu after his release. As a consequence of these talks, thirty underground organizers including Diwakar came overground on 9th August 1944 and were arrested, after having eluded the police for 2 years in spite of prizes on their heads.

Thus closed the glorious "Quit India" revolt in Karnataka which caused near paralysis of the mighty British Government through a strictly non-violent revolt. The revolt also welded the Kannada-speaking people together, thus hastening the process of a united Karnataka. Karnataka also achieved a distinguished position in India; and the veteran leader Jaya Prakash Narayan, when appraised of the open defiance and secret dislocation aspects of the revolt, observed that if the same method which he called "Karnatak Pattern" had been adopted in the other parts of India, better results could have been achieved.

Now to figures. These figures are taken from a published booklet called *Revolt in Karnataka*. It gives figures from 9-8-42 to 8-4-43 only, that is, the period during which dislocation of Government machinery was the aim. Even so, they are enough to show the nature and extent of the movement.

Of course all these figures cannot be claimed to be either accurate or complete. They are enough, however, to give the reader a good idea about the movement.

Here below is the quotation from the report entitled "Revolt in Karnataka 9-8-42 to 8-4-43" published during the movement itself !

"TELL-TALE FIGURES : By this time the reader of the report must have had

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

a rough idea as to how the struggle developed, how the action bands have been functioning, and how Government have been trying to suppress the Movement. Here below, we give some figures which might well speak for themselves, and help form an idea of the volume of action by the people as well as the amount of repression by the Government. It should, however, be understood that it is impossible to furnish all the figures under the present circumstances. We are giving only such information as is available. Enough figures from the Mysore State have not been received. All figures should, therefore, be taken as approximate. In particular, we wish to remind the readers, again, that innumerable cases of wire-cutting and other small dislocation activities have taken place, but have not been reported. It is only significant cases that have been reported that are recorded here.

I. ARRESTS

| <i>District</i> | <i>Number</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Belgaum | 1,255 |
| Dharwar | 1,147 |
| Bijapur | 50 |
| North Kanara | 515 |
| South Kanara | 27 |
| Bellary | 112 |
| Mysore State | 2,500 |
| Coorg | 4 |
| Total | 5,610 |

II. PROCLAIMED OFFENDERS

| <i>District</i> | <i>Number</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Belgaum | 22 |
| Dharwar | 30 |
| North Kanara | 14 |
| Total | 66 |

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

III. REWARDS

Rewards ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 5,000 have been announced for information leading to the arrest of 17 workers in the province: Dharwar 10, Belgaum 7.

IV. FIRINGS

| <i>Place</i> | <i>Dead</i> | <i>Wounded</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Bailhongal | 7 | 2 |
| Nippani | 2 | 8 |
| Shivapur | 1 | 1 |
| Koligud | — | 2 |
| Khavatikop | 1 | 6 |
| Hubli | 1 | 18 |
| Bangalore | 150 | 450 |
| Davangere | 6 | — |
| Tiptur | 2 | — |
| Dasankoppal | 3 | — |
| Sravanabelagola | 5 | — |
| Chitradurga | } Figures not available | |
| Issur | | |
| Mysore | | |
| Tumkur | | |
| Gutti | | |
| Hassan | | |

In all about 178 are dead and 520 wounded. Infantry and cavalry were on the scene at Bangalore City, and there was practically a pitched battle for 2 days.

V. LATHI CHARGES

| <i>Place</i> | <i>Charges</i> | <i>Wounded</i> |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Belgaum | 6 | 65 |
| Gadag | 3 | 3 |
| Haveri | 2 | 8 |
| Talikote | | 2 |
| Ankola | 2 | — |
| Mangalore | 6 | — |
| Karkal | — | 11 |
| Bangalore City | 10 | — |
| Bangalore Cantt | 2 | — |

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------|
| Bellary | } | Not known |
| Karwar | | |
| Sirsi | | |
| Honnavar | | |
| Kumta | | |
| Mysore | | |
| Chikmagalur | | |
| Saligrama | | |
| Sravanabelagola | | |

VI. STRIPES

15 stripes were awarded to Sri K. Sanjeeva Kamat of South Kanara District, on a charge of cutting telegraph wires.

VII. HEAVY SENTENCES

(with a fine in some cases up to Rs. 500)

| <i>Persons</i> | <i>Period</i> |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 6 | 7 years R. I. each |
| 62 | 5 -do- |
| 14 | 4 -do- |
| 2 | 3 -do- |

Mysore is not included as figures were not available.

VIII. COLLECTIVE FINES

| <i>District</i> | <i>Villages</i> | <i>Amount Levied</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Belgaum | 8 | Rs. 1,78,000 |
| Bijapur | 1 | „ 2,000 |
| Dharwar | 18 | „ 53,000 |
| North Kanara | 19 | „ 30,000 |
| Mysore State | 4 | „ 2,000 |
| Total | 50 | Rs. 2,65,000 |

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

IX. ATTACHMENTS FOR COLLECTIVE FINES ETC.

| <i>District</i> | <i>Place</i> |
|-----------------|---|
| Belgaum | Pachapur, Bailhongal |
| North Kanara | Hosmani, Kanagile, Bole, Sagadgeri, Hadava, Gokarn |

X. RAILWAY STATIONS ATTACKED

BRITISH KARNATAKA: (1) Suldhal, (2) Tavargatti, (3) Gunji, (4) Raibag, (5) Desur, (6) Sulebhavi, (7) Jumnal, (8) Minchinal, (9) Amargol, (10) Kusugal, (11) Hebsur and (12) Byadagi, (13) Hulukoti, (14) Savanur, (15) Hole-Alur, and (16) Nimbal.

MYSORE STATE: (1) Davangere, (2) Tiptur, (3) Mayakonda, (4) Banavar (5) Banasandra, (6) Kodaganur, (7) Holalkere, (8) Chikjajur, and (9) Hosadurga.

XI. DERAILMENTS ETC.

| | <i>Derailments</i> | <i>Removal of Rails</i> | <i>Damage of property</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| British Karnataka | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| Mysore State | 3 | 8 | 10 |
| Total | <u>11</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u> |

There was one derailment in British Karnataka in which a passenger train was involved by mistake. However, there was no injury. At no time were the passenger trains targets.

XII. BRIDGES AND CULVERTS DAMAGED

About 25 major incidents (including those in the Mysore State) have been recorded, wherein culverts and bridges were either destroyed or partially damaged.

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

XIII. CUTTING OF WIRES

| <i>District</i> | <i>Incidents</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Belgaum | 56 |
| Bijapur | 7 |
| Dharwar | 39 |
| North Kanara | 18 |
| Bellary | 13 |
| Mysore State | 35 |
| Coorg | not known |
| Total | 168 |

XIV. POST OFFICES DAMAGED

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Belgaum District : | Nippani, Nandagad, Bailhongal, Savadatti, Ganapatigalli (Belgaum City), and 12 other post offices. |
| Dharwar District : | 9 Post offices |
| Mysore State : | Bangalore City Head Post Office and 3 other Branch Post Offices in the city. |

Letters were burnt in the Head Post Offices at Belgaum, Gokak, Hubli, Byadagi, Sirsi and Siddapur.

XV. ATTACK ON MAIL BUSES AND CAPTURE OF MAIL-BAGS ETC.

| <i>District</i> | <i>No. of buses attacked</i> | <i>No. of times, bags captured</i> | <i>Post-boxes damaged or destroyed</i> |
|-----------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Belgaum | 7 | 66 | — |
| Dharwar | 5 | 29 | — |
| North Kanara | 3 | — | — |
| Bellary | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| Mysore State | — | — | 12 |

N.B : 18 Sub-post Offices in the Belgaum District were closed due to the widespread activities in this direction. For instance, the whole of Bailhongal Taluk is now (at the time of the report) served from the Taluk post office only.

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

XVI. VILLAGE RECORDS DESTROYED

| <i>District</i> | <i>Number</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Belgaum | 134 |
| Dharwar | 62 |
| North Kanara | 5 |
| Total | <u>201</u> |

XVII. DAK BUNGALOWS AND REST-HOUSES ATTACKED

| <i>District</i> | <i>Number</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Belgaum | 17 |
| Dharwar | 9 |
| Bijapur | 3 |
| North Kanara | 4 |
| Bellary | 1 |
| Total | <u>34</u> |

XVIII. TODDY AND GANJA SHOPS RAIDED AND PAKHALIS CUT OPEN

| <i>District</i> | <i>No. of Shops</i> | <i>Na. of Pakhalis</i> |
|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Belgaum | 33 | 20 |
| Dharwar | 18 | 11 |
| Mysore State | 11 | 8 |
| Total | <u>62</u> | <u>39</u> |

There was toddy shop picketing at four places in the Mysore State. About 250 toddy trees were cut near Benchinal in the Belgaum District, and about 50 trees near Hassan in the Mysore State.

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

XIX. DAMAGE TO GOVT. PROPERTY (CHAVADIS ETC.)

| <i>District</i> | <i>Number of incidents</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Belgaum | 157 |
| Bijapur | 5 |
| Dharwar | 69 |
| North Kanara | 17 |
| Bellary | 3 |

XX. SEIZURE OF REVENUE

| <i>Place</i> | <i>Amount</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Dodwad | Rs. 1,500 |
| Tolgi | 3,000 |
| Honnur | 650 |
| Tigadolli | 450 |
| Negalur | 800 |
| Itgi and Saslur | 800 |
| Hebbal | 3,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | Total Rs. 10,200 |
| | <hr/> |

XXI. DESTRUCTION OF WAR MATERIALS

1. Gangavati (North Kanara) : Timber for war-supply collected at the mouth of the Gangavati river was burnt, entailing a loss of about one lakh of rupees.
2. Hattikeri (North Kanara) : Teakwood depot was burnt. Loss, about Rs. 15,000.
3. Sirsi (North Kanara) : Government wood stocked at Sirsi was destroyed by fire.
4. Belgaum : Two military haystacks were burnt. Loss, of about Rs. 20,000.

XXII. DISARMING OF POLICE AUTHORITIES

"There were 9 (nine) major instances reported wherein more than 29 police officers and men including the Home Inspector of Ankola and the Police

MAJOR FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

Havaldar were disarmed, and their weapons taken away. In addition to these, many guns have been removed from the houses of Police Patils and others and swords and other weapons from chavadis and such other places."

Thus ends the story of Karnataka's fight for freedom, which naturally followed the all-India pattern but with certain characteristics of its own. The cult of violence could not get much support. The Swadeshi Movement was not very strong; nor was the Home Rule Movement very vigorous. Tilak was the idol of the people till Gandhi made his appearance. He was followed with devotion. Though somewhat slow till the 1930 movement, the masses of Karnataka fully participated since then and the rural population became as active as the urban under the leadership thrown up by them.

CHAPTER XVII

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

PREFATORY :

AS one looks back and ponders over the achievements of the Indian people during the last hundred years and more, and of their struggle in the political field, one heaves a sigh of satisfaction. Two vitally important national objectives have been realized in a manner that does credit to the statesmanship and sagacity of the parties to the struggle. In pre-Independence days it was a struggle for independence against the British rulers; in the post-Independence period, the formation of linguistic States involved differences with the leaders, both in the then existing States and the authority at the Centre. Thank God, the realization both of Indian Independence and of linguistic States became possible, by and large, on account of a spirit of accommodation and adjustment.

PROVINCES BEFORE INDEPENDENCE :

The Provinces as formed by the British had no rational basis. They were admitted on all hands to be haphazard, irrational, artificial and inconvenient. No geographical, economic, racial or linguistic principle was followed. The provincial boundaries were drawn as the British conquest of India proceeded apace piece-meal. Many a time, military and strategic considerations were responsible for their unnatural and inconvenient demarcation. This was admitted by the authors of the Montford Report when they said "the present map of British India was shaped by military, political or administrative exigencies of the moment with small regard to the actual affinities or wishes of the people."

About three-fifths of the country acquired by the British came to be known as British India. The remaining two-fifths, consisting of 562 States (in 1936), developed individually a different relationship with the British Crown and came to be called Indian India or Princely India. Most of them were small, many only a few square miles in area, and were dependent on the Crown for protection. A number of big States which had concluded treaties with the Crown had ostensible

freedom in internal administration but no external sovereignty. Even in internal matters intervention by the Paramount Power was not uncommon.

THE LINGUISTIC PROVINCES MOVEMENT—GENESIS AND GROWTH:

The beginnings of the movement for linguistic provinces can be traced to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. When in 1874, the Sylhet District was transferred from Bengal to the Chief Commissionership of Assam, the inhabitants of the district strongly protested against the transfer. However, the Oriya-speaking people can be said to be the pioneers of the movement, since they were the first to give it an organized shape. In 1876, Raja Baikunth Nath De of Balasore and Bichitranand Patnaik submitted a memorial to the Government pleading for a single administration for all the scattered Oriya-speaking tracts. The movement steadily gained ground and was able to secure in 1895 the support of Mr. Cooke, the Commissioner for Orissa. In 1896, the Biharis under the leadership of Sri Mahesh Narayan started the movement for a separate province of Bihar on the ground that the Hindi-speaking people of Bihar formed a distinct group in the Bengal Presidency, which then comprised Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In the meanwhile, the movement in Orissa gained momentum. In 1902, a memorial signed by hundreds of Oriyas was presented to Lord Curzon, the then Governor-General, asking that Orissa be brought under one administration. In 1903, an association called the Utkal Union Conference was formed with a view to carrying on the agitation systematically.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon gave not only a fillip to the national movement all over India, but made the linguistic provinces movement a nation-wide issue. Lord Curzon's object was possibly twofold; to disperse the revolutionary elements in Bengal and to set up a separate Muslim majority province. There was spontaneous support from all over India to the movement for annulling the partition. The agitation assumed such proportions that the Government was compelled to cancel the partition in 1912. The famous Hardinge Despatch of 1911 proposing the cancellation also stated: "It is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people, now included within the province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unevenly yoked with the Bengalis, and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development." The result was the creation of the provinces of Bihar and Orissa. The Hardinge Despatch, while recognizing the justice of the claim of the Oriyas for a separate province, did not recommend it for other parts of India. This only helped to keep the movement and linguistic aspirations alive all over.

As early as 1903, Mr. H. H. Risley, the then Secretary to the Governor-General of India in the Home Department, in a letter addressed to the Government

of Bengal clearly stated that "the true criterion of territorial redistribution should be sought not in race but in language."

Significantly enough, Lokamanya Tilak, giving evidence in 1898 before the Royal Commission on Decentralization, advocated "a rearrangement of provinces on considerations of linguistic and ethnological affinities, and a federation thereof under a central authority."

Next we may note the well-reasoned and sincere support given by Mr. Lionel Curtis, the father of Dyarchy in India and a keen student of constitutional affairs, to the cause of linguistic provinces. Regarding the then existing provinces, his opinion is forthright: "They are for the most part the artificial creations of a paternal and highly centralized Government which has its mainspring in England. They were designed as the satrapies of a vast oriental dependency." Writing about the principle of redistribution, he says: "Where possible, historical areas like Sind should be taken. But unity of language, race and religion are also important factors, and language is the most important of them all." He passionately pleaded that if "a United States of India within the British Commonwealth was to be ushered into existence, the wrongs done to Sind, the Kanarese-speaking people, the Oriyas and others must be rectified." The units of administration as they then existed were an anachronism. "You cannot base responsible government on units evolved on principles which are an antithesis of that system. You cannot graft figs on thorns or grapes on thistles."

The Montford Report (1918) also clearly foreshadowed a federal type of government for India—"a sisterhood of States self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interests, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others, perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people....." It noted that the then existing provinces had been distributed having "small regard to the natural affinities or wishes of the people"; the Report favoured the creation of new provinces with the consent of the new provincial Governments under the constitutional reforms.

The Simon Commission which toured the country during 1928 and 1929 made a definite recommendation that the question be examined by a 'Boundaries' Commission under a neutral Chairman. The Commission specially supported the claims of Sind and Orissa, which were created as new provinces in 1936.

A number of erudite publications on the Indian Constitution by Indian writers, notably Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and others—all emphasized the federal type as suited to India and made provision for the linguistic re-distribution of boundaries.

The most important and weighty opinion, however, is that of the Nehru Committee published on the 15th of August 1928. This was a sub-committee of nine persons (with Pandit Motilal Nehru as Chairman and with such distinguished persons as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Subhas Chandra Bose, M. S. Aney, N. M. Joshi and others as members) appointed by the All Parties' Conference consisting of representatives from no less than 34 political organizations. The following excerpt from its Report deserves to be quoted at length: "Every one knows that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis. It is merely due to accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India. As a whole, it has little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons. Even from the purely administrative point of view it is not a success. It is clear that there must be a redistribution of provinces...What principles should govern the redistribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. It is well recognized that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business and affairs, the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes.... If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area.... Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language, as a rule, corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and of literature....The National Congress recognized this linguistic principle eight years ago and since then, so far as the Congress machinery is concerned, India has been divided into linguistic provinces."

When thinking of giving practical effect to the linguistic principle they say: "Another principle which must govern a redistribution of provinces is the wishes of the people concerned. We who talk of self-determination on a large scale cannot in reason deny it to a smaller area, provided, of course, this does not conflict with any other principle or vital question.....Thus we see that the two most important considerations in rearranging provinces are the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority of the people. A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which would include the geographical position, the economic resources and the financial stability of the area concerned."

The Report was particularly appreciative in its reference to the case for Karnataka placed before the Committee by Sri R. R. Diwakar who was empowered to represent the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the Congress. Of course, the stand of the Kannadigas then was the formation of a province comprising British Karnataka areas only; but the marshalling of facts and figures on the financial and other aspects of the case was particularly appreciated by the Com-

mittee. They say: "It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong *prima facie* case for unification and the formation of Karnataka (British Karnataka) as a separate province was made."

Thus mature political and constitutional thinking in those days, British and Indian, was unanimous on the point that in the days to follow the pattern of Indian polity should be of a federal type with a strong centre. The federating units, to function effectively, should be, wherever necessary, reorganized approximating to the linguistic and cultural pattern of the region they represented.

Regarding the earlier rise of a new consciousness in Karnataka, which ultimately led to and justified the formation of a linguistic province, the words of Sri B. M. Srikantia would suffice: "By the turn of the century and within its first decade, all these (cultural and linguistic) forces played on the public mind and set up a ferment in men's hearts and roused a Kannada patriotism which could hold its own with the neighbouring provinces of Maharashtra, Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala. The new national spirit, the ideals of social reform and economic progress, the Congress Movement for political freedom and independence, the vision and the map of a reunited Karnataka Province as a homogeneous unit in Free India...made the air full of new cries, new efforts. The struggle began for the unity and the greatness of the Karnataka people, and their right to self-expression in a rejuvenated mother-tongue moulded into a fit vehicle for modern interests and thought and a fresh, creative, progressive modern literature, with the widest horizon of the world's best culture without."

There had been a steady growth of the Karnataka consciousness and sentiment in the minds of thinking men all over Karnataka by the time the Karnataka Sabha was started in 1916 in Dharwar. It is no mere coincidence that the Karnataka Sabha in Dharwar and the Kannada Sahitya Parishat in Bangalore were established at about the same time. They both stood for united Karnataka.

The Sabha leaders organized at Dharwar in 1920, under the distinguished presidentship of Sri V. P. Madhavarao, ex-Dewan of Mysore, the first Karnataka Political Conference, which was an unqualified success, being attended by hundreds of delegates from all parts of Karnataka. The Conference with one voice demanded the formation of a separate Karnataka Province and called on Kannadigas to attend in strength the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress, with a view to securing for Karnataka a separate province in the Congress administration.

The Sabha took a lead in the matter. The Indian National Congress, which was fast becoming a mass organization, had already given separate Congress

Circles in 1917 to Sindh, Orissa, Andhra and other regions, but had failed to respond to the requests of Kannadigas for a separate Circle. Sri Kadapa toured the whole of Karnataka and led 800 delegates to the Nagpur Congress session in 1920. The demand of Karnataka received due consideration at the hands of the Congress in 1920 which, under the guidance of Gandhiji, accepted the principle of linguistic provinces and divided the country into 21 linguistic Congress Circles or provinces. Since then, the Karnataka Congress Committee came into being, with its jurisdiction over the Kannada parts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, Hyderabad State and other Indian States, the whole of Mysore State and Coorg. This was indeed a landmark in the agitation for a future United Karnataka Province.

The significance of this event requires to be noted a bit closely. The originators of the Unification Movement were all nationalists to the core. But they wanted that the national movement should have a cultural and regional background and be so conducted as to be conducive to the full promotion of regional interests. Hence they strove for Karnataka Unification along with national liberation. In their eyes the unification of Karnataka and national freedom for India were supplementary to each other. That was why they concentrated on efforts to get for Karnataka a separate place in the Congress administration. Conversely, the nationalist movement thrived because of the formation of Congress Circles on the linguistic basis. The regional and linguistic basis provided the sentiment that nourished the grass-roots of the Congress organization.

This event provided ampler opportunities to the inhabitants of a linguistic region, though under separate political administrations, to come together and discuss matters of common interest. A spate of conferences of an all-Karnataka character, interested in Khadi, Ayurveda, History, Industry and Commerce, Physical culture, Journalism and what not, were held annually after the emergence of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, and they testify to the need felt for a united Karnataka.

The years 1921-1924 were the years of Non-co-operation and there was comparative quiet on the Unification front. Kannadigas worked as one man in the national struggle, despite their being divided in different administrations, and this contributed to the unique success of the Congress session held in Belgaum in 1924 under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi. Sri Kadapa seized this opportunity and convened the first Karnataka Unification Conference under the auspices of the Karnataka Sabha and the presidentship of Rao Bahadur Kambli. The Karnataka Sabha was also made more broad-based by being named "Karnataka Unification Sabha", making it possible for persons of all persuasions and opinions to join it.

The K.P.C.C. (Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee) made the Unification cause its own, and henceforth we see that the Provincial Congress Organization and the Karnataka Unification Sabha (or Sangha) working hand in hand. Though the Sabha included even non-congressmen of note and proved merit, care was taken to see that nothing that went against the Congress policy was done. On the other hand, the Unification consciousness in the K.P.C.C. was invigorated by the activities of the Sabha. This tacit understanding was maintained throughout the long and chequered career of the Unification Movement in Karnataka.

An acid test of this understanding came when the Simon Commission, appointed by the British Government to submit proposals for constitutional advance in India, toured the country during 1928-29. The Congress boycotted it since no Indian was included in it. The Sangha, despite a few dissentient voices, was persuaded to fall in line with the Congress. But other organizations and persons outside the Sangha, did submit memorials to the Commission, which recognized the justice of the linguistic principle and recommended the appointment of a Boundaries' Commission; but it specifically favoured the creation of only Sind and Orissa as separate provinces, which came into being only in 1936.

Meanwhile, the Karnataka Unification Sabha (we shall henceforth call it Sangh) and the K.P.C.C. jointly undertook intensive efforts to mobilize public opinion in favour of the demand; to wit, issuing a questionnaire to 200 prominent people in Karnataka, mass collection of signatures, the holding of all Karnataka conferences (Political, Unification, Seva Dal, etc.), getting resolutions passed by Municipalities and Local Boards, visits to outlying parts like Kollegal, the Nilgiris and Coorg, publication of informative literature in English, and so on.

In 1927, the Karnataka Unification Sangh succeeded in persuading the A.I.C.C. (The All-India Congress Committee) which met in Bombay to concede the linguistic basis for re-adjustment of provinces and to state that "a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sind and Karnataka into separate provinces."

In 1928, as mentioned already, the Nehru Committee on the Indian Constitution recommended the formation of Karna taka.

Attempts were made from 1921 to 1935 to use the Central and Provincial Legislatures as forums for the pressing of the demand. Mr. A. B. Lathe's resolution in the newly constituted Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1921, Dr. U. Ramarao's two attempts in the Council of State (1926 and 1928), Mr. V. N. Jog's in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1929—all these though unsuccessful—served their purpose. Similar attempts were made in the Madras Legislature. Mr. B. Shiva Rao's resolution in the Madras Legislative Council in 1929, demand-

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

ing formation of Karnataka, was passed, it must be noted, by a large majority, in the teeth of opposition from the Government.

The creation of Sind and Orissa in 1936 only helped to intensify the agitation for Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala Provinces. Mention must be made of the Karnataka Unification Conferences held during the period 1936-1940.

| | | <i>President</i> | <i>Chairman, Reception Committee</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--|
| Special Session at Belgaum | | | |
| | (Nov. 1936) | Dr U. Rama Rao | Sri. B. N. Datar |
| 7th ,, | at Dharwar | Sri K. R. Karant | Sri. A. J. Dodmeti |
| 8th ,, | at Sholapur | Dr R. Nagan Gowda | Sri. M. S. Sardar |
| | (April 1940) | | Bar-at-Law |

In the general elections held under the Reforms Act of 1935, the Congress secured absolute majorities in the Bombay and Madras legislatures, and committed as it was to linguistic provinces, it got in 1938 resolutions passed recommending the formation of linguistic provinces. In Madras, a general resolution moved by Sri Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu of Andhra mentioning the four linguistic areas was passed, whereas the Bombay resolution moved by Sri. V. N. Jog specifically mentioned "the province of Karnatak" only. Taking advantage of this, a deputation on behalf of the K. P. C. C. and the Karnataka Unification Sangh waited on the Congress Working Committee, who stated that the resolutions passed in the two legislatures had the full backing of the Congress and assured "that the solution of this question would be undertaken as a part of the future scheme of the Government of India, as soon as the Congress had the power of doing so and called upon the people of these areas to desist from any further agitation in this behalf."

In 1939, World War II broke out and the Congress Ministries in the provinces resigned as a protest against the British Government's involving India in the War without the people's consent. Normal conditions were restored after June 1944 and the Karnataka Unification Conference was successfully held at Dharwar the same year. Again the Unification Movement gained momentum and the Sangh carried on its activities methodically.

The tenth Karnataka Unification Conference held in Bombay in January 1946 was momentous because it was presided over by Bombay's Chief Minister, Sri B. G. Kher and inaugurated by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who solemnly declared: "One of the first acts of free India will be to remove the handicaps of disintegration which the British have imposed on the linguistic areas in the country."

This year is memorable also on account of the All-Karnataka Convention

held at Davangere in August 1946. The Karnataka Unification Sangh and the K.P.C.C. jointly sponsored it. It was inaugurated by Sri K. R. Karant, the then Revenue Minister in the Government of Madras, and presided over by Sri M. P. Patil, Minister for Forests and Agriculture in the Government of Bombay. It was attended by the Karnataka members of the provincial legislatures of Bombay, Madras, Coorg, Mysore and representatives of smaller States; by office-bearers of States' Peoples Organizations; representatives of literary and cultural and local self-government institutions; and by representatives of various political parties and communities.

The deliberations of this Convention were of great importance, since the Constituent Assembly was to begin functioning shortly to hammer out a Constitution for Free India, and it was necessary that Karnataka as a separate State should be enumerated therein. In view of this the Convention adopted unanimously a resolution urging, "the Constituent Assembly to take up the important question of the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis and to take immediate steps to constitute Karnataka into a separate province."

The Convention also declared that "without prejudice to the immediate formation of Karnataka areas, all-round development would not be achieved without a common Government, federal or otherwise, for the entire (without the distinction of British Karnataka or State Karnataka) Kannada people". The Convention opined that in order "to facilitate such a common Government for the whole of Karnataka it was absolutely necessary to establish democratic and responsible government in all the Native States" and further requested the rulers of those States to co-operate with it in that task.

The Convention appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. M. P. Patil, S. Nijalingappa and K. B. Jinaraja Hegde 'to take all further steps' in furtherance of the resolution. It was understood that the committee was to take guidance in its working from the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the K.P.C.C.

It is interesting to note that leaders from Mysore, especially Sri K. Hanumantiah and Sri H. C. Dasappa loudly protested at the 'without prejudice' clause in the resolution; Mysore's inclusion in the province should not be made dependent on the introduction of responsible government in that State, they said. The K.P.C.C. leaders then had to take pains to explain that Mysore would be enabled to come in immediately on the attainment of responsible government by it, and that the first step of forming the rest of Karnataka into a separate province need not be delayed.

The resolution for the first time clearly stated the objective of the Unificationists as being a United Karnataka province inclusive of Mysore and other States, and the formation of a province consisting of British Karnataka areas was to be only a first step thereto, a matter of practical politics. Henceforth the attention of the Unificationists was focussed on the attainment of the larger

objective and attempts were earnestly made to find a solution to the constitutional, psychological and temperamental difficulties that were undoubtedly there.

The three-man committee appointed at the Convention became the nucleus of what later came to be known as the Karnataka Ekikarana Mahasamiti. Jointly formed by the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the K.P.C.C., it went on taking in its fold anybody and everybody that mattered from the point of view of 'Unification,' until it became thoroughly representative of Karnataka.

Sri S. Nijalingappa, President of the K.P.C.C., was also President of the Mahasamiti and Messrs A. J. Dodmeti and S. R. Mangalavedhe were its energetic Secretaries during the five years and more of its existence. Sri Vineet Ramachandra Rao, Office Secretary, was in charge of statistics, publicity and public relations. When re-organized as the Karnataka Unification Sangh, Sri Shantappa Yelamali became President with Sri Kumbi and Sri Vineet were Secretaries.

The Mahasamiti, before its conversion into the Karnataka Unification Sangh, set before itself a threefold programme : organizing public opinion in order to bring pressure on the Congress High Command and the Central Government ; negotiating with Mysore leaders ; and, though comparatively a minor problem, a more irksome one—concentrating on the merger of the several Deccan States (in United Karnataka) which had Kannada areas sprawling on the northern border of Karnataka, from Kolhapur to Sholapur. For the third problem in the programme the Mahasamiti appointed a sub-committee with the late Sri B. N. Datar as Chairman and Sri Vineet Ramachandra Rao as Secretary.

The rulers of the Deccan States tried their best to foil the merger move by forming the 'Deccan States' Union' and seeking to get recognition to it by the Union States Ministry ; but the die was cast against them ; the popular movement in the States against the 'Union' became irresistible ; and the young ruler of Jamkhandi, — the late Srimant Parashuramrao Patwardhan, had cast in his lot with his subjects, thereby making it very difficult for the Union to survive long. In State matters he took decisions only after consulting the Jamkhandi Praja Parishad and its President Sri A. J. Dodmeti. The 12th session of the said Praja Parishad, held at Banhatti on 21st December 1947, paid a handsome tribute to the ruler in the following words : "It is worthy of note that the first ruler in India to give up his rights of kingship with a view to safeguard the interest of his subjects by means of merger is the Rajasaheb of Jamkhandi." The Parishad noted with deep appreciation "this supreme act of sacrifice on his part." Sri A. J. Dodmeti, in his presidential address, hailed the Rajasaheb's proposal to merge his State in the Dominion of India as "an unprecedented step" and rightly described it as "a blow to the Deccan States' Union". We may quote here a few extracts from the Ruler's letters to Sri A. J. Dodmeti, then President of the Jamkhandi Praja Parishad : "In Jamkhandi, Praja Parishad represents the

majority of the people : so unless I am advised by them to join the Deccan States' Union, I CANNOT join it, as I have already accepted the sovereignty of the people." The popular agitation in the Deccan States became so strong that the 'Union' move had to be scrapped and the constituent States had to agree to merger. Merger no doubt came about mainly on account of the efforts of the Kannadigas; but when the Bombay Government took decisions to merge the State areas in the adjoining taluks, Karnataka was prevented by vested interests in its attempts to get a large portion of the Kannada-speaking areas therein to be joined to Kannada-speaking taluks.

Thus by the time the Constitution was inaugurated, Karnataka had to deal with (i) Part A States (former Governors' or British Indian Provinces) of Bombay and Madras, (ii) Part B States (former Indian States) of Hyderabad and Mysore, and (iii) Part C State of Coorg (former Chief Commissioner's Province). Andhra another Part A State, came later in the picture. The problem had become more handy; but carving out homogeneous states by the rationalization of the boundaries --another name for 'linguistic States' --had yet to be tackled.

1946 AND AFTER :

Let us first trace the growth of the Movement *vis-a-vis* the Centre and the Congress High Command.

The Indian Constituent Assembly began to function in December 1946. It now became definite that India was going to have a new Constitution according to the wishes of the people; and advocates of linguistic provinces became busy. A convention of members of the Constituent Assembly and organizations supporting the principle of linguistic provinces was held in New Delhi on 8th December 1946 under the chairmanship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and a resolution moved by Sri R. R. Diwakar and supported by Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji and others, was unanimously passed recommending to the Constituent Assembly acceptance of the principle of linguistic provinces and setting up the necessary machinery therefor immediately after the new Constitution was adopted.

In April 1947, the Bombay and Madras Legislatures adopted the Linguistic Provinces resolution: in Bombay the mover was Sri A. J. Dodmeti and in Madras Dr. P. Subbaroyan.

The transfer of power came on 15th August 1947; but there were no indications of the Constituent Assembly taking up the matter. The apprehensions of the Kannadigas were voiced at the 11th All-Karnataka Unification Conference

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

held at Kasargod on 29th December 1947, which was attended by more than five hundred delegates from different parts of Karnataka. The Conference expressed its "keen disappointment and just resentment" at the fact that "even after the achievement of independence" the formation of Karnataka was postponed.

On 23rd and 24th January 1948, a deputation from Karnataka led by Sri S. Nijalingappa waited upon Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee at New Delhi, and were assured that the case of Andhra and Karnataka would receive favourable treatment. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was President of the Congress as well as of the Constituent Assembly, said in a letter to Sri S. Nijalingappa dated 9th February 1948: "There is, and there can be, no intention to discriminate against Karnataka and I am sure the Constituent Assembly and the Government would do nothing to create that impression."

The President of the Constituent Assembly appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission, known as the Dar Commission, by a Notification dated 17th June 1948. It was asked to report particularly on the pros and cons of the formation of Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. After touring the country and, particularly Karnataka, and after receiving more than 1000 memoranda and examining more than 700 witnesses, it submitted its report in December 1948 and pronounced itself against the formation of linguistic provinces.

There was universal condemnation of the Commission's Report, especially so in Karnataka and Andhra. To assuage public feeling the Congress which met at Jaipur in December 1948 appointed a three-man committee consisting of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya to go afresh into the question.

Meanwhile, the K.P.C.C. which met at Hubli on 19th January 1949 considered the Dar Commission's report and pronounced its opinion that its findings were not only retrograde and reactionary, but also definitely *ultra vires*.

The J. V. P. Report, popularly so called (submitted by the three-man committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress), was an improvement on the Dar Commission's Report in that it conceded the Andhra Province though it rejected the claims of other linguistic areas. It however stated: "If public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we as democrats have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole."

The release of this Report on 1st April 1949, subsequently adopted by the Congress Working Committee, created a crisis in the Karnataka Congress. The Council of the K. P. C. C. which met on 3rd December 1949 called upon the Karnataka legislators at the Centre and in the provinces to resign their seats in a body as a protest, after obtaining the permission of the Central Parliamentary Board therefor.

This resolution met with a rebuff from the Congress Working Committee which called it as "an unwise and unthinking" consideration of the subject under stress of high sentiment; it was also an act of indiscipline and injurious to national interest. But it was not so.

The response to the K. P. C. C. Council demand for resignations was overwhelmingly favourable. Barring very few exceptions, the majority of the legislators from Bombay Karnataka and South Kanara, including even non-Congress legislators submitted their resignations formally to the K. P. C. C.

While the formation of Karnataka was thus shelved, the Andhra Province also could not materialize by 26th January 1950, the day of the formal inauguration of the Indian Constitution.

The trend of events in the Mysore State *vis-a-vis* the formation of United Karnataka may be reviewed here. The All-Karnataka Devangere Convention held in August 1946 had resolved in favour of United Karnataka inclusive of Mysore. The Mysore Congress sessions held at Bangalore under the presidentship of Sri K. C. Reddy on November 2nd and 3rd favoured the early formation of Karnataka including all the Kannada-speaking areas. The year 1947 witnessed intensification of the struggle for the establishment of responsible government in the Mysore State and its fructification also. Some of the Ministers, the day they assumed office (24th October 1947), declared at a public meeting at Bangalore that the next step was to have a United Karnataka under the aegis of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

With this end in view, the Mysore Congress appointed a fact-finding committee of five to tour the entire Kannada country and submit its report. The K. P. C. C. which met at Harihar on 19th January 1949 expressed its favourable reaction to the proposal by passing a resolution agreeing for the first time to accept the Maharaja of Mysore as the constitutional head of the United Karnataka State and that Mysore should be included in it. The five-man committee unanimously recommended a Karnataka State inclusive of Mysore; but in view of the J. V. P. Report, three members opined that the implementation of the demand need not be immediate but should be taken up at the proper time; but the others were for immediate implementation. Thereafter, the Mysore Congress Working Committee on 5th November 1949 reviewed the report of the five-man Committee and reiterated the stand taken by the Mysore Congress from time to time favouring the formation of United Karnataka inclusive of Mysore in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Indian Constitution.

The J.V.P. Report had stated, in connection with the formation of Kerala and Karnataka, that these "can only be formed in conjunction with certain States," but "this can be brought about not by a merger of the present Province areas into the States but by the reverse process and must entail virtual disappearance of these States." In view of this, the feeling began to grow among the

forward sections of Mysore that the retention of the Maharaja should not be made a stumbling block to the realization of a United Karnataka. The Karnataka Youth Conference which met at Davangere on 28th July 1949 under the presidentship of Sri K. M. Rudrappa and the All-Parties' Conference which met at Arsikere on 6th November 1949 under the presidentship of Smt. Bellary Siddamma voiced this point of view. Earlier an All-Karnataka Conference held at Gulbarga on 6th March 1949 demanded that the Kannada areas of Hyderabad be included in the Karnataka State. In view of these different trends of thinking, the K.P.C.C. met at Davangere again on 8th November 1949 and passed a comprehensive resolution demanding a Karnataka State inclusive of Mysore, with the Maharaja of Mysore as the constitutional head, with provision for Hyderabad Karnataka areas joining as and when it became feasible.

The linguistic provinces question, which had been shelved for the time being, again became a live issue on the eve of the general elections of 1951-52. In the election manifesto adopted by the A.I.C.C. which met at Bangalore in July 1951, adherence of the Congress to the linguistic provinces principle was indicated but 'agreed views of the people concerned' and 'other factors also, such as economic, administrative and financial' were stressed. In its local manifesto the Congress made it an issue, as did the other parties in Karnataka.

With the return to power at the Centre and the provinces, the Congress took no initiative in the direction of forming linguistic provinces. This general apathy on the part of the Congress became a target of attack in the Parliament when a Communist member tabled in July 1952 a non-official resolution asking the Government that "immediate steps should be taken to redistribute the States on a linguistic basis." The resolution was defeated on account of the party mandate, though the majority of the Congress members who spoke supported the resolution. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, on behalf of the Government, said that there were more important matters like the country's security and economic stability. He conceded that in the South there were old demands which had great justification behind them and "we are prepared to go ahead."

In October 1952, Sri Potti Sriramulu, an Andhra leader, undertook a fast unto death to force the Government to form Andhra and died on 15th December 1952 after 58 days of fasting. This was followed by riots in Andhra, causing damage to Government property worth Rs. 10 millions. Sri Nehru announced on 19th December 1952 in the Parliament that Government had decided to establish an Andhra State consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras State, but not including the city of Madras. Accordingly Justice K. N. Wanchoo was appointed to consider and report on the financial and other implications of the decision and the ways of implementing it.

Now it was clear that the establishment of the Andhra State was a matter of days. Naturally, the desire of Kannadigas for their province was whetted.

It was expected that the Congress sessions held at Hyderabad (Nanal Nagar) in January 1953, would deal sympathetically with the matter; but it proved otherwise. The Congress adopted a resolution that apart from Andhra no other linguistic state be formed for the time being. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad moving the resolution on the reorganization of states said, "We are not prepared to take up the question of any linguistic states for the next four or five years. If any such demand is brought forward we will strongly oppose it." It is interesting to note that Sri K. Hanumanthiah, the then Chief Minister of Mysore, not only ably advocated the cause of linguistic states, but urged the redistribution of states in sizable administrative units of culturally and linguistically homogeneous, financially viable and geographically contiguous regions. He said Karnataka could be formed by the inclusion in the Mysore State of all the adjoining Kannada parts of Bombay and Madras and Coorg. This forthright statement on his part dispelled the idea that Mysore was not in favour of the unification of Karnataka.

While the Nanal Nagar Congress was in the midst of its deliberations Sri A. J. Dodmeti started his fast at Jakkali, his native village in Ron Taluk of the Dharwar District. The fast went on, for 16 trainees in the Karnataka Rajya Nirmana Sabha ('Trainees' Camp) took part for bringing about the Karnataka State. It was organized by Sri Dodmeti. The fast electrified the atmosphere in North Karnataka. The idea caught the imagination of the people; similar camps were held in the North Kanara and Bijapur Districts. The trainees went to different places and organized similar fasting camps. The chain of fasts started at Jakkali culminated in the 'fast unto death' undertaken four months later by Sri Shankargowda Patil at Alavandi, a village near Hubli.

The Nanal Nagar resolution caused widespread resentment in Karnataka. A special general meeting of the K. P. C. C. was held at Hubli on the 19th and 20th of April 1953, under the shadow of the fast started by Sri Shankargowda. Thousands of people gathered from distant parts to attend the proceedings; hundreds of bullock-carts bedecked with flags carrying parties of ryots shouting slogans had converged on the Town Hall, the venue of the meeting. The crowds invaded the building and shouted "Resignations! Resignations! No more Resolutions." The K. P. C. C. car was burnt and there was pelting of stones. A few leaders were hit. The Police had to intervene and disperse the gathering by a lathi-charge and resort to firing. The meeting was adjourned and the K. P. C. C. next day passed a resolution that if Karnataka State was not formed before the close of 1954, and if the Government of India did not make a clear and unambiguous announcement in this behalf by the end of October 1953, the members of the K. P. C. C. would, as a first step, relinquish their membership of the P. C. C. and Karnataka members of the States' Legislatures and Parliament would resign their seats.

The Akhila Karnataka Rajya Nirmana Parishat, representing the radical elements among the Unificationists, convened a Convention at Davangere on

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

27th May 1952, presided over by Sri K. R. Karant, ex-Revenue Minister of Madras, and inaugurated by Sri Shivamurthi Swami, M. P., which demanded the immediate formation of Karnataka and the appointment of a Boundaries' Commission, failing which the Convention would launch a peaceful struggle. The struggle was actually launched in August of the same year, and, within about five months thereafter, at least 5,000 persons were either detained or imprisoned.

As there was no indication of the Congress High Command's reaction to this resolution for quite a long time, Sri S. Nijalingappa, President of the K.P.C.C., along with some members of the Parliament met the Prime Minister, Sri Nehru on 14th September 1953 and explained to him the gravity of the situation in Karnataka. The significance of the reverses in the recent bye-elections was also referred to. Congress influence in Karnataka was fast waning. The Prime Minister assured the deputationists that a High Power Commission would be appointed before the end of 1953 at the latest to report on the "Reorganization of States in India as a whole." Sri S. Nijalingappa had been in correspondence with the Prime Minister. In one letter, dated 28th October 1953, the Prime Minister said..... "The question of Karnataka is by itself not only a simpler problem than many, but is something that in principle has been accepted for some considerable time. But in giving effect to that particular question, immediately one comes up against the problem of splitting up Bombay State and the formation of other States even apart from Karnataka. Thus this problem has to be considered as a whole....."

"As I have said above, Karnataka's claim for a separate State is not only well known, but is generally accepted. The question is in what manner to give effect to it. I do not think that Mysore offers much difficulty.....Everything that can possibly be done about this is going to be done in the proper way."

The promised High Power Commission (the States' Reorganization Commission, popularly known after its Chairman as the 'Fazl Ali Commission') was appointed by a Home Ministry Notification dated 29th December 1953. It started touring the country on 8th April 1954, visited 104 places which involved travelling over 38,000 miles, received 1,52,250 documents from the public, of which 2,000 were well-considered memoranda, interviewed in private over 9,000 persons and produced its report which was published on 10th October 1955.

On 22nd December 1953, Sri Nehru had made his announcement in the Parliament regarding the appointment of the Commission; the statement contained a reference to linguistic provinces as follows: "The language and culture of an area have an undoubted importance, as they represent a pattern of living which is common in that area. In considering a reorganization of states, however, there are other important factors which have also to be borne in mind. The first essential consideration is the preservation and strengthening of unity and security of India. Financial, economic and administrative considerations are

almost equally important, not only from the point of view of each State but of the whole nation. The Commission will investigate the conditions of the problem, the historical background, the existing situation and the bearing of all important and relevant factors thereon." Thus the linguistic principle, though regarded as important, became hedged in by other 'almost equally important' factors, namely the unity and security of the country and financial, economic and administrative considerations. The ultra-wide directions, in the eyes of Unificationists, gave a loophole to the Commission in coming to certain conclusions which were unfavourable to Karnataka. Its recommendations resulted not only in the exclusion of predominantly Kannada areas all along the border and cutting out of Kasargod Taluk, predominantly Kannada, most unnaturally from the South Kanara District, but also contained the strange and utterly indefensible proposal regarding the Bellary District, that the taluks of Sirguppa, Bellary and Hospet and a small area of the Mallapuram sub-taluk in which the dam and head-works of the Tungabhadra Project are situated, be excluded from the Karnataka State. This proposal concerning the Bellary District created a storm in Karnataka. Karnataka had to fight its way for justice as regards Bellary. Bellary's place ultimately remained secure in the final decision of the Parliament. Thus, after all the formalities required by the Constitution, the Bill on the States' Reorganization Commission's recommendations was passed and got the President's assent on 31st August 1956.

But for some dissatisfaction in Karnataka over the S.R.C.'s recommendations regarding Bellary, Kasargod and the Nilgiris principally, its report had been generally welcomed by all sections of the people, since it substantially met the aspirations of the Kannadigas cherished for over fifty years.

As per this Act the Karnataka State, now statutorily known as 'the State of Mysore' comprises (1) the whole of the former Mysore State (including Bellary district added to it when Andhra was formed; (2) Belgaum District except Chandgad Taluk, and Bijapur, Dharwar and North Kanara Districts in the former Bombay State; (3) Gulbarga District, except Kodangal and Tandri Taluks, Raichur District, except Alampur and Gadwal Taluks, and Bidar District, Comerili, Bidar, Bhalki, Santpur (Aurad) and Humnabad taluks of the former district of the same name in the former Hyderabad State; (4) South Kanara District except Kasargod Taluk and Amindivi Islands, and Kollegal Taluk of the Coimbatore District in Madras State; and (5) the whole of the former State of Coorg, now known as Coorg District.

Though the United Karnataka of the Unificationists came into existence on 1st November 1956, there lingered some disputes regarding some border areas. Maharashtra began to lay claim to Belgaum and large tracts in Karwar District. After protracted talks between governments and Congress leaders and other people, a one-man commission was appointed. Ex-Chief Justice Sri Mahajan of the Supreme Court made his final recommendations in September 1967. The

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

finality about the matter would mean some adjustments in which Belgaum, Kasargod (part of it) would remain with Karnataka but Nippani and some other portions may go to Maharashtra. But this question is not finalised at the time of writing.

MYSORE AND UNIFICATION :

This narration of the history of the Movement would not be complete without briefly recounting the part played by the old Mysore area in the struggle.

In February 1954, the Chief Minister of Mysore, Sri K. Hanumanthiah toured North Karnataka and he was visibly moved by the unprecedented spontaneous and tumultuous welcome extended to him and the demonstration of public sentiment over the issue of Karnataka Unification everywhere. His visit served to reassure the people of Karnataka of Mysore's whole-hearted support to the cause of Unification.

Before responsible government was ushered in in Mysore, the Congress circles there had on crucial occasions expressed their support to Unification. But when Congress came to power there, the suppressed anti-unificationist tendencies began to come to the fore. After the return of Sri K. Hanumanthiah, Mysore Chief Minister, from his tour in North Karnataka they became more vocal. Not only in the Congress organization, but in the Ministry too, a section espousing the creation of two Karnatakas became active.

When the S. R. C. visited Bangalore in June 1954, the Mysore Government and the Congress decided to refrain from submitting memoranda to it or giving evidence before it on account of internal differences. But there was a vast section of opinion staunchly in favour of Unification, notably those led by Sri S. Nijalingappa and others and the youth led by Sri K. M. Rudrappa and others who met the Commission and tendered evidence in favour of a United Karnataka. In the meantime the Fact Finding Committee appointed by the Mysore Government, popularly known as the "Seshadri Committee" had indicated that the Kannada parts outside the State would be a deficit area, obviously suggesting that in an integrated Karnataka State they would be a drag on the administration. Barring this small section, the vast majority of people in the State were solidly in favour of Unification: all important dailies and weeklies (Kannada and English), the literary and cultural circles as represented by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, the Youth organizations, the mercantile community, the Labour organizations, the Socialist and Communist Parties, the Kurubar community, the Backward classes and other interests staunchly supported it.

The State Reorganization Commission's forthright support to United Kar-

nataka stirred up the embers of controversy in the old Mysore area. Everybody now realized that they had come to grips with the problem. So the separationists, though a small minority, asserted themselves. Three ex-Dewans of Mysore expressed themselves in favour of Mysore preserving its individuality by remaining as it was. A split was evident in the Mysore Cabinet, three ministers having issued statements in favour of two Karnatakas. Riotous scenes were witnessed in Bangalore and Tumkur. But, as we have already noted, there was overwhelming general support for a single United Karnataka State inclusive of Mysore.

The S. R. C. Report was debated by both the Houses of the Mysore Legislature for three days continuously; but on account of the Congress Party not coming to any definite decision in regard thereto, the discussion was adjourned for nine days.

In the meanwhile the four-man sub-committee appointed by the Mysore State Congress Working Committee rejected the separationists' claim of 'Mysore for Mysoreans' and declared itself unequivocally in favour of a single United Karnataka State inclusive of Mysore. This decision it came to after hearing the deputations for and against a single Karnataka State. This clinched the issue. The Mysore Legislature, which again deliberated for three days (29th and 30th November and 1st December 1955), passed a resolution expressing its support to the formation of a United Karnataka State inclusive of Mysore, but with the amendment that the new State be named 'Mysore': it also stated that Bellary should not be separated from the Mysore State. The "Two Karnatakas" controversy was now silenced once for all.

The unqualified support given by 56 members of the Mysore Legislature to United Karnataka inclusive of Mysore in their communication to Prime Minister Sri Nehru, dated 18th January 1953 at the time of the Hyderabad (Nanal Nagar) Congress Session, deserves special mention in the context of the reported opposition of a few members of the said legislature to the inclusion of the Mysore State in the proposed province.

The late Sir M. Visvesvaraya of hallowed memory gave his clear support to Karnataka Unification in the following memorable words: "It would be proper to press the demand for the creation of Karnataka State when Andhra State formation is on the anvil. In my opinion, Karnataka Unification would usher in greater prosperity and industrial advancement in South India.....It is welcome news that Kannadigas in the provinces of Bombay, Madras etc. have evinced their willingness to join Mysore. But, it appears, a section of opinion in Mysore harbours the apprehension that under United Karnataka they would be dominated by the Lingayat Community. Nobody should entertain such fears in this age of democracy. If all are inspired by patriotism,

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

love of service and regard for Karnataka culture and language, their happiness will go on increasing and their standard of life will record an appreciable rise.” (Sir M. V. ’s reply to the address given by the Nagpur Karnataka Sangh on 24th March 1953, as published in “Tai Nadu”—Kannada daily of Bangalore.)

Now United Karnataka State is a *fait accompli* for the last ten years and more, though Maharashtra started a dispute about some border areas. The matter can be settled only by Parliament and finality is awaited.

CHAPTER XVIII

MYSORE BEFORE AND AFTER INTEGRATION

ONE of the effects of the impact of British rule was the cultural awakening in the different regions of India. Karnataka, like other parts of India, witnessed a cultural renaissance. European scholars as well as Kannadigas promoted the Kannada renaissance. The role of many a patriotic Kannadiga and the services of language newspapers accelerated the cultural awakening. Many writers and social leaders began to kindle the spirit to Kannada nationalism through their writings and work. One may recall the service of those now no more with us, Prof. B. M. Srikantia, Kumaraswamiji of Hanagal, Manjappa Hardekar, Sri Alur Venkata Rao and other literary and social leaders who worked with devotion and zeal for the Kannada cause. Literary men thus provided the necessary emotional and philosophical background for the agitation for United Karnataka which was taken up and was organized later by politicians.

The creation of the new State is not an end in itself. It is only a means to an end, and that end is the welfare of the Kannadigas in particular and of the nation in general. The new State had to face a number of problems which are complicated. The integration resulted in bringing together areas whose levels of development, system of law and of administration were not uniform.

The old Mysore State had marched ahead and was progressive in many fields because of the welfare measures launched by its benevolent rulers and executed by able administrators and statesmen such as Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Sir Mirza Ismail and others. The old Mysore State started many industries like the Kolar Gold Fields, the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works the Paper Mills, the Cement Factory, the Silk Filatures; and soon the State was a pioneer in many of these industries as also in the generation of electricity from natural sources. The Sivasamudram Hydel Scheme had the longest transmission lines in all India in those days. The revenue yielded by these industries was utilized for development works such as the construction of roads, dams, bridges, and the starting of welfare services like hospitals and educational institutions. The Government of the old Mysore State had taken up the responsibility of both

Primary and University Education. High Schools and Colleges were opened in large numbers in which the rate of fees was low. A large number of scholarships to benefit deserving and needy students, particularly of the backward communities, were instituted. Under the patronage of the illustrious rulers of Mysore, the educational efforts in this direction culminated in the establishment of the University of Mysore in 1916.

While the development of Mysore had been rapid, conditions in other parts of Karnataka were far from satisfactory. These areas have abundant resources but their exploitation was neglected. They happened to be the tail-ends of their respective Provinces. Kannada-speaking people formed a minority in those Provinces, being only about 20% of the total population of the Bombay State, about 6% in Madras and about 28% in the Hyderabad State. Such being the case, the proportion of representation of Kannadigas in the State Legislatures was low when compared with the strength of other representatives. So they could scarcely make their presence felt.

As a consequence, it fell to the lot of the private agencies to bear the responsibility of education, which called for sacrifices on the part of the people of those parts. It can be noted here that the starting of the Karnataka College at Dharwar had to wait till 1916. Even this was possible because of the contributions of the people of the areas to the tune of Rs. 2 lakhs. It was only in 1933 that the Lingaraj College was started at Belgaum.

The economic development of these Kannada areas also lagged behind in spite of their rich natural resources. The people felt frustrated. Now that the new State has been formed, efforts are being made by the Government to remove that sense of frustration by taking speedy steps to develop the country all round.

The new State had to face a number of problems. As mentioned already, it is an integration of the Kannada-speaking areas of the States of Bombay, Hyderabad, Madras and Coorg with the districts of the old Mysore State. The new State has an area of 74,861 square miles with a population of 2,35,47,081 as per the 1961 Census. The State is divided into nineteen districts which are grouped under four Divisions.

The chief problems that had to be tackled by the new State were: The problem of political integration; the problem of emotional integration; the problem of educational integration; integration of pay-scales; fixing of inter-state seniority in service; uniform taxes and revenue laws, and a number of other problems.

The problem of political integration was meant to be solved by giving adequate representation in the Cabinet and on the important State-level Commit-

tees, Boards and so on. The ruling party—the Congress Party—acted as the unifying force. In the general elections immediately after re-organization there was a very clear majority for the Congress Party.

In the field of education, the State faced the problem of integrating different systems of education. The State Educational Integration Advisory Committee was appointed in the beginning itself to tackle the problem. The Committee ‘has made progress in the formulation of a uniform Primary Education Act, Grant-in-aid Code and other ancillary issues.’ The introduction of compulsory primary education for children in the age-group of 6 to 11 years was taken up for consideration and it is gratifying to note that the ‘Mysore Compulsory Primary Education Bill—1961’ was passed by the State Legislature. The State Government also decided to give free Secondary Education to the children of those families whose annual income is below Rs. 1,200.

In order to achieve integration at the University level, the Government of Mysore appointed the ‘Mudaliar Committee’ consisting of the two Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities then in the State and other experts in education to suggest reforms. The Government have accepted the recommendations of the Committee. Accordingly, many colleges under the Mysore University were taken over by the Government, and the post of the Director of Collegiate Education was created. In 1964, the Bangalore University came into existence with the colleges in Bangalore as its constituent colleges. The latest development in the direction of integration of University education is the meeting of the Vice-Chancellors and the Deans of Faculties of the three Universities on the advice of the Government. They have unanimously resolved to evolve a common pattern of syllabus for Pre-University and Degree Courses.

It is not the intention either of the Government or of the Universities to impose a rigid uniformity in the field of education. But it is desirable to achieve co-ordination. This was essential, as great difficulties were experienced by students of the different areas of the State in case they wanted to go from one University to another, as the standards were not uniform and the courses varied. This impediment is now being removed. This has helped educational integration.

The formation of the new State resulted in the coming together under a single administration of a number of employees with different scales of pay and service conditions. The Government of old Mysore had appointed the Pay Structure Committee (1955) under the Chairmanship of Mr. V. M. Mascarnhas, ‘to examine the adequacy or otherwise of the (then) existing scales of pay in the State’. The recommendations of the Committee were with reference to the employees of the old Mysore State. The acceptance of these recommendations and their implementation by the United Karnataka Government helped a good deal in reducing the disparities in pay scales. The employees of the old Mysore State

were very much profited by this step. The scales of pay in Bombay were the highest and the scales of pay in old Mysore were the lowest. The integration of services, therefore, was a big problem. The States' Re-organization Commission has pointed out that "Integration of services which will follow determination of cadres and the allotment of personnel should be based on definite principles which should, as far as possible, be of uniform application throughout India." The Governor of Mysore in his Address to the first session of the Legislature of the new Mysore State expressed the "desire that while the pay scales and conditions of service of the employees who have come over to us should not be adversely affected, steps should be taken to evolve uniform pay scales and conditions of service, and to improve the level of pay at the lowest levels." As a first step in this direction, interim relief in respect of low-paid employees of the old Mysore State was granted and the recommendations of the Pay Structure Committee were implemented with effect from 1st January 1957, which has thrown upon the State a recurring burden of about Rs. 4 crores per year. The proposals of another Committee appointed to further examine to what extent and in what respects the service conditions of the employees of this State require further improvement, were submitted in February 1961 and the committee's recommendations have been implemented from January 1961. For the purpose of integration of service rules and conditions and for preparing common seniority lists for personnel belonging to different services and to make the equation of posts, the services of two senior officers from the Government of India were utilized. All these steps have benefitted a large number of Government servants, specially the low-paid employees, and it is hoped that it would result in removing the discontent among the employees and would induce them to work with devotion.

It has been already pointed out that the five different regions which came together had their own differing laws and different systems of administration. The Governor of Mysore referred to the problems in his Address to the first session of the Legislature of the State: "It is very necessary that there should be an integrated and a uniform pattern evolved throughout the State. Our Government proposes to devote its energies to this task; in particular, it hopes to be able to place before you as early as possible measures to make the taxation laws uniform." Accordingly, a number of legislative enactments to secure the uniformity are being made by the State Government in almost every session of the State Legislature.

It was also the policy of the Government 'to establish a system of land reforms which would enable the actual cultivator of the soil to derive the maximum benefits from his efforts.' Tenancy Acts had been passed in Bombay, Madras and Mysore. In Coorg there was no tenancy law. It was realized that the existing land tenure laws in the different parts of the State should be carefully but quickly reviewed. In the meantime, laws were enacted to maintain the *status quo*. In order to advise the Government on this problem, the Land Reforms Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Sri B. D. Jatti. The

recommendations of the Committee submitted in September 1957 have been discussed in detail and the land reforms have come into effect. The aim of the reforms is to give the tiller of the soil a stake in the land he cultivates, so that he may contribute to the increased agricultural productivity and improved economic conditions of the rural areas.

The development of communications is essential for the progress of any State. The new State did not have the same facilities in all parts. As the Governor pointed out: "It is not possible to travel by road from Bangalore to the northern districts of the State—Bidar, Gulbarga and Bijapur—except by a very circuitous route; communications between the districts of Bijapur and Dharwar and the adjacent districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bellary are non-existent. A comprehensive scheme providing for direct road communications between the State capital and these areas involving construction of bridges across major rivers like the Krishna and the Tungabhadra is under preparation....." Consequently a number of schemes for connecting different parts of the State with a net-work of roads have been prepared and are being implemented. The construction of the West-coast National Highway, which will run for 150 miles, and the Bangalore-Bidar Highway was taken up. The river Tungabhadra was bridged at Shiraguppa providing direct communication from Bangalore to Raichur. The river Krishna was bridged at river Tintani. It is now possible to travel from Bangalore by road to all districts of the State, thereby establishing proper communications. Moreover, nearly 3,800 miles of District Board and other roads have been taken over for maintenance by the State. Special attention has also been paid to the development of ports. "The Government of India have taken up the development of Mangalore as an all-weather port" which will facilitate exporting two million tons of ore or other commodity annually. Karwar port will also be developed into an all-weather port. Improvements of the ports of Honavar, Coondapur and Belekeri will also be effected in the coming years.

THE STATE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PLANS:

The new State is very rich in natural resources. By harnessing them we can achieve all-round prosperity.

The new State abounds in a number of water-falls, some of them being world-famous, namely: The Gersoppa Falls, the Unchali Falls in the North Kanara District, the Lalgali Falls and the Sivasamudram Falls. Electricity is generated in most of these Falls and is supplied for industrial purposes and for domestic consumption. The work on the Sharavati Valley Project is progressing. The first stage of the project calculated to generate 1,78,200 K. W. (in two generating units) has been completed. The installation of six units under the second stage has been sanctioned. It is gratifying to note that the Government of the

United States of America has come forward with a large loan of about Rs. 27 crores to complete the second stage of the Sharavati Project. The Bhadra Hydro-electric Project with an installed capacity of 33,200 K. W. has also been commissioned. The Tungabhadra Hydro-electric Project Left Bank station, which entirely belongs to Mysore, yields 27,000 K.W. and the right bank station, of which Mysore has a 20% share, yields 14,400 K. W. These installations are intended to cope with the heavy demand for power after the integration of the State. The State Electricity Board was constituted (October 1957) to maintain the generation stations and transmission lines. The entire distribution system is vested in the Board. The Board serves as a useful agency to bring about uniformity in power distribution, rates etc. , all over the integrated areas.

A number of irrigational projects, major as well as minor, have either been newly taken up or continued by the new State. The work on major irrigation projects, such as the Tungabhadra project, the Ghataprabha project, the Bhadra Reservoir project, have made good progress.

The inauguration of the new State saw some progressive changes in the industrial field. An event of importance was the nationalization of the Kolar Gold Mines. A Board of Management was set up immediately for the exploitation of these mines. A development scheme costing Rs. 94.50 lakhs was taken up. In the field of large-scale industries, the trial operations of the new Spun-pipe Works at Bhadravati commenced in November 1957. And the Government of India has approved of the expansion of the capacity of the Ferro-Silicon Plant from 5,000 tons to 20,000 tons. In and around the forest town of Dandeli in the Karwar district, a number of industries have come into existence, and the exploitation of the minerals found in that region is increasing every day. The West Coast Paper industry in Dandeli is progressing and is expected to contribute substantially to the industrial development of the State. With a view to co-ordinating the activities of both State-owned and aided industrial concerns, a separate Industrial cadre has been created. The State Government is continuing the policy of encouraging private enterprise and has been affording facilities for the establishment of industries in the private sector.

The Government of Mysore have registered the Mysore State Industries Investment and Development Corporation Ltd. , as a Government company with an authorized capital of five crores of rupees to give a fillip to the rapid industrialization of the State.

Among Government undertakings in the second and third Five Year Plan periods the following developments are noteworthy :

1. A new Government Electric Factory, in collaboration with M/s A. E. G. of West Germany for the manufacture of transformers, motors and other electrical accessories with a capital outlay of 8 crores of rupees has been located at

KARNATAKA THROUGH THE AGES

Byappanahally on the outskirts of Bangalore, with Broad Gauge Railway siding facilities.

2. The Government Soap Factory shifted to Rajajinagar has reached a production capacity of 1,800 tons per year, the value of sales exceeding one crore of rupees. It is proposed to raise the production to 5,000-6,000 tons per year.

3. The Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works started in 1923 with a capacity of 2,500 tons per year of pig iron production is now able to produce about 1,00,000 tons. The existing mild steel produced is to be converted into special steel (77,000 tons a year) with the technical collaboration of an Austrian company.

4. The Tungabhadra Steel Products Ltd., owned jointly by the State Government of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore manufactures heavy steel structures, hydraulic gears with hoists, penstocks, cranes etc.

5. The Mysore Chemicals and Fertilisers, Belagola (started in 1937) is making rapid progress and manufactures sulphuric acid, superphosphate (72,000 tons per annum) etc. Caustic soda and chlorine also will be taken up.

The Chamundi Chemicals and Fertilisers located at Munirabad has a capacity to produce 16,500 tons of sulphuric acid and 40,000 tons of superphosphate per annum.

6. Four paper mills are working in the State at Bhadravati, Dandeli, Nanjangud and Belagola.

The West Coast Paper Mills located in North Kanara has been licensed to produce 150 tons per day.

7. Nine Sugar Factories are now working in the State of which four work as co-operative concerns viz., Kampili, Pandavapura Sunkeswar, and Gowribidnur.

8. There are four cement factories with a total installed capacity of 9,89,710 metric tons working at Bagalkot, Shahabad, Bhadravati and Ammasandra. Four more are proposed at Wadi Nagargali, Gokak and Hosadurga.

9. The Cotton Mill industry in the State has a spindleage of about 5 lakhs. 17 more units, both private and co-operative, have been allotted a spindleage of 1,92,000.

In order to develop small-scale industries, the Small Scale Industries

MYSORE BEFORE AND AFTER INTEGRATION

Corporation, the Mysore State Khadi and Village Industries Board, the Coir Advisory Board and so on have been set up.

The implementation of the second Plan was to some degree impeded in the beginning because of the problems created by the reorganization of States. The second Five Year Plan expenditure was of the order of Rs. 136 crores whereas in the third Five Year Plan period the total expenditure was fixed at Rs. 250 crores. Emphasis is now laid on irrigation, power and food production.

CONCLUSION :

The problems of integration and reorganization are still many. The Mysore State when compared to other re-organized States tackled many of its problems with understanding and ability. There are, of course, a few problems awaiting solution. It is hoped that all these would be solved in due course without any major tensions.

EPILOGUE

BUT for the few appendices that follow, the readers of this respectable volume have gone through the story of the people of Karnataka. We purposely want to call it the story of the people. It is only the people who have a story to tell, because all else is hardly conscious, much less self-conscious. Geology and geography are there; rivers and mountains and forests continue to exist; weather and climate and seasons persist with slight changes. But all of them are important only to the extent of their influence on the life of men and women of the respective regions.

Dynasties, kings, emperors, warriors, fighters have lived and fought and ruled and died. But their deeds are a part of the story of the people. It is the life and activity, the thoughts and actions, the experiences and experiments, the joys and sorrows of the people that have flowed on like a mighty stream through the ages that matter most. It is the dreams and aspirations, the creative efforts of men and women, the concrete shape they give to their own lives by means of religion and philosophy, by ethics and codes of conduct, by literature and art, by architecture and sculpture—it is these that attract and absorb our attention. From what has been narrated so far, it is clear that the people of Karnataka have played their historic role creditably and, in spite of weaknesses and adversities, have added to the greatness of India whenever opportunities offered themselves.

India is a name given to this big Peninsula by foreigners. India has called herself Bharata-Varsha and described it as the whole land from the Himalayas to the southern seas. From the days of the ancient Greeks, down the centuries, all have recognized India as a single country with a number of common cultural traits. It happens that though India consists of several States now, each State has at some time or other, in some form or other, contributed substantially to the varied history and composite culture of India. In India's long history, in its great culture, and in its contribution to the world, each State and its people discover their own life and achievement.

There is no intention here in this Epilogue either to recapitulate or to repeat what has been said in the foregoing near thousand pages. Even if one intended it, it is superfluous and would be impossible. What is attempted here is to indicate certain directions in which one may look for some significant factors of note. Moreover, the Epilogue should not deprive the reader of the joy of discovering for himself what he thinks is of importance in the history of these people.

EPILOGUE

Geologically, parts of Karnataka are the earliest to have peeped out of the seas. Geographically, there is such a variety of elevations that, while it has a sea-coast of about 250 miles, it has mountains shooting up to more than 6,000 feet. There are vast thick forests sheltering herds of elephants, as well as vaster plains, as far as the eye can reach. There is hardly any other State with such potentialities for the erection of hydel works. The variety of crops grown also is a feature by itself. Mineral wealth, especially iron ore, is very rich and abundant and its gold mines are unique.

But, again, it is not these things that go to make Karnataka's history. It is the men and women who had the vision of the future and the daring to translate their dreams into realities who have contributed most to the history of this land and to India's story.

In the geography of the Indian Peninsula, Karnataka occupies a strategic position. It can be said to be the link between the north and the south and the doorway to Dakshinapatha or the Deccan. As such, it has served as the meeting place of both the north and the south; it avoided rigidity or dogmatism and showed commendable tolerance to the many faiths and creeds which met on its soil.

Politically speaking, great dynasties like those of the Kadambas, the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas and then the Vijayanagara kings maintained for centuries their independence with honour and dignity. In fact, the Vijayanagara Kingdom (1336-1565) served as a bulwark against the Muslim invasion of the south, and served as an inspiration to the rising Maratha power. In administration, civic life, irrigation, and town-planning, in commerce and industry. Vijayanagara, the Capital, was the cynosure of foreign travellers and traders for more than a century. The cultural and intellectual revival in those two centuries was something magnificent and of the highest All-India importance. It was at that time that the Commentary on the Vedas, called 'Sayana Bhashya', was written. It was that which serves even now as a key to Vedic interpretation.

More important, because more abiding and universal, was Karnataka's contribution in the field of religion, philosophy and the spread of the Bhakti cult. Buddhism seems to have penetrated as far as Maski and Siddapur of the Mysore State, in the south as those are the places where Asoka's edicts were found. Jainism, however, has made a permanent home in Karnataka with a number of shrines and thousands of devotees. Buddhism passed away leaving no trace here or was absorbed when Karnataka kings, Pulikēśi and others played a prominent part in the revival of the Vedic religion and the Vaishnava and Saiva cults. Later, Islam and Christianity have also found a congenial atmosphere in this part of the country.

However, the pride of place in the history of Karnataka must go to the great role Karnataka has played in sheltering and fostering the most important schools of Vedantic thought, namely, Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita, that is, Monism, qualified Monism and Dualism. Not less important is the fact that Sakti-Viśiṣṭādvaita (Advaita-qualified by Sakti or Primeval Energy) flourished here as nowhere else. Though born in Kerala, Sankarāchārya (8th century), the first ever Achārya who coordinated and brought out a unitive monistic system of philosophy out of the authoritative texts of the *Upanishads*, the *Brahma Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa and the *Bhagavad Geeta*, established his pontifical seat at Sringeri in the Shimoga District of Karnataka. Similarly, though born in Tamilnad, Rāmānujāchārya, the progenitor of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, was accorded a warm welcome in Melkōṭe (Mysore State) and his active ministry started with the conversion of Vishnuvardhana from Jainism to Vaishnavism. Regarding the Dvaita School of Vedanta, Madhvāchārya was born and bred in Karnataka itself near Uḍupi. Basavēśvara, who stood for Sakti-Viśiṣṭādvaita and, in addition, was a great mystic, a man of the masses and a social reformer of daring, was born and had his inspiration from the earlier Saiva saints and sages. His influence has been abiding on life and society here.

Possibly, far more popular and of far greater and wider significance was the cult of Bhakti and Yoga preached and propagated during five centuries, from the 11th to the 16th, by both Saiva and Vaishnava saints and singers. Vaishnava saints usually came to be called Dāsas (servants) and the Veeraśaiva saints Saraṇas (those who have surrendered). While mainly Bhakti expressed in sweet song and popular Kannada idiom is the characteristic of the Vaishnava Dāsas, like Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa. Bhakti as well as Yoga expressed in aphoristic style, with also Jnana and Karma thrown in, is characteristic of the Vachanas of the Veeraśaiva mystics. The Dāsas are mostly Dvaitins while the Saraṇas are Sakti-Viśiṣṭādvaitins. There are not less than thirty women Vachanakaras among the Veeraśaiva mystics. It can be said that this powerful mystic literature is unique of its kind in India.

Regarding Kannada literature, what can be pointed out here is that the earliest stone inscription is that at Halmidi (about 450 A.D.). The very first book extant, *Kavirājamārga* is a book on Poetics (early 9th century) and quotes from thirty poets whose works are now not available. With varied fortunes, Kannada literature today can be compared favourably with that in any other Indian language in quality more than in output.

So far as architecture, sculpture, song, drama, dance, and music are concerned, Karnataka has a brilliant history. The works of Havell, Cousens and others on Chalukyan and other architecture are wellknown. Karnataka has lent its name to a style of music which is more popular in the whole of the south and is known as the Karnataka style.

EPILOGUE

As one scans the foregoing pages one can notice that some great women have played significant roles in the country's history. If Sāntala and Kanti belong to an earlier period, Hēmareddi Mallamma, and Kittur Channamma belong to a later period. Among saintly Vachanakaras the name of Akka Mahādēvi is a cherished legend. like Meera Bai of Rājasthan.

There was no dearth of village heroes and heroines who sacrificed their lives either as martyrs or fighters in open battle with invaders or enemies of the villages. This is evidenced by numerous hero-stones, or Veeragals, lying scattered over the land, set up by grateful contemporaries.

Thus, in no department of human activity, useful or practical, cultural or aesthetic, has Karnataka lagged behind during its long and chequered career of about 1400 years of recorded history. It is true that a continuous full-fledged history based on study, research and documentation has yet to be written by scholars ; but the wealth of inscriptions and material already available shows what a colourful history can be written. In modern times, no less than in the past, the people of Karnataka have played a very honourable role in the struggle for freedom which India waged in the recent past.

This monograph is expected to help every Karnataki to know himself and link himself up with India ; similarly, it is expected to make every one in India to feel how akin a Karnataki is to himself. We are all organic parts of one whole, namely Bharata-Varsha, the land and the people, from the Himalayas down to the South seas. Great has been the past of this land and these peoples ; greater can be its future, if only we draw strength from our roots and light from our inner vision.



APPENDIX I

THE SAKTA CULT IN KARNATAKA

BY SRI K. GURU DUTT

The phrase Sakta Cult evokes associations which are ordinarily vague, often misunderstood and not always pleasant. We shall attempt to clarify its significance with reference to its manifestations in the Karnataka region. It has, however, to be borne in mind that Karnataka has a wider connotation than that suggested or the present boundaries of the expanded State of Mysore, and also that the Sākta cult is a religious phenomenon shared by Karnataka in common with the rest of India. Actually, it is possible to view it in a world perspective. As Friederich Heiler has shown, with a wealth of instances, in his great book *Das Gebet*, the conception of God as Mother is as natural and ultimate as the conception of Him as Father, and that it has prevailed in every part of the ancient world. In particular, the cult of the Great Mother had a mighty vogue in Egypt, Israel and the countries round the Mediterranean.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, as pointed out by E. A. Payne in his book *The Śāktas*, India seems to be unique in showing a higher appreciation of goddesses in its later religious development than in its earlier, unlike other countries where, with advancing civilization, the importance of the feminine principle as a constituent of religion, has progressively decreased. Starbuck too in his article on 'The Female Principle' in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* observes that in the comparatively primitive conditions of life depicted in the Vedas, goddesses have a very minor place in the pantheon, but that after the nation settled down to peaceful life and agricultural pursuits, 'the worship of the female deities has risen to a place of supreme importance. He attributes this to the high position accorded to women in India from the earliest times.

The word Sakti stands for Energy, Power or Force, conceived as the first principle of the Universe from which every form of activity proceeds. It is, however, not thought of as an impersonal entity like gravitation or electricity, but personified and worshipped as the Great Goddess (Mahādēvi) or as the World Mother (Jagadamba). Under a multiplicity of names, it is always the same Primal Power (Ādi-śakti) who is the centre of adoration, at all levels from the crudest 'animism' to the highest philosophy.

The idea Sakti goes back to the Veda, where power is the principal

characteristic of the gods. The philosophic concept is closely linked with the Prakriti of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, which is perhaps the oldest among the Darśanas. The two main categories (tattvas) of the Sāṅkhya School, viz., Purusha and Prakriti, in one form or other, underlie the entire mythology of India. It is at the root of the Tantric notion of the emergence of the Universe by the union of male and female principles symbolized by Śiva and Śakti. It is reminiscent of the ancient Chinese concept of Yin-Yang. Unlike the Sāṅkhya Prakriti and Purusha, who are eternally distinct, Śiva and Śakti are inseparable. To what an extent this idea is basic to classical Indian thought can be gauged, for example, from Kālidāsa's famous invocation to the Parents of the Universe (Jagatah Pitarau) at the commencement of his 'Raghuvamśa'. The difference between the two is one of emphasis. The Śākta systems stress the Śakti aspect, while the Śaiva systems, like those of Kashmir in the north, the Siddhānta of the south, and the Veeraśaiva system whose origin and particular locus is in the Karnataka area, give prominence to Śiva, although the concept of Śakti is crucial in the schemes. An interesting illustration of this is found in the fact that the Chieftains of Keladi, who were Veeraśaivas by persuasion, were great devotees of the Goddess Mūkāmbika whose famous shrine at Kollur in South Kanara nestles at the foot of the Koḍachādri peak. Here, apart from the image of the Goddess, the nucleus of worship is a crystalline Lingam, with a golden streak (svarṇarēkha) running along its middle, marking the separation as well as the union of Śiva and Śakti according to tradition.

As Sir John Woodroffe, the pioneer exponent of the Śākta System to the modern world, has suggested, the Śākta position is midway between the dualism of the Sāṅkhya and the ultramonistic stand of Sankara's Advaita Vedānta. Unlike the Prakriti of Sankhya which is unconscious (jaḍa), Śakti is a principle of consciousness (chētana). Unlike the Māya of Advaita Vedānta, Śakti is not wholly illusory, but is a unique ambivalent category, at once real and unreal (sad-asad-ātmikā). With this difference, the words Prakriti and Māya are freely used as synonyms for Śakti in the relevant literature. Like Prakriti, Śakti is associated with the three Guṇas: Tamas (darkness), Rajas (dynamism), and Sattva (light), symbolized respectively by the three colours, black, red and white. According to the preponderance of one or other of these Guṇas, the Divine Mother, whose nature is always threefold, is worshipped as Kālī (the word itself means 'black'), Lakshmi (traditionally associated with the coral-red colour), and the all-white (sarva-śukla) Sarasvatī. In order to distinguish these forms those of their namesakes who are the mythological consorts of Rudra, Vishnu and Brahma, the functional deities who preside over the operation of the three Guṇas, the prefix 'Mahā' is generally attached. Thus Mahālakshmi is not the spouse of Vishnu, but rather his own power of effectiveness, in other words, his Śakti. With this distinction in the background, the names will be used indifferently in what follows, to mark three striking levels of Śakti worship, concerned with the

spheres of physical contingency (adhibhūta), of human and divine relationships (adhidaiva), and of the self or spirit (adhyātma).

II

The first level is the worship of the Mother in Her dread aspect, a recognition of the fundamental contingency of human life at all stages, the facing of pestilence and famine and natural cataclysms, in short, of death and pain in their inevitability and universality. At this level and the next, both of which are closely connected, the stress is on the non-rational, but none-the-less authentic elements, the feelings of awe and mystery inspired by Nature as the *Mystērium Tremendum* which Rudolf Otto has brought together under the term 'numinous'. He has convincingly shown how the dreadful and even the demoniac phase of the numinous remains a living element in intense religious experience. The foundational importance of this category was always well recognized, although greatly misunderstood at the present time. The deities of popular worship are all forms of the Dread Mother, as pictured by the unlettered and indigenous imagination. The innumerable village deities (Grāmadēvatas) worshipped all over India, and especially in the South, are obviously manifestations of Mahākālī, the aspect in which 'Tamas' predominates.

In passing, it may be noted that today the world is in a better position to appreciate phenomena of this kind, in the light of the findings of depth psychology in regard to the irrational but dynamic working of the unconscious mind, in its collective as well as individual aspects. In philosophic thought too, there is a powerful ferment in the shape of Existentialism which came into being as deep-seated recoil against the firmly entrenched Western notion that man is primarily a rational animal. The Danish thinker Soren Kierkegaard first voiced this reaction over a century ago. The titles of two of his well-known books: *The Concept of Dread* and *Fear and Trembling*, are significant. Whatever differences there may be between the several Existentialist philosophers of our time, they are all agreed in making the concept of dread the foundation on which they have erected their superstructures. The unpleasant experiences, which rationalism persistently ignored, have begun to backfire and have forced themselves finally upon the attention of modern man.

Thus, Dr. William Barrett in his valuable study of Existential philosophy entitled *Irrational Man* comments on the wisdom of ancient Greece which allowed their due place to the Furies in the human scheme. He says that only thus, 'we may come to recognize that they are not such alien presences as we think in our moments of evading them. In fact, they are far from being alien, they are part of ourselves, like all gods and demons. The conspiracy to forget them, or to deny that they exist, thus turns out to be only one more contrivance in the vast organized effort by modern society to flee from the self.'

No apology need be offered for what may look like a digression, since the

understanding of the phenomena under consideration is no less important than their description. To return to our topic, the Grāmadēvatas of India strongly remind us of the Eumenides, or Erinyes of Greek religion, designated the 'Furies' by the Romans. The names of these deities as worshipped in Karnataka are legion. Their generic name is Anma (Mother). The following list culled from the *Mysore Gazetteer* is representative: Māriamma (or Māramma), the gooddess of small-pox; Ūramma; Durgamma; Sunkallamma, Māhēsvaramma; Pūjamma; Uddālamma; Kokkalamma; Sukhajamma; Yellamma; Gangamma; Mastamma; Maṇigamma; Hindamma; Hosakere Amma; Halasamma; Mutyālamma; Paṭālamma; Maśinamma; Hunaśamma; Kālamma; Mathangamma; Maddūramma; Chandamma; Kariyamma; Siḍabamma; Akkamma; Mallamma Huliymamma, and so on.

The function of these deities is to ward off epidemics of human beings and cattle, famine and natural catastrophes, all of which are believed to be manifestations of the deity. She is to remove herself, or alter her mien and present a benign aspect. The forms of worship vary, but generally include animal sacrifices. The officiating priest is always a man from the lower classes, and not infrequently from among the so-called 'Scheduled Castes'. The worship is not exclusive, and is often coupled, especially during festivals, with a counterpart masculine deity. Thus, Bishop Whitehead in his book *The Village Gods of South India* describes in detail a typical festival of one of these Goddesses—Māhēsvaramma of Bangalore, associated with the deity Munēsvara from a neighbouring shrine. There are rarely any big temples, but only small 'gudis' with local followings. Strangely enough in the very compound of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, there is a guḍi under a tree and people sacrifice fowl there! Sometimes, there are tiny niches to house the deity, who is often even represented by a stone under a tree or some such symbol not housed in any structure at all. One of the few large temples is that of Kāli at Sirsi in North Kanara, worshipped under the name of Mārikāmba. There is a well-known temple of Bhadrakāli at Gōkarṇa, and the Dēvi is associated with Rājarājēśvari at Polali near Mangalore in South Kanara. It may be added that the worship of Kāli in Karnataka is not associated with any Tantric erotic rituals or forbidden practices at the present time. But there is reason to believe that they may have been in vogue in the past, but more especially in connection with Saiva sects like the Lakulīsa Pāsupatas, Kālamukhas, Kāpālikas, and Aghōrapanthis.

III

Next comes what may be called the Rājasic level of the cult of the worship of Mahālakshmi. We have to note here, at the outset, a curious inversion. Although in the usual mythological convention, Vishnu is associated with the Sattva Guṇa, and Brahma, the Creator, with Rajas, yet Mahālakshmi as the

Sakti of Vishnu is pictured as predominantly Rājasic, while Sarasvatī is made out to be Sāttvic. There is a peculiar appropriateness in this, when we note that the sole objective of Vishnu's several descents (Avatāras) was the destruction of the Asuras, in order to reinstate the Dēvas, and re-establish Dharma. This is exactly the function of Mahālakshmi. Her typical manifestation is Durga, depicted in sculpture and iconography with eight arms bearing symbolic weapons, and riding on a lion, representing Dharma, trampling on the prostrate figure of an Asura. She is the Mother Militant, and as such presides over the fate of kings and empires; hence the name Rājarājēśvari. In one form or another, it is She who has been worshipped by the rulers and people of India through the ages. She was worshipped by the Gupta Emperors in an age which has been compared with the time of Pericles in Greece, and the Elizabethan era in England. The Rajput princes were ever Her particular devotees. The Gūjara-Pratihāra Emperors of Kanauj worshipped Her. In the south, the Pallavas, the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas sought Her protection. The monarchs of Vijayanagara celebrated Her festivals in a gorgeous manner. It was from Her, under the name of Ambā Bhavāni, that Sivaji got his inspiration. Closest to us, She has been the tutelary deity of the ruling house of Mysore, Chamundēśvari.

Chāmunda is really one of the names of Kālī, and there is evidence that even human sacrifices were being offered here, until they were stopped towards the close of the eighteenth century. Abbe Dubois, the French missionary who lived in Mysore about that time, writes in his book *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*: 'A little pagoda still exists, perched on the mountain at the foot of which lies the town of Mysore, not far from Seringapatam, which enjoyed a wide notoriety owing to the number of executions which took place there when heathen princes still ruled the country. Old men have told me that this horrible custom was still practised when they were young.' This worship of the first level seems to have evolved into the second level; and the image now worshipped has the classical form of Durga already described. It is also noteworthy that the oldest temple on the hill is that of Mahābalēśvara, which contains inscriptions dating from the tenth century. The hill itself seems to have been originally called Mahābalagiri, a connection with Siva which is confirmed by the existence of a colossal figure of Nandi, Siva's sacred bull, two-thirds the way up the hill. This too indicates a shift of emphasis.

The principal exploit of Durga was the slaying of the demon Mahisha; and the name Mysore at once suggests this event, with which the country has undoubted legendary associations. The annual nine days' autumnal festival of the Great Mother called Durgā Pūja in Bengal or Daśara or Navarātri in the south and elsewhere, may be called the national festival of India, equally sacred to the rulers and their subjects. We notice this in the Purāṇas. In the *Mahabharata*, we see that She was worshipped by Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna. Sōmadēva, the Jaina poet, who lived in northern Karnataka about the middle of

the tenth century, mentions its importance, in his *Taśastilaka Champu*. We have accounts of the glories of its celebration by the kings of Vijayanagar four hundred years later. Even today we can imagine what they must have been, judging from the stupendous proportions of the platform (Mānōmi-Dibba) at Hampi, from where royalty witnessed the military displays. The worship had special reference to weapons of offence and defence (Āyudhapūja) and, incidentally, to instrumental equipment of all types including domestic utensils and appliances. The unique grandeur and pageantry of the Dasara celebrations in Mysore derive traditionally from Vijayanagar.

We may now cast a brief glance at the modes of worship, apart from the great annual festival. They are no longer indigenous or primitive, but are assimilated to the Śāstras and Purāṇas, except perhaps in a few particulars. The Bible of the Durga cult is the *Dēvi Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and its Gospel is the 'Dēvi Mahātmya,' a compendious summary of the exploits of Dēvi, which forms an episode in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, called also *Chandī* or *Chandīpāṭha*. This famous text is often designated the *Saptaśati*, as it comprises seven hundred verses. The mode of reckoning them has been fixed once for all in the *Kārikas* attributed to the great Gauḍapāda, a fact which testifies to its age as well as sanctity. It has a prestige comparable to that of the Veda ('Vēdavat Saptaśati'). Elaborate rituals like Nyāsa and Mudra accompany the ceremonial recitation (pārāyaṇa), and are followed on special occasions by fire offerings (hōma). Large scale propitiations are styled Yāgas, on the Vedic model, e.g., the Sata Chandī involving a hundred repetitions, and the Sahasra Chandī, a thousand.

Some facts of particular interest in this connection may be mentioned. The introductory formula (sankalpa) invokes the deity as Mahākali, Mahālakshmi and Mahāsarasvatī in one. The nine-lettered (navārṇa) mantra, which is the key to the worship, is addressed to Chāmunda who acts, as it were, like a mediator to Durga. In the text itself Dēvi is described as a virgin (kumāri), and not as the consort of Siva, who only figures incidentally in the narrative as a messenger. On the other hand, the associations are all with Vishnu. The story of the destruction of the Asuras, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, by Vishnu through the grace of Mahākālī forms the opening of the Dēvi Mahātmya. In the body of the text the Goddess is addressed as Vishnu-māya and repeatedly invoked as Nārāyaṇī towards the close. It is also interesting to note that in the north the killing of Rāvaṇa by Sri Rāma (Ramleela) is associated with the Daśara. It is also seen that the first nine days of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ending with Sri Rāmanavami (exactly six months removed from Mahānavami) have been called Vasanta Navarātri, all of which goes to confirm the association of Durga with Mahālakshmi, the Sakti of Vishnu.

The worship of Durga under different names has spread over the length and breadth of India. There are several seats (pēṭhas) sacred to Dēvi in various

parts of Karnataka. There are literally hundreds of shrines in the Kanaras alone, a region which must at one time have been a great centre of Sakti worship. Of the more important seats of worship, only a few can be named here. Kollūr has already been referred to. The image of Dēvi here bears the insignia of Lakshmi, and she is called Mūkāmba in commemoration of her slaying of the Asura, Mūka. In Kolar town there is a very ancient temple of Durga locally known as Kōlāramma. The deity in ancient times seems to have been called Piḍāriyar and was the object of ardent worship by the Chōḷa kings, who restored the temple. The walls abound in Tamil inscriptions of grants by the Chōḷa kings. The image is that of Mahishāsūramardini (Durga), and is associated with the group of deities known as the Sapta Mātrikas (Seven Little Mothers), to which we shall have occasion to refer again. We may as well mention Kolhapur on the borders of Karnataka which is an important place of Sakti worship, where Dēvi as Mahālakshmi is associated with Maṇākāḷi and Mahāsarasvati. It is curious that the names of all these three places are almost identical, and that the enemies who, in the preamble to the *Saptaśati*, deprive King Suratha of his dominions, are characterized as destroyers of Kōla (Kōlavidhvamsinah). Only one more place may be mentioned: Polali on the banks of a stream flowing into the Nētrāvati near Mangalore, also directly associated with the *Saptaśati* legend. According to tradition, this is the identical spot where Suratha and his companion in distress made earthen images of the Goddess for worship, and earned Her grace through penance and devotion. The temple is very ancient and holds huge earthen images of deities, the principal among whom is Rājarājēśvari and there is a representation of Suratha worshipping, carved on the stone lintel. It is an important centre of Dēvi worship, and at one time presented a scene of great wealth and magnificence, as recorded by the Muslim traveller, Abdur Razzak who visited this part of the country in the heyday of the Vijayanagar Empire.

IV

We now come to the third level, the cult of Sakti as Sarasvati, the embodiment of Sattva Guṇa, associated with the white colour, the emblem of purity. In classical times Sarasvati was pictured as the Goddess of Arts and Learning. In two out of her four arms, she held the veeṇa, and a book (Veenā-pustaka-dhāriṇi). If the stress was on spiritual endeavour, a rosary took the place of the veeṇa. In the worship of Sarasvati there seems to be progression, as it were, from the Purāṇas to the Vēdas. Among the few goddesses who figure in the *Rig-Veda*, Sarasvati is important. She is celebrated in two whole hymns, and in parts of others. She is often invoked in company with two others, Ilā and Bhārati. Her character may be gauged from the following translation of three verses :

“May Sarasvati, the purifier, the bestower of food, the recompenser of worship with wealth, be attracted by our offered viands to our rite.

Sarasvati, the inspirer of those who delight in truth, the instructress of the right-minded, has accepted our sacrifice. Sarasvati makes manifest by her acts a mighty river, and (in her own form) enlightens all understandings”.

Elsewhere, she is invoked in a single half-verse as ‘the best of Mothers, the best of Rivers, and the best of Goddesses.’ This admixture of images is characteristic of the Veda and incidentally of all religious imagery in India. The constant reference to Sarasvati as a river in contexts like these, cannot but suggest that the sages had in mind something like the ‘stream of consciousness’ which William James has described so vividly.

Sarasvati has many affiliations in the Veda. The first is with Vāk (speech) who has a whole hymn to herself in the *Rig-Veda* in which Vāk apostrophizing herself claims to be the support and inspiration of all the gods. Later tradition has designated this as the ‘Dēvi Sūkta; and this is used in connection with the sacramental recitation (pārāyaṇa) of the *Saptaśati*. Another identification is with Aditi, an abstract deity whose shadow is over the whole Veda. Aditi literally signifies liberation and freedom. With her rests the power of delivering from the bonds of suffering and moral guilt. Although the references to Aditi are extremely few, the clue to her crucial importance is given by a verse like the following: “Aditi is heaven; Aditi is the firmament; Aditi is mother, father and son; Aditi is all the gods; Aditi is the five classes of men; Aditi is generation and birth.”

The most important of the affiliations is, however, with the celebrated Gāyatri, which is considered the most sacred Mantra in the whole Veda, and frequently referred to as the veritable Mother of the Vedas. The verse is addressed to Savitar, a comparatively minor deity in the Veda, to judge by purely external criteria. It is alternatively called also the Sāvitrī, a name which came to be identified later with Sarasvati. Savitar is a male deity; yet Gāyatri is traditionally pictured as a Goddess who is the embodiment of the five great deities of Purāṇic worship: Gaṇapati, Vishnu, Śakti, Śiva and Sūrya, of which the Śakti aspect seems to dominate. Indeed, the *Dēvi Bhāgavata*, to which we have referred, makes out the worship of Gāyatri as the most fundamental form of Dēvi worship, and details its significance together with the Sahasranāma, Stōtraś and other liturgical paraphernalia. It is noteworthy that the opening invocation of this Purāṇa is a classic paraphrase of the Vedic Gāyatri.

Sarasvati is primarily the presiding deity of Vidyā or Jñāna. As such she is believed to inform the very structure of all speech. The fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet are called Matṛikas (Little Mothers) each endowed with its own appropriate Śakti, and in their collectivity forming the body of Sarasvati, comprising in herself the total possibility of all Learning. Syllables, either singly or in combination, are held to be peculiarly potent, and all words, rightly used,

the vehicles of power. Significantly, the names in the *Gāyatri Sahasranāma* fall into groups; and in each group they commence with the same letter of the alphabet, in consecutive order. The seven classes (*vargas*) into which the sounds of Sanskrit are divided, are supposed to represent the Seven *Mātṛikas* to whom reference has been made. Thus Sarasvati is primarily sound (*vāṇi*). She is *Mantrātmikā*. Thus the employment of words or ritualistic acts (another kind of language) is simultaneously a recognition of Sarasvati as *Śakti*.

Visual representations of Sarasvati and the *Sapta Mātṛikas* are, however, not rare. Apart from the Kolar Temple already mentioned, images of the *Sapta Mātṛikas* are to be found at several places in Karnataka, *e.g.*, the *Siddhēśvara* Temple at Hāvēri, and at Aihole. They are also to be seen in Cave XIV at Ellōra. It is well known that the *Sapta Mātṛikas* were the guardian deities of the early Chālukyas, as recorded in Copper Plate Grants. Nearer home, visitors to Mysore during the Dasara festivities who have witnessed the floating festival (*Tēppōtsava*) of Chāmunḍēśvari in the little lake on the hill, would have marked the *Sapta Mātṛikas* in their characteristic forms surrounding the principal Deity, each on her own gorgeously decorated and brilliantly lit platform.

The most notable image of Sarasvati in Karnataka is, without doubt, that of *Sārada* at Srīngēri, which is designated *Sāradā Pēṭha* in her honour. It is said that the great Sankara installed the Deity here as also at the other principal *Maṭhas* founded by him. The name indicates identity with the great Goddess worshipped during the autumn (*śarad*). The familiar verse in which she is invoked refers to her as '*Kāshmīra-puravāsini*': She whose dwelling is in the Capital City of Kashmir, *i.e.*, Srīnagar. It is well known that about the beginning of the Christian era, Kashmir was a mighty seat of learning. But apart from the obvious allusion, it also refers to the *Srīchakra* (often spoken of as *Srīnagara* or *Srīpura*), the mystic diagram used in esoteric worship, at the centre of which the *Dēvi* is supposed to dwell.

The *Srīchakra* is made up of multiple concentric triangles, with the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet and *Bijāksharās* located in various points according to a philosophic scheme, and used for purposes of worship and meditation, after due initiation. It is described in several later *Upanishads*, as well as in *Tāntric* works. It is the culminating type of the entire scheme of *Yantras*. One of the most popular manuals of *Srīchakra* worship is the famous *Saundarya Lahari* attributed to Sankarāchārya, who is credited with having installed *Srīchakras* not at the several *Maṭhas* founded by him, but at notable centres of *Dēvi* worship like Kānchipuram, and Kollur already mentioned. Sankara was primarily responsible for the rejuvenation of the Hindu faith at a time when its fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and gave the impetus to the balanced reverence for the five principal deities (*Pancha-ātma-pūja*) already named in connection with the *Gāyatri*. Although not a *Śakti* in the technical and exclusive sense of the term, it is obvious

that he attached special importance to the concept of Sakti, as providing the drive for the whole movement. And it is in keeping with the fitness of things that his favourite Deity (Iṣṭadēvata) was Sārada (Sarasvati) within whose purview is gathered the entire Srauta-smārta scheme: the Veda and the Vēdānta, the Smṛtis, the Sāstras and Purāṇas, and the Āgamas, or, as it may be styled, the 'lettered' worship. It is of particular interest to us that although born in Kerala, and associated by name and fame with the whole of India from Kashmir to Cape Comorin (Kanya Kumari—also a name of Sakti), yet his principal Peetha is located at Śṛīngēri at the heart of Karnataka, and that his successors have described themselves not merely as the especial devotees of Sarada, but as Karnataka-simhāsana-sthāpanāchārya, which may be paraphrased 'spiritual founder of the Karnataka State.'

In this context, a brief reference has to be made to the allied discipline known as Kuṇḍalini Yoga. Kuṇḍalini is pictured as the microcosmic nucleus of Vāk-śakti reposing in the form of a tiny serpent in the Mūlādhāra Chakra at the base of the spinal column in the human body. When roused by suitable exercises, physical and meditative, Kuṇḍalini darts up along the Sushumna Nāḍi, piercing five other Chakras in its course to its destination, the Sahasrāra, located in the region of the brain, a process which leads to the realization of infinite bliss. That is the goal of this form of Yōga. What is of particular interest to us here is that Kuṇḍalini is Vāk-śakti; the rousing of Kuṇḍalini is technically termed Sarasvati-chalana; the Sushumna Nāḍi, which is the path of Kuṇḍalini, is also called Sarasvati, the two other Nāḍis on either side—Iḍa and Pingala—being known as Ganga and Yamuna not merely in Tantric terminology but also in that of other Sādhakas e. g., Kabir of the Bhakti school. Again the fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet are distributed over the petals of the six lotuses (chakras) which intervene in Kuṇḍalini's course. In the Purāṇas and Tantras the system is associated with the deity Lalita (Tripurasundari) and bound up with Śaiva symbolism, but it makes no difference to the essentials which lie behind names. The *locus classicus* of the Lalita cult is the Lalitōpakhyāna of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, but there is a vast connected literature. The temptation to go deeper into this fascinating topic must be firmly resisted. It is hoped, however, that enough has been said to bring out the subtle and manifold pervasiveness (sūkshma vyāpti) of Sakti conceived as Sarasvati.

Before we conclude, some general considerations have to be taken into account. A living thing is what it is only by virtue of its relationships: to treat it in isolation would be to devitalize it. Tagore has said of the philosophic thought of India, that it loses all its significance "when exhibited in labelled cases mummied specimens of human thought, preserved for all time in the wrappings of erudition." This applies with even greater force to the religious phenomena of India. The phenomena we have been dealing with are alive today, from the most primitive to the most refined. A certain simultaneity, or as it may be called

synchronicity, characterizes them, not linear chronological succession. Hence, they cannot be treated "historically" in the conventional sense, *i. e.*, as if they were wholly things of the past, finished once and for all time. The elements have remained the same through the ages; only the names and patterns of inter-relationship have been modified from time to time. And that not on a uniform or regional scale but in self-contained traditions (*sampradāya*), not often exposed to the public gaze, in groups, and even individually. The uniformities have been there, but underlying them has been a basic freedom or option. The declaration in the *Geeta*, "However men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the paths men take from every side are Mine, O Partha!" Hence the doctrine of discipline adapted to the individual's stage and fitness (*adhikāra*), and free choice as to the form in which the Deity is worshipped (*Ishta-dēvata*). Allowance is made not merely for temperamental differences, but even for change of mood; for every religious mood dominates while it lasts, but does not endure for ever; yet this is perfectly natural and has to be provided for.

This feature, which is the first characteristic of Indian religion through the ages, is exemplified in the Veda. Foreign scholars, with their hard categories of Monotheism and Polytheism were puzzled by it; and Max Muller brought into vogue the term 'Henotheism' to describe it: a live blend of unity and multiplicity, which neither the one nor the other exclusively, but a third thing altogether (*tertium quid*). Faced with inevitable alternatives, the Indian mind has refused to take sides. For it there is no either/or, but always both, simultaneously if possible, or otherwise at least in alternation or succession. Co-existence was the rule, and whichever Deity was in focus, was deemed supreme, irrespective of any standardized hierarchy. The deities were invoked singly, or in pairs, or in groups of varied membership and even as a single comprehensive group—the *Viśvādēvas*. The Vedic dictum is: *Ekam sat viprā bahudhā vadanti*—'the essence is one, but the sages describe it variously': witness the popularity of *Sahasranāma Stōtras*.

Another notable feature is that publicity and prominence are no infallible signs of importance. The background has often been deemed more significant than the fore ground, just as modern psychology tends to stress the role of the unconscious as against the conscious. Statistical criteria are of small consequence. We have seen how the *Gāyatri*, a verse addressed to a comparatively 'minor' deity occurring in a casual hymn devoted to a miscellany of deities, has been held to be the quintessence of the Veda, although Indra, Agni and Sōma, for example, have been the most frequently lauded gods. We saw also the crucial position of Aditi. Vishnu, whose interventions have always been on behalf of Indra and the other *Dēvas*, has the epithet *Upendra*—secondary or subsidiary Indra. Under similar circumstances, *Dēvi* or *Sakti*, after Her task was accomplished, has merged herself in the reinstated gods (*tatraiva antaradhīyata*). All these ideas are summed up in the oft-repeated declaration of the Veda: *Parōksha priyā vai devāh*—'the gods indeed loved the indirect approach: or in other words—they prefer the back-

ground to the foreground. This is illustrated, for example, by the fact that generally the gods are invoked to manifest themselves out of obscurity (*āvāhana*), and after the worship, or at the close of the festive season, allowed to revert to the obscurity from which they had emerged (*visarjana*). Thus in popular worship, the images of Gaṇeśa or Durga are consigned respectfully to the water, with pious expressions of *Au revoir* (*Punar āgamanāya cha*). In general, Śakti has preferred to remain the "power behind the throne", rather than sit on the throne, as in a very human sense, woman is the motive power at the back of all masculine activity. In the cryptic language of the Veda: "What is in reality female, has been called male—he who has eyes beholds, the blind seeth not..." Brahman, the unmanifest reservoir of all Śakti is the background, from which manifestations arise and into which they subside without exhausting it. The concept of Primal (Ādi) Śakti is the exact counterpart of the Vēdāntic notion of Turiya (the fourth) state, which underlies the three states (*avasthās*) of sleep, dream and waking. They correspond respectively to Kālī, (also significantly called Yōganidra and Kālarātri); Durga (according to legend compounded of the energy—Tejas—of all the gods), the analogue of the dream state, designated Taijasa; and Sarasvatī, obviously the waking state, the witness of the manifest (Brahma's) creation.

It is in the light of considerations like the foregoing that the history of the Śākta cult has to be depicted. That India has been deficient in the historical sense has been a standing modern reproach against her. Yet her profound experience has been that in things that essentially matter, the chronological sequence is of little moment. Facts removed from their live context have been interpreted in diametrically opposed directions by the most erudite scholars who have judged them from the outside. Things are not what they seem—that is the sum and substance of the principle of Māya; they cannot be taken at their face value. An instance may make this clear; it is also peculiarly relevant to our theme. The fact that there are no temples of Brahma in India, except rarely like the one at Pushkar, has been taken to mean that Brahma dropped out of the Hindu Trinity at some time, leaving only Vishnu and Siva in possession of the field. Fantastic legends have even been built up in this behalf. Yet the obvious fact is that the four-faced Brahma is the personification of the four fold Veda. The study of the Veda is his most appropriate worship. To worship him with a graven anthropomorphic idol would be a sad parody. Whenever the Veda is recited, Brahma receives his worship, no matter which deity is addressed in the course of the devotions. This applies with even greater force to Brahma's Śakti. Sarasvatī, representing speech and its analogues, the very principle of communication. It is for this reason that the history of the Śākta cult has been treated here indirectly and from the inside, as it were.

We cannot conclude without mentioning that feminine deities corresponding closely to their Hindu counterparts were the object of enthusiastic devotion in Mahāyāna Buddhism, and must have had their vogue in the south also, although

the faith has now practically disappeared without leaving any trace; or rather has been merged in Hinduism. The Jainas also gave an important position in their scheme to Sakti deities. The famous shrine of Padmāvatī at Hombachcha in the Shimoga District is an instance in point. But this may be regarded more as pointing to the influence of Śākta ideas, rather than as examples of the Sakti cult itself. Anyhow, enough has been said to illustrate the pervasiveness of the Sakti cult in Karnataka, indeed as a strand in the common web of religion, rather than as an isolated cult.

APPENDIX II

THE FOLK-SONGS OF KARNATAKA

BY SRI MATHIGHATTA KṚṢṢNAMURTHY

The Kannada language has a history of more than 1500 years. Its folk-literature is rich in variety, theme and content. From the Badagas of the Nilgiris, who are comparatively very backward among the Kannada-speaking people, to the most forward communities, all strata of society have their folk-songs. This valuable cultural treasure is handed down from generation to generation, as an oral tradition. Writing about our folk-songs, the late Prof. B. M. Srikantia said, "Blood calls to blood and spirit to spirit and these songs which breathe the very life-blood of the villagers—men and women—will stir them as nothing else will, and could be used as texts on which modern sermons could be based." These songs are an epitome of our inherited civilization. Able interpreters are needed to explain fully the real beauty of these songs. Generally speaking, it is not possible to trace the origin and authorship of many folk-songs.

Every person has a natural inclination to give musical expression when thoughts or feelings are full to overflowing: or when one is in a mood to seek relief from the monotony of one's task. Whether one is a housewife grinding corn in the silent hours of the moonlit night or a gondaliga (god-inspired dancer) of North Karnataka who sings in praise of his deity, or a fisherman of Karwar on the West coast, or a demon-worshipper of South Kanara, or a Huttari dancer of Coorg, or a Soliga, the elephant tamer of Heggaḍadēvanakōṭe, or a kōlāṭa-dancer in the Chitradurga District, music plays a dominant part in the life of all of them.

It is interesting to recall that the earliest attempt to collect Kannada folk-songs was made in about 1802 A. D. by one Dr. John Leyden of Scotland. He was an employee of the East India Company and came to Mysore after the fall of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa in 1799 A. D. Dr. Leyden had associated himself with Sir Walter Scott, the famous novelist, in collecting the folk-songs in his home country. His love for folk-lore resulted in his collecting and translating a beautiful Kannada ballad regarding the fall of Srirangapaṭṭaṇa. Revs. T. Hodson, J. Stephenson, A. G. O. Lyle and S. Dalzell were some of the missionaries who worked with zeal in collecting the folk-songs in this part of India. One Mr. C. E. Gover published in London in 1871 A. D., a volume of folk-songs of southern India, in which he has given the translation of some 'Dāsarapadas' from Kannada, Huttari songs of Coorg and some Badaga songs, apart from songs belonging to other Dravidian languages. Mr. J. F. Fleet published in the 'Indian Antiquary' some ballads of North Karnataka such as 'The Insurrection of Rāyanna of Sangolli'. 'The Bēdas of Haḍagali', 'The Crime and Death of Sangya' and 'The Daughter-in-law of Chennavva of Kittur' in prose form.

With the advent of the present century, influenced by the great Indian national movement early in this century, people began to discover more and more the greatness of their cultural heritage. Kannada scholars like the late B. M. Srikantia, Dr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, D. R. Bendre, Betageri Krishna Sharma, the late Devudu Narasimha Sāstri, Gorur Ramaswamy Iyengar and Simpi Linganna have done yeoman service to the cause of Kannada folk-lore. Members of the 'Geḷeyara Gumpu' of Dharwar, K. V. Subbanna, Mathighatta Krishnamurthy, Doddabhaveppa Moogi, Karim Khan, 'Ka-ra-kru' and the late Dr. Gaddigimath have collected and published a good number of our folk-songs.

The originator of the 'grinding' mill songs, according to a song from the Hassan District, is goddess Parvati herself.

"On the hill of Bidare, holding the handle of the
grinding stone by name Madanāri, Parvati,
while grinding the corn sang in praise of Lord Siva."

Another song from the Dharwar District tells us about the origin of these songs thus :

"Who taught the husking and the grinding songs ?
It's Krishna's sister Subhadra who taught
these songs in praise of Krishna."

Yet another song describes how Basavaṇṇa, the great reformer and preacher of Veeraśaivism, roamed all over the land in search of a proper grinding stone for his wife Nilavva.

Prof. T. N. Srikantaiah rightly suggests that in the beginning Kannada verses had only two pādas or 'feet' like the *Kural* in Tamil. This couplet, as time rolled on, was expanded and the second line was extended to the third line, thus forming the triplet or 'tripadi'. This tripadi, according to D. R. Bendre, is the mother of Kannada folk-poetry and the 'Gāyatri' of Kannada metre. A considerable lapse of time might have been required for the couplet to change itself into the triplet. The first tripadi on record is the Bādāmi inscription of about 700 A.D., and we may safely infer that the history of Kannada folk-lore began a few centuries earlier. Thus, commencing from couplets we have now in our folk-songs, triplets, quadruplets, stanzas of five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten and twelve pādas (lines). There are a good many songs that are in the form of 'dum-dumes', 'lāvaṇies' and 'ragaḷes'. Some songs are the special feature of a locality, for instance the 'dum-dumes' and 'rivāyats' of North Karnataka; the songs of the worship of Kunti, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, which are in vogue in the Mysore and Mandya Districts; the songs of Moon-worship of the Hassan and Tumkur Districts; songs sung during the Festival of Lights (Deepavali) in the Shimoga district; the songs that narrate the history of demons prevalent in South Kanara; or the Huttari dance of Coorg. There are some types, however, which are a common heritage of all the Kannada-speaking people from Bidar in the north to Coimbatore in the south. The 'grinding' and the marriage songs belong to this category and irrespective of caste and locality they have found their way into every hearth and home throughout the length and breadth of Karnataka. A marriage-song or a grinding-song that is being sung in some remote village of the Bijapur District may also be met with in a village of the Mysore District with slight variations. Not only are these songs found all over the land but also among all sections of the people. Almost all the 'grinding' and marriage songs are in the form of tripadi and seem to be the creation of the women-folk of Karnataka. The great Emperor-poet Nṛpatunga (9th century) has paid glowing tributes to the common people of Karnataka, because 'they compose poetry untaught.' Our folk-songs justify this tribute and are conspicuous examples of the genius of our women-folk. The grinding-stone has been an inseparable companion of the women-folk and is typical of their chores. It has been with them both in misery and happiness. While busy with it, they have unfolded their very hearts. Their joys and sorrows, their desires and disappointments have found musical expression in these songs. There is not a single plant which is untouched by a goat according to a Kannada saying; similarly, there is hardly a single event in life that has not become the subject-matter of the grinding-song. While grinding the corn, the women offers her prayers to the Creator thus:

"After getting up from bed I think of Thee; while I am awake, I think of Thee; even while my eyes are heavy with sleep, Oh, my Lord Siva, I think of Thee alone."

“Narayana, where shall I sow and grow the seed of Thy name?
I grow Thy name on my very tongue.”

She usually takes the name of the Lord, be it Siva or Vishnu; for, according to a song, Chennaiah of Belur, Nanjappa of Nanjangud, Cheluvaiah of Melkote and Timmappa of Tirupati are all the sons of one and the same Mother. There is little bigotry or intolerance among the common people of Karnataka. Another great quality of these songs is the keen interest they evince in the present life. Though they have firm faith in dharma and heaven and hell, they have found out the truth that one who leads a good life in this world has nothing to fear in the next. Everything in this world is full of interest. The mother feels immense happiness even when she hears her child crying:

“What if it cries, let me have this child. What if my household work is spoilt? Let my house be full of children like this, my darling”.

A boy is always preferred to a girl.

“If girls are born, it's as though mice have increased in the house;
If a boy, Gaj-Bheema is born, even the decoration on the wall will rejoice.”

And for a girl,

“Paternal home is sweet while the mother lives
Many are the relatives when the father lives.
But the husband is more than one thousand relatives;
For, while with the husband, she can eat and give to others as she likes.”

There are a number of songs that depict the love and affection of father, mother, brother and sister towards a girl, but rarely a reference to the love of a brother's wife towards her:

“Elder brother's wife, to whom she is sister-in-law?
Keeping the lime-water before the oven, she serves it saying, ‘it is cow's milk.’

The grinding-songs, the husking-songs, the marriage-songs, the pregnancy songs, the cradle-songs, the tattooing-songs, the harvest-songs, the songs that are sung while working in the fields, the religious and the ceremonial songs are all sung by women-folk. Men sing the songs of ‘kōlāṭa’ or stick-dance, songs of harvest-dance like Huttari in Coorg, songs in praise of devil-gods as in South Kanara, and ‘cart-songs’ while travelling in bullock carts etc., Lāvāṇies, Rivāyats, Gi-Gi-songs, and ‘Kausale padas’ are all sung only by men. After the revival of Veeraśaivism, the folk-literature of Karnataka was enriched by many new themes and forms of expression, and, to give an example, we may mention the ‘Khaḍga of Veerabhadra’ in which the exploits of Veerabhadra and many stories

concerning the greatness of Siva are graphically narrated in powerful language. The cult of Bhakti of Vaishnavadāsas, such as Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, also influenced the mind and soul of the people and the influence of many of their songs can be traced even in the songs of kōlāṭa or stick-dance.

The following prayer sung in a stick-dance clearly depicts how the son of the soil shows his gratitude towards nature around him, full of beauty and bounty. It is like his very life and blood :

“Salute. Oh brother, salute,
Salute the mother-earth on which we stand.
Salute the sun and the moon above us,
Salute the gods that are around us,
Salute the clouds that give us rain.”

The kōlāṭa-songs like the grinding-songs have a variety of subject-matter. Prayers to gods, descriptions of nature, love, riddles, war, morals, mirth, birth and death are sung in the stick-dance. Of death they sing :

“When Javarāya comes, he comes not empty-handed.
On his shoulder he carries axe and scythe,
And comes to cut down good young trees.
He comes to cut down the fruit-bearing trees.”

Death has visited a happy family and beckons the young housewife to come with him. She implores :

“Oh Javarāya ; how can I come with thee
Leaving my husband of grand turban and glee ?
Oh, Javarāya, how can I come with thee
Leaving the child yet playing on my knee ?
I have sold corn, I have sold cotton,
And fine ornaments have I bought ;
I have not yet put them on for a single day ;
Oh Javarāya, how can I come, please say,
I bought pot and pan to cook and eat,
But, alas, you at the front-yard wait.”

Writing about the Baḍaga songs, Mr. Gover, the compiler of *The Folk-songs of Southern India* has remarked : “It is quite certain that few nations can boast of better songs as far as words may go.....More than ballads, less than books, they remind one of Chaucer’s stories. The most important feature of this class of literature is its high morality.” Here is a quotation from the Baḍaga funeral song from the above named book :

“The father of his wife sat on the floor,
Yet he reclined on couch or bench. It is a sin

Against mother of his wife.
He lifted up a craven foot
It is a sin ;
To strangers staying on the hills
He offered aid, but guided them wrongly ;
It is a sin."

And again,

"The hungry begged he gave no meat.
The cold asked for warmth, he lent no fire.
The weak and poor called for his aid,
He gave no alms, he slighted their woe."

In the last century two German missionaries, the Rev. W. G. Graeter and Rev. George Richter, collected, translated and published a good number of the folk-songs of Coorg. Important among them is the Huttari, the harvest song. "The word Huttari means new-rice and the feast is the Coorgi representative of the Tamil Pongal, or the feast of the boiling of milk with grain. In Malabar it is called 'Pudiari'. Though the Huttari feast occupies a week, the rejoicings and holidays last four days more. The presiding deity of the festival is the sun 'who with the rain has brought forth the golden crops.'" Mr. C. E. Gover has given a beautiful translation of the Huttari song and for want of space we have to satisfy ourselves with reproducing only three stanzas:

"First they pray that God's rich grace
Still should rest upon their race
Waiting till the gun has roared.
Milk they sprinkle, shouting gay,
'Pole : Pole : Devare :'

"Soon the tallest stems are shorn
of the rich and golden corn,
carried home with shouts of glee.
There they bind with fragrant leaves,
Hang them up beneath the eaves
on the north-west pillar's tree.

"Then at home they drink and sing,
Each one happy as a king,
Keeping every ancient way ;
On the morrow young and old,
Dressed in robes of silk and gold,
Crowned the green for further play".

North of Coorg, forming the main coastal land below the ghats is the land of Tuḷu. Tuḷu is only a spoken language and Tuḷu folk-songs can be found in abundance among the lower class of people. Demon-worship is common everywhere and it is said that many families have their own demon-gods even to this day. Each demon has his own history preserved in the form of folk-poetry. The demon-worshipper sings on no other day than the worship-day of that particular demon. 'Naḷikē' dance is the remnant of an ancient group-dance played to the tune of drums and songs. There are many songs sung with the beating of 'duḍi', a small hand drum. While planting the tender rice saplings, the Tuḷu woman sings to the chorus of "Obele" or "Lo-lo-le-lo-lo-le" etc.

Chorus :—Obele, sing together,

Song :—Sing like the children of one mother.

Oh, ye children' of ten mothers,
Sing like the children of one mother.
Oh, ye children of ten mothers.
Rubbing shoulder to shoulder
Sing like the children of one mother
So that all may hear you.
Let people going at a distance hear you,
Let people going along the nearby road hear you;
Obele, sing like the children of one mother.

There are great centres of Jainism like Kārkala, Mūdabidare and Sravaṇabelagoḷa in Karnataka, but the influence of this faith is not very pronounced in folk-songs. But the ballad of the "Cow and the Tiger" which is very popular in Karnataka, and which can be compared with any of the best songs in any language, Indian or foreign, brings out powerfully the Jaina philosophy of truth and non-violence, though its author was not a Jaina.

Imageries, symbolisms and parallelisms are used with great effect in folklore songs. When a boy says that he is thirsty or asks a girl to give him water to drink or wishes to rest under a mango tree, he is expressing his desire and love towards her. Cloud, thunder, rain and lightning invariably suggest love and romance :

"Thunder, thunder, guḍu-guḍu, lightning flashed on the hill and rain poured on Belur. The havoc caused by that heavy downpour was the talk of the day and in a village the women-folk at the tank were talking about the death of the son of the 'Paṭṭaṇa Seṭṭi' who has been washed away by the floods.

Hearing this news, a girl among them, dropped down the pot she was

THE FOLK-SONGS OF KARNATAKA

carrying and began to weep bitterly. Her companions thought that she was weeping for the loss of the pot and tried to console her saying :

“It is not a silver pot, it is not a golden pot
Why do you weep so much for this earthen pot?”

To which the girl replied :
“I used the pot very carefully. My mother-in-law knows it not,
My father-in-law knows it not,
Alas! in Neeru-hoḷē my dear pot had gone to pieces.”

No doubt the girl gave out the true cause of her grief, for her pot symbolized the young man she loved, but none of her companions could grasp the double meaning in her words.

Only a few examples have been given here to show the variety and beauty of the folk-songs of Karnataka out of a vast store-house of immense variety. The greatness of our culture is characterized by unity in diversity, and though our people are divided into many castes and sub-castes, they are like the branches of a big flourishing tree, all having the same stem for support, getting the same life-sustaining nourishment from the same soil, and through the same roots. The emotional integration of the people has been sought to be achieved in Karnataka through these songs which are the artless expressions of the mind and soul of our people.

APPENDIX III

DAKHNI AND URDU IN KARNATAKA

BY SRI MAHMOOD HUSINE

The Urdu language, born and developed in India and belonging to the Indo-European family of languages, originated from the Saurasēni Prākṛit current in and around Delhi about ten centuries ago, when the Persian-speaking Muslims migrated from Iran and Afghanistan and settled there. It was the same dialect from which the Khari Boli of Delhi, Punjab and the Braj Bhasha emerged. The emigrants adopted the dialect for discourse with the local people. Consequent

on the establishment of Muslim rule at Delhi in 1193 A. D., it gradually assumed a new shape with the importation of Persian terminology, the adoption of the Persian character for its writing and a considerable influence of the sister dialects of Khari Boli, Braj Bhasha and Harayani, current in Delhi, in the region to the east and the north of Delhi respectively. It continued as a spoken tongue during the three centuries of its early development and was rarely used for any literary purposes, though Amir Khusrau, the greatest Persian poet of India, is said to have written the earliest piece of verse in it early in the twelfth A. D. It was called Hindi or Hindavi, which means Indian as against Persian which was foreign, and no other language was called Hindi in those times.

During the last decades of the thirteenth century A. D., this new language was brought to North Karnataka and the adjoining parts of the Deccan by traders and Sufi saints who migrated from the north and, travelling through Gujarat, came down and settled here, long before the appearance of the military adventurers. Then the Khilji invasions and the transfer of the Tughlaq capital from Delhi to Dowlatabad brought a huge influx of men who spoke the language. Finally, with the establishment of the Bahamani rule at Gulbarga in 1347 A. D., it gained a firm ground here and became naturalized. During the following four centuries it became a fully developed and cultural language of north Karnataka and other parts of the Deccan adjoining it, and a very valuable literature of a high order called the 'Dakhni' literature, unique in many respects, was produced in this region. The Bahamani and 'Adil Shahi' sultans who reigned gloriously for about four centuries at Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur respectively in North Karnataka raised it to the status of a court-language and adopted it for official purposes also. Writers and poets preferred it for their literary expression and it became a common spoken language of North Karnataka and other parts of the Deccan adjoining it. On the other hand, it continued only as a spoken tongue for another three centuries in North India. The same language developed in the north and in the south in two different ways distinct from each other in many respects. In Delhi, Lucknow and Agra it grew under the strong influence of Persian and with a considerable impact of Braj Bhasha. It borrowed mainly nouns and terms from Persian. It was named as the Urdu language since the time of Shah Jahan. There the poets called it 'Rikhta' later and the Europeans gave it the name of 'Hindustani'. In Karnataka its development took place under the influence of Marathi and Gujarati. The original colour of the language was retained here and the influence of Persian was not so great. It was called by the name of 'Dakhni' here after the name of the region Dakhan (Deccan) and the people 'Dakhnis'—local ones—whose mother-tongue it was, as distinguished from the 'Afaqis'—foreigners, i. e., Iranians, Afghans, Abyssinians and Arabs who spoke Persian and Arabic, both languages being considered foreign. Hence Urdu and Dakhni are the two forms of the same language much distinct from each other, and they developed in different local conditions, though some scholars look upon Dakhni as old Urdu.

The Dakhni Literature of Karnataka precedes by about three centuries the Urdu Literature of the north. After this long period of literary activity in the south, when the beautiful and sweet Dakhni poetry reached Delhi, the poets there who considered Persian superior for poetry, realized the worth of Urdu, so long looked down upon by them, and commenced writing poetry in that language also. This happened following the invasion of South India by Aurangzeb in 1682 A.D. Poets and scholars travelled from the south to the north and from the north to the south. Dakhni poetry was carried to the north and later the northern form of Urdu travelled down to the south and gradually replaced Dakhni. The history of the development of Dakhni and Urdu in Karnataka is spread over a long span of six centuries, which can be divided into four periods as follows: The Bahamani period 1347-1525, the Mughal period 1686-1750, the period of Haidar Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan 1761-1799, and the period of the Maharajas of Mysore 1799 to the present day.

The Bahamani Sultans of Gulbarga and the Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur who ruled over North Karnataka for about four centuries were great patrons of learning, literature, art and architecture. Most of them were themselves scholars, poets and artists. Their Ministers also took keen interest in the progress of learning and literature and patronized scholars and writers. Their benevolence and generosity attracted scholars, poets, writers and artists from far and wide, whose works are standing memorials of their greatness. Both Persian and Dakhni flourished side by side at their courts. They had their court-historians, court-poets-poet-laureates (Malikush shoara) who immortalized their names and deeds. Under them Dakhni gained the position of a State-language, became the common spoken tongue of North Karnataka and penetrated further south also. Poets and writers adopted it for their literary expression and the Sufi saints delivered sermons in it. The rich Dakhni literature produced in Karnataka during this period is a legacy which the region can rightly be proud of and which stands unique in many respects.

The Bahamani Sultan Muhammad Shah I (d. 1375 A.D.) was so fond of poetry that he extended an invitation to the great poet Hafiz of Shiraz to come to his court. The poet started on the journey but could not travel by sea. Hence he sent the gift of a memorable ode, in return for which the Sultan sent a monetary present.

Feroze Shah Bahamani (1436 A.D.) was a profound scholar and poet. It is said that he served as a professor also delivering lectures on literature to students in regular college classes. It was he who laid the foundations of Dakhni culture and it was during his reign that the great Sufi saint, Syed Muhammad Husainy, popularly known as Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz, arrived with his disciples at Gulbarga in about 1411 A.D. He was given a royal welcome and provided with all facilities. He stayed at Gulbarga till his death in 1422 A.D. and was

buried there. His mausoleum attracts thousands of visitors during the annual 'Urs' even today. He exercised considerable influence over the court and the people. He was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian and knew Sanskrit also well. He was the author of the earliest known pieces of prose and verse in Dakhni and Urdu, and Karnataka can well be proud of having produced the earliest pieces of prose and verse in this language. The saint wrote numerous works on Sufism in both Persian and Dakhni prose and verse, many of which have been published. The famous treatise *Merājul Ashiqin* is the most important and popular among his works in Dakhni. Nizami, another poet of the Bahamani period who flourished in Bidar, was the author of the first lyric narrative *Mathnavi Kadam Rao Padam*. Mushtaq, Luṭfi Ferōze and Ashraf were other important poets of this period.

The fall of the Bahamani Kingdom gave rise to the five independent kingdoms of Gōlkonda, Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Bijapur in the Deccan, the last two lying in North Karnataka. Bijapur excelled the other four kingdoms in Dakhni literary activity. Royal patronage and initiative, the fervent zeal and enthusiasm of the writers and poets, and the keen interest and admiration exhibited by the people carried Dakhni literature to its zenith. The court and the people as well were extremely fond of music and poetry, and Bijapur became a centre of music and poetry. Some very important and monumental Dakhni works were produced in Bijapur during this period. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (d. 1626 A.D.), the greatest Adil Shāhi King, was a profound scholar, poet and master of music. He collected a large number of scholars, poets, historians and musicians as his court. The great historian, Ferishta, and the great Persian writer, Zuhūri, belonged to his court. He wrote a monumental work on music in Dakhni verse called the *Kitab-e-Nauras*, to which Zuhūri added his famous preface in Persian. Ibrāhīm Adil Shah was a skilled calligraphist also and the art of calligraphy attained a high standard in his regime. In view of his marvellous qualities of head and heart he was called the "Jagad Guru" by one and all. Muhammad Ādil Shāh (d. 1655 A.D.) used to conduct literary competitions in Dakhni and he awarded a prize to the best translation of the Persian narrative *Khawar Nama* into Dakhni verse by Rustami, his court-poet. It was the first epic (mathnavi) in Dakhni consisting of twenty-four thousand couplets. Though a translation, the poet Rustami exhibited his originality and poetical talent in it. It depicts the battles of Ali, the fourth Caliph. Ali Adil Shāh II (d. 1673 A.D.) was a poet of rank and his Dakhni *Dīwān*, or collection of odes, edited and published more than once, contains lyric poetry of a high order. He had 'Shafi' as his *nom-de-plume*. His poet-laureate was a remarkable poet. He was the author of a valuable lyric narrative *Gulshan-e-īshq* and epic (mathnavi), '*Ali-Nāma*' in Dakhni. In the latter he described the battles of his patron King with the Marathas. It has all the qualities of a good epic. Shāh Mirānji Shamsul 'Ushshaq, his son Shah Burhanuddin Jānam and his grandson Shāh Aminuddin A' alā, the three great Sufi saints, authors and poets of Dakhni, flourished during

the Adil Shahi period. They were the followers and disciples of the great Gulbarga saint and their sufistic works in Dakhni have been very popular in Karnataka and other parts of South India. Their disciples were spread all over the region. Hāshimi of Bijapur, another poet of this period, wrote the famous narrative *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* which has also had a wide circulation and is highly appreciated. Malik Khushnūd, Sanatī. Muqīmī, Dawlat, Ātishī, Shāh Malik, Zuhūr, and Ayaghi were other important poets and writers of the Adil Shāhi period.

The Mughal invasion and the annexation of Bijapur in 1682-1686 A. D., resulted in the decline of Dakhni literary activity from which it never recovered in Karnataka. The disturbed conditions prevailing in the region during the Mughal period were not favourable for it. The centre of Dakhni literary activity shifted over to Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Siddhot.

Bijapur was reduced to ruins and the Mughal Governor of Karnataka was stationed at Sira as his headquarters, as it was situated in the centre of this region. Dakhni was gradually replaced by Urdu from the north in the literary field and Persian gained ascendancy over it in the official circles and at the court. We come across only a few writers of Dakhni in Karnataka in this period. Zāzi Mahmūd Bahri of Gulbarga, a Sufi scholar and writer, was the author of a very popular sufistic Mathnavi, *Man Lagan*. His 'Kuliyat', or collection of all his writings, has also been published. Shah Sadruddin of Nelamangala was an important Sufi author of this period. He was a disciple of Aminuddīn A'ṣla of Bijapur. His treatises are the earliest known writings in Dakhni in South Karnataka or ex-Mysore State. One of them *Miratul Asrār* written in 1720 A.D., has been edited and published. An important feature of this period is the spread of Dakhni and Urdu in South Karnataka.

Haidar Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan, who reigned in this region, were too busy with their political problems and military engagements during most of their short period of rule to pay proper attention to the progress of learning and literature. But they did not fail in extending patronage to scholars and writers, and their kingdom, the 'Sultanate Khudadad' (God-given kingdom) was alive with literary activity. They also had their court-poets and court-historians. Their court languages were Persian and Kannada, but Dakhni also flourished side by side with them and it was commonly spoken in their dominion. Haidar Ali Khan knew many languages, though he was not literate. Tipu Sultan was a profound scholar and a good writer. He wrote some letters in Dakhni also and some treatises written in this language were made available to the public. The unique work *Fathul Mujāhidin* written by Zainul Abidin Shushtary comprising of rules and regulations for the army in Persian under the direct supervision of the Sultan, contains some verses in Dakhni called as 'Rikhta', prescribed to be recited in the army at appointed hours. The remarkable poet-laureate and scholar of his court, Hussin Āli-Izzāt, produced a voluminous work on Music under royal supervision known as *Mufarri-*

hul Qulūb. It contains Dakhni songs also along with the parallel Persian ones set to various tunes (rāgas). It gives an account of the innovations made by Tipu Sultan in the art of music. The valuable collection of books in the Sultan's library included many important works in Dakhni and Urdu. The secretary and court-munshi of Haidar Ali Khan, Lala Mahatāb Rāi Sabqat, composed beautiful songs in Urdu also, a selection of which has been published. Kirmānī, the famous historian of this period, was a poet in Dakhni also. Two histories entitled *Haidar Nāmā* and *Bahādur Nāmā* were produced in Dakhni by order of the court. They yet remain in manuscript. Muhammad Sāid Mekhri Āsi of Mulbagal (d. 1753 A. D.) was a poet of merit. Ahmad Khan Shirani of Kolar wrote the famous *Chār Kursi* on religion, and it is widely read in this part of the country even today. Tarab, another poet of this period, wrote an epic narrative called the *Fateh Nāmā* depicting the adventures of Tipu Sultan against the Marathas. It is most regrettable that most of the Dakhni works produced during this period were destroyed at the fall and plunder of Srirangapaṭṭana.

The Maharajas of Mysore also extended their kind patronage to Urdu. During their glorious reign, Urdu literary activity received a new impetus in Mysore, Bangalore, and other places of the Ex-Mysore State. Urdu occupied a dignified position in their dominion. Many writers and poets who flourished in this period made their valuable contribution to Urdu literature.

Latif Arcoti, a popular poet of South India, flourished early in the eighteenth century. Born at Sarjapur, he passed the latter part of his life at Arcot. He was a remarkable poet and his satirical and humorous poetry has enjoyed wide popularity and has been greatly appreciated in this region. Shāh Muhammad Ārif of Sira produced a voluminous Mathnavi, *Huqūqul Muslimīn*, which is being edited by a research scholar at the University of Mysore. Mysore can be proud of two famous scholars and writers of the eighteenth century, Shāh Abdul Hye of Bangalore (d. 1884 A. D.) and Maulana Mir Hayāt of Mysore (d. 1864 A. D.). The former was the author of more than a hundred standard works in Urdu, both in prose and verse. His voluminous work *Jinānus Siyar* on the life of the Holy Prophet has hitherto held sway in this region. It has been published numberless times in thousands of copies and the public demand for it has been ever on the increase. Mir Hayāt of Mysore was the author of about twenty-two treatises on religion and ethics, the collection of which entitled *Misbāhul Hayāt* has been very popular and repeatedly published. It has been in wide circulation in other parts of the country also. Bānke Nawab Nasim of Mysore (d. 1888 A. D.) ('Lovely Nawab', wrongly pronounced as Benki Nawab) was the leading and representative lyric poet of the latter half of the eighteenth century. His simple and sweet poetry has been greatly popular in Mysore. It has been edited and published more than once. Gham-Shād, Jādū, Nādir, Sālim Dil, Athar, Ārām, Kalim, Āh, Alwi, Barq, Sūfi, Tahsil and Mugbil were other important poets of Mysore and Bangalore during this period. Mahmūd Khān Mahmūd and Nafis of Bangalore,

who passed away only recently, made very valuable contributions to Urdu Literature in the first half of this century. The former produced a dozen standard works on the history of Haidar Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan and the latter was a poet of high reputation. Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV, Maharaja of Mysore of revered memory, was a very kind patron of Urdu and Persian. On the occasion of his Silver Jubilee he wrote a message in Urdu in his own hand for the Urdu-speaking population of his State and installed an Urdu inscription at the Silver Jubilee Clock Tower in Mysore. He delivered his address in Urdu while opening the Juma Masjid in Mysore in 1929. The Royal proclamations were issued in Urdu also during his glorious reign. He instituted a chair for Urdu and Persian in the University of Mysore.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, Bangalore has been an important centre of Urdu journalism. Dailies, weeklies and periodicals are published from Bangalore, Mysore, Gulbarga and Hubli have also their own weeklies and periodicals. There is a full-fledged department of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Urdu in the University of Mysore, which has produced some scholars and reasearch workers who are serving as lecturers in various colleges of the region and are engaged in research in the Dakhni and Urdu literatures of Karnataka. A good number of very valuable Dakhni and Persian manuscripts and rare printed works of Karnataka have been collected at the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Mysore.

Mushairas have been a regular feature of Dakhni and Urdu literary activity in Karnataka since the days of Bahamani rule down to our own time. They have been of immense help in giving wide publicity to the beauty of the language, and have earned popularity for its poetry. The Dakhni poetry of Karnataka is simple, natural, fluent, sweet and attractive. It has played an important role in shaping and preserving Karnataka culture. It portrays the social and cultural conditions of this region and is a mirror of life in Karnataka. Folk-lore is an important section of Dakhni poetry which added much to its popularity and wide circulation. The treatment of Nature by the Dakhni poets deserves high praise. The most important aspect of Dakhni literature is the part played by Sufi saints in its progress and development. Hence, the whole Literature carries a mystical colour. The Sufi saints were responsible for making it a cosmopolitan language and literature acceptable to all sections of the people. They ignored all distinctions of colour, caste, creed and class and inculcate a sense of universal brotherhood. The conflict of Urdu and Dakhni in Karnataka began during the Mughal period, and Urdu gradually replaced Dakhni in the literary field. At present Dakhni continues as the spoken tongue and Urdu as the literary medium in Karnataka.

In conclusion, three specimen pieces of Dakhni and Urdu poetry are

presented below with their translation in English, representing the three stages of linguistic development, i. e., Dakshini, the Middle period, and Urdu.

1. Ali Adil Shāh II—Shāhi-Poet-King of Bijapur (d. 1673 A.D.)

(Three stanzas selected from twelve stanzas)

BREHNI (Separation)

(The wailing of a lady separated from her beloved)

Kōyi jāō kahō muj sājan sāt
Main nēh bandi tun kaeta ghāt

Dil mērē apnē sāt kiya
Muj birhā mēn din rāt kiya
Dildari ki na bat kiya
Sab bisrā suk haihāt kiya
Ki muj sun aesi dhāt kiya
Kōyi jāō kahō muj sājan sāt
Main nēh bandi tun keeta ghāt

Piu mūrat dēkhun sapnē mēn
Jab jāgūn tab rahūn tapnē mēn
Lā dīpak birhā apnē mēn
Tan jālē jhak jhak japnē mēn
Ārām achhē muj khapnē mēn

Koyi jāō kahō muj sājan sāt
Main nēh bandi tūn kaeta ghāt

Muj nāinō nīnda āti nahīn
Yō rain kaṭhīn sarjāti nahīn
Piu baj muj kōyi sāti nahīn
Is bāt binā kuch bhāti nahīn
Bin afsōzē kuch khāti nahīn

Translation

Let one go, tell my beloved
I am captivated by love, you are averse :

He carried away my heart with him
My day is turned into night in separation :

He never spoke a word of affection,
Destroyed all peace, alas,
Why did he adopt such an attitude towards me ?

Let one go, tell my beloved,
I am captivated by love, you are averse ;

I see the face of the beloved in my dream ;
When awake I am restless ;
I have kindled the flame of separation in myself
My being burns eternally in waiting for union :
Anguish is comfort for me.

Let one go, tell my beloved
I am captivated by love, you are averse ;

My eyes do not get sleep
Thus the hard night doesn't end :
Besides the beloved I have no companion ;
I like nothing except his words :
I have no food except grief.

2. Lāla Mahtāb Rai Sabqat (d. about 1790 A.D.)—Court-Munshi of
Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur at Srirangapaṭṭaṇa

Ghazal (Ode)

Hamārī āh sē gham kā bokhār uṭhtā hai
Hawā kē bahnē se jaisē ghubār uṭhta hai
Terē firaq mēn barsē hai Māghā ānsū kā
Fughān ke sāz se shōrē Malhār uṭhta hai
Yē dil hai tār sifāt ishq ki nawāzish mēn
Terē khayāl ke chhēḍe pukār uṭhta hai
Magar wo yār ne chāha hai jām rokhsat kā
Ke shīsha sarnugun ho ashkbār uṭhta hai
Galī mēn yār kibaiṭha hai Sabqate nālān
Khīn bhi chhōḍ ke gulshan hazār uṭhta hai

Translation

A vapour of grief rises from our sigh
Like dust which rises with the blowing of the wind :
The Māgh of tears is shed in your separation,
From the instrument of wailing rises the commotion of Malhar :

By virtue of the kindness of love this heart has turned a string,
 Touched by your thought it begins to call;
 Perhaps that beloved has desired the cup of departure
 That the flask has turned down and is shedding tears :
 The anguished Sabqat is sitting in the lane of the beloved :
 Does the nightingale depart from the rose-garden ?

3. Banke Nawab Nasim of Mysore (d. 1888 A.D.)

Ghazal (Ode)

Terī gali mēn jō āyē wo ghar nahīn jātē
 Jo tēre dar pe hain wo dar ba bar nahīn jātē
 Wo kaon subh nahīn karte shām ka wādā
 Wo shām faonsi hai jō mukar nahīn jātē
 Paḍhāyā tōte ko ek umr bewafā niklā
 Azal ke bigḍe kisī se sudhar nahīn jātē
 Laḍā ke ānkh tum ānkhōn se hō gayē pinhān
 Par ānkh se mēri mislē nazar nahīn jātē
 Masīho Bā Ali Sēnā ki kya huwī tashkhis
 Kisī ilāj se dāghe jigar nahīn jātē

Translation

Those who come to your lane do not go back home ;
 Those at your door do not go from door to door.
 Which is the morning when they do not give a promise of the evening,
 Which evening do they not make a denial :
 I instructed the parrot for an age, it turned faithless.
 Those who are wrong from the very beginning can be never be set
 right by any one.
 You looked into my eyes and then disappeared from my eyes,
 But you do not go from my eyes like the sight :
 Of what advantage was the diagnosis of Messiah and Avicenna ?
 The sores of the heart are not cured by any medicine.

APPENDIX IV

TELUGU LITERATURE IN KARNATAKA

BY SRI K. SUBBARAMAPPA

The Telugus and Kannadigas have much in common both in literature and culture. There has been an exodus of Telugu and Kannada poets and authors from Karnataka into Andhra and from Andhra into Karnataka from times immemorial. There was also a continuous give and take between these two literatures.

Pampa, the celebrated author of Kannada *Bhārata*, originally belonged to Vengiparru in the Krishna-Godavari region, and later settled at the court of the Western Chālukyas. There is evidence to show that he wrote a few poems in Telugu and was also a Telugu poet (*Vide: Lives of Telugu Poets* published by the Madras University). Pampa's *Bhārata* gave inspiration to Nannayabhaṭṭa, the first Telugu poet (11th century) who wrote the Telugu *Bhāratamu* in the court of the Eastern Chālukya King, Rājarājanarēndra. There are evidences of Pampa *Bhārata*'s influence on Nannaya's *Bhārata*. Ponna, the second of the "Ratnatraya" belonged to Punganuru in the Chittoor District, Rayalaseema. As these poets were Jainas, and Jainism was then losing ground in Andhra they came down to Karnataka, the then strong-hold of Jainism.

The Vijayanagar rulers were patrons of Telugu literature and had many renowned poets in their courts and bestowed on them the highest honours. One of the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire, Bukka, had in his court a celebrated Telugu Poet called Nachana Sōmanātha who wrote a Kāvya, *Uttara Harivamśamu*. Proudha Dēvarāya, the well-known Kannada ruler of Vijayanagar, appreciating the talents of Srinātha, the Telugu 'Kāvi Sārvabhauma', honoured him by bathing him in gold (Kanakābhishēkam) in his pearl 'maṇṭapam'. This poet who was enamoured of Kannada has said that his language was really Kannada ('nijamu Karnātabhāsha').

Emperor Krishnadēvarāya had in his court eight Telugu poets who were popularly known as 'Aṣṭadiggajas' (eight elephants guarding the eight directions). One of these, Nandi Thimmanna, wrote *Pārijatāpaharaṇamu* in Telugu and dedicated it to Sri Krishnadēvarāya. Latest researches show that this poet took inspiration for his work from the Kannada Kāvya *Jagannātha Vijaya* of Rudrabhaṭṭa (13th century).

Palavēkari Kadiripati (1660) was a Telugu poet who lived in the Kolar District. He has stated in his Telugu work *Suka Saptati* that his forefathers were Palayagars ruling Todigolla, now in the Srinivasapur Taluk of the Kolar District. This work has seventy erotic stories told by a parrot (hence 'Suka Saptati'). It deals with amorous themes and the blandishments of women. This work is said to have been translated into Persian under the name 'Tootināma' and from it into Urdu (Vide : *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, Vol VI, page 609).

It is noteworthy that the first complete prose work in Telugu was written by a Mysorean. He was Kaḷale Veerarāja, the Commander-in-chief of Chikka-dēvarāja, the ruler of Mysore. He wrote the Telugu *Vachana Bhāratamu* in 1770 A.D. Prose writing in Telugu was developed after this work. His son Nanjarāja has written a Telugu Kāvya *Hālāśya Māhātmyamu*. Kanṭheerava Narasarāja (*alias* Mūkarasu), the ruler of Mysore, wrote some Telugu Yaksha-gānas. The manuscripts of these are in the Madras Oriental Library (No. D. 1228). Mummaḍi Krishnarāja Wodeyar (1791) patronized a Telugu poet called Kundalakurki Chandrakavi of the Kolar District. He dedicated to the King a work called *Krishnabhūpāliyam*, a Telugu poetical rendering of Nannayya's *Āndhra Śabda Chintāmaṇi*. This book has been published. Amble D. Lakshminarasimha Sastry, who was a Telugu Pandit in the Wesleyan High School, Mysore wrote *Bhānu Śatakamu* and *Neeti Śatakamu*.

Many Telugu-speaking writers after settling in Karnataka wrote Kannada works also and enriched Kannada literature. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, Epigraphist to the Government of India, an Andhra and a linguist, was the President of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat held at Kolar in 1924. He belonged to Hoskote in the Bangalore District. Similarly, mention may be made of others like the late H. V. Nanjundaya (The first President of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat), the late T. S. Venkannayya, the late B. Venkatanaranappa whose mother-tongue was Telugu. They rendered signal service to the cause of the resurgence of Kannada literature in modern times. The late Gummarāju Rāmakavi, a native of Gownipalli in the Kolar District, was a Telugu poet who has to his credit a good work, *Chowdēśvari Māhātmyamu*. Rājapalli Ananthakrishna Sarma, former Head of the Department of Telugu in the Mysore University, wrote a Kannada work *Sāhitya Matthu Jivanakale*.

Thus it is evident that Telugu literature also flourished in Karnataka and Telugu men of letters lived amicably in this land, learnt Kannada, wrote works in Kannada too and strengthened the cultural ties between the Telugus and Kannadigas.

APPENDIX V

MARATHI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN KARNATAKA

BY PANDIT AVALIKAR

Karnataka and Maharashtra are very intimately related to each other in respect of culture, literature and language. People speaking Kannada and Marathi have followed the same religion and have been of one blood for centuries past. The geographical boundaries of these two provinces went on changing from time to time ; and as they were under one rule very often, there was a lot of exchange of culture, literature and linguistic peculiarities.

Marathi was spoken in border parts of Karnataka, it seems, from the 10th century. Under the rule of the Devagiri Yadavas, Marathi literature and language prospered, in which we notice signs of its contact with Kannada. We find a number of Kannada words in the Marathi literature produced by the Mahānubhāvas in the 12th and 13th centuries.

More than the rulers, including the Maratha rulers, religious sects like Nāthas, Siddhas, Veeraśaivas, Jainas and Vaishnavas were responsible for the growth of Marathi language and literature.

The Nātha Sampradāya, was founded by Matsyēndra and Gōraksha at the well-known yogic centre, Sri Shaila, in the south. The famous Kadali Bana was also a centre of yogic and religious activities where along with the Veeraśaivas, the Nāthas and other Siddhas also congregated. It is an interesting fact to be noted that Narasimha Sarasvati of the Datta Sampradaya is reported to have gone to the Kadali Bana at the end of his life.

The Nāthas have an immense influence on old Marathi and on the Varakari Sampradāya of Maharashtra. Jnanēśvar belonged to the Nātha Sampradāya along with many others. The Nātha Sampradāya is Saiva and has close relations to Veeraśaivism.

The story of Matsyēndranāth's stay in the kingdom of women is wonderfully similar to that of Allamaprabhu and Māyādevi. Matsyēndra is known as Māyā-Matshindra, while Prabhudēva is called Māya-Kōlāhala. Again, there is a reference to Gōrakshanātha and his dialogues with Prabhudēva in the *Prabhulinga*

Leele. This is a thing which should be carefully studied and will reveal the relationships so far unknown.

Gōrakshanātha, to my mind, might have been acquainted with Kannada and a search may well be made in that language for his works. He has contributed to Hindi, as well as Marathi. Matsyēndra and Gōraksha are described as having come into contact with one more figure, that is Nāganātha who is known as Vaḍaval Siddha. Vaḍaval is a place near Sholapur, which is one more centre worth studying from so many points of view.

This Nāganātha had disciples like Ajnyāna Siddha -(who is supposed to have come into contact with Allamaprabhu) and Manmathasvāmi. Ajnyāna Siddha was well-versed in Kannada, though he has written some philosophical works in Marathi. He lived in the latter part of 13th century (that is why he cannot be a contemporary of Prabhudēva). He was a Brahmin but Manmathasvāmi was a Veeraśaiva saint (who wrote his work 'Parama Rahasya' in 1522 śaka). According to some, Nāganātha was a Veeraśaiva. But this view is not accepted by all.

In Karnataka there were three more centres where Marathi literature flourished. They are: Mudalgi, Gurlhosur and Bijapur. Mudalgi is a small village in the Gokak Taluk where Rangabōdha Svāmi and Adyayabodha Svāmi stayed in the 16th and 17th centuries. These Svāmis belonged to the tradition of Mukundarāja (a Marathi poet who wrote *Viveka Sindhu* in 1110 Saka). They have written very valuable works in Marathi and some songs in Kannada. I had the fortune of unearthing these works along with other works about which I shall discuss later. In an unpublished work entitled *Deshika Charitra* written by one Gurunātha (in 1707 Saka) containing biographical accounts of the Svāmis, there were poets like Gōvindabōdha and Jnyānabōdha. Chandranaja Rudra, a relative of the Svāmis, tried to follow Kumāra Vyāsa in his work.

At Gurlhosur, there lived a saint namely Chidambar Dikshit. He was very much respected by the Maratha Sardars in those days (18th century) and his devotees like Sakharama Tryambak Garde, Rajaram and Vithabai have contributed a great deal to Marathi literature. Garde's *Shrimat-Charitra* is a voluminous work giving an account of Chidambar Svāmi's life. Rajaram is supposed to be the incarnation of Tukaram, the well-known saint-poet in Marathi.

At Bijapur, Rukmangadasvāmi and Kakhandaki (near Bijapur) Mahipatisvāmi drew the attention of a poet like Rukmaja Dasa who wrote the biographies of both the Svāmis in his *Gurumālika* (in 18th century). Hari Dixit, one of the disciples of Vāmana Paṇḍit, a famous Marathi scholar-poet, was staying at Nargund, whose two unpublished works I could secure.

Some Marathi poets translated a few Kannada works into Marathi.

Santalinga Sivayōgi rendered Nijaguṇa Sivayōgi's *Vivēka Chintāmaṇi* (in 1526 Saka) and Sri Channa Basaveśvara's *Karana Hasuge*. I have recently edited *Viveka Chintāmaṇi* which is published by the Karnataka and Poona Universities. Brahma Dasa translated Chāmarasa's *Prabhulinga Lēle* under the name *Vishwambhara Seela* (in the 18th century). One Girisuta, hailing from Kognoli (near Nippani) wrote his *Pandava Purāṇa* with the help of the Kannada work of Nagaraja. All these poets must have had equal command over Kannada and Marathi. Saraswati Gangadhar, the author of *Guru Charitra* coming from Kadaganchi (near Gulbarga) was a Kannadiga who says 'Bhāsha na yē Maharashtra' (I do not know Marāṭhi), and still writes in beautiful Marathi. A Vaishnava poet like Ranganatha Viṭhala, whom I discovered very recently, has composed Marathi songs in the Desi style.

In addition to these works I was able to secure many Marathi works of Ekanatha, Vipra Narayana, Navarasa Narayana in Karnataka which were of immense help to me in my research work. I got one unpublished Jaina manuscript copied at Sadalgi.

Karnataka is very rich in research material. I am likely to unearth many Veerasāva works especially.

This is a brief account of Marathi literature in Karnataka, so far I could trace it.

Now about the language. Marathi, as written in Karnataka (as found in the manuscripts), shows considerable influence of Kannada; especially in peculiar Sandhis, words and grammatical construction. The same things are observed in the spoken Marathi.

When a word from one language goes to the other language the meaning is changed. For instance, the word 'sahita' originally in Sanskrit, means 'together'. But in Kannada, it is used in the sense of 'also'. In Marathi also, that word is used in that sense here.

APPENDIX VI

KONKANI IN KARNATAKA

BY SRI S. SILVA

Konkani seems to have originated in northern India. As to the exact

place where it took shape it is difficult to conjecture. The tract of Sārasvat Mandala somewhere near Ajmer may have been the place of origin.

From these regions it slowly moved down along the West Coast of India till at last it reached the river Gangavali in North Kanara. It is interesting to notice that many place names all along the West Coast seem to bear evidence of this emigration of Konkaṇi-speaking people from North India down to North Kanara. The sacred northern river Ganga is remembered and repeated in Gangavali. River Kali is found near Delhi and it is found also in Karwar. The duplication of place names all along this route may also be noted : *e. g.*, Kalyanpur near Delhi, Kalyan in Thana and Kalyanpur in S. Kanara ; Ankola in Ahmedabad, Ankola in Baroda and Ankola in Kanara, and so on.

By the time the emigration concluded, the language formulated itself and was spoken by all communities and adopted by even indigenous communities, all along the West Coast down to the river Gangavali in North Kanara.

This tract where Konkaṇi was and is spoken was known as Konkaṇ and is was located between the Western Ghats and the Sea. An old writer gives its northern and southern boundaries as the Masurechi river in the north and the Ankleshwar river on the south, or practically from Thana to Gangavali. Under british administration the tract of Konkaṇ was definitely demarcated and it was one of the parts of the old Presidency of Bombay. Konkaṇ is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang as Kong-Kin-na-pulo. "From Malayakula the pilgrims went to Kong-Ki-na-pulo." Konkaṇ was one of the units of Sapta Konkaṇa and was one of the 80 kingdoms of South India in the early middle ages. All communities spoke Konkaṇi in this tract, possibly from the first century of the Christian era.

Among the communities who spoke Konkaṇi, there was one community known as Sārasvats who hailed directly from Sarasvat Mandal and they brought about a great many innovations in this tongue. They were shrewd and intelligent people who commenced to settle in Goa from about the 8th century. They were known as Gauḍ Sārasvats. Their main occupation was trade and business.

When these people came to Goa and settled finally, the administration of Goa was in the hands of the Kadambas (800-1200 A.D.) and among them there was one great King, Jayakēśi, who had about 14 ambassadors of 14 different nations at his court. Trade and commerce were in a flourishing condition. As prominent citizens of Goa, these Shenvis, as they were also called were wholly engaged in trade.

The official language of the administration of Goa during the times of this dynasty was Kannada, and so these Shenvi merchants and daḷāls (brokers) began to keep their shop accounts in the Konkaṇi language but in the Kannada

script. This was an anamoly, no doubt, introduced by the Shenvis for the first time in the history of the Konkani language.

The Portuguese, the English and the Dutch had trade dealings both in Goa and on the West Coast after the 15th century. The Shenvis were the first to participate in this trade both as suppliers and as agents of these European merchants. It is at this time also that these Shenvis commenced to write both their accounts and their correspondence in the Konkani language but in Kannada script. Both the Portuguese and English Factors were aware of the Kannada language in the Vijayanagar, Bednore and Sonda kingdoms. They naturally called it the Kannada language.

But they were perplexed at the language used by the Shenvis. Sure it was not Kannada. Its name as Konkani language had not been in use till then. So for convenience' sake they called the language used by the Shenvis as 'Canarin'. In popular parlance in Goa this language of account-keeping was known as *Kanzvi* language.

But the names 'Canarin' and 'Kanzvi' were given up about the beginning of the 18th century, possibly after the publication of *Konkanakyan* in 1728. From that time this language come to be known as the Konkani language. It had existed from very early times; and it is a direct off-shoot of Sanskrit. Most of the words are pure Sanskrit in origin e.g., *Udak* (water), *Lar* (wave).

Konkani also in its earliest stages was only a spoken language. Possibly, it was spoken many centuries before Christ. It is a full-fledged language with all the characteristics of a fully developed tongue. But during the different stages of its development, it suffered much. It had no royal patronage. During the time when the Portuguese rulers insisted that Portuguese should be the general and the only medium in Goa, Konkani was suppressed. This was in the year 1684. After that to talk in Konkani in Goa was a crime. Perhaps the first grammar that was written of any language in India was of the Konkani language. Some crude elements of it were written by a Goan in 1556. But a complete grammar with full syntax was written by Fr. Thomas Stephens, S. J. and published in 1640. He did it with the aid of Sanskrit grammar.

Dr. Dalgado calls it 'Balabhasha' and the eldest daughter of the Sanskrit language. After its suppression in 1684, the Jesuits were responsible for resuscitating Konkani in Goa. One Provincial of the Society of Jesus enjoined on all Jesuit novitiates to learn Konkani as that language was essential for the approach to the lowest castes in connection with propagating Christianity. Hence Konkani schools were opened in Margao.

But Konkani-speaking communities have emigrated wholesale into Karnataka, specially into North and South Kanara. During the Bungar rule, King Chandraśekhara (1208-1224 A.D.) had his capital on the Edga Hill in Mangalore.

Just down the slope of this hill a Katte was built, and also an Udyanavana (Garden). Here Konkani people known as Chapatekars resided. A little away from this place, Konkani Kunbis also resided and the place is still known as Kunbi Hital (garden of the Kunbis). The Holi dances of both these communities with Konkani songs are still a tradition in Mangalore.

During the reign of the same Chandraśekhara, one Shenvi by name Keshav Asraṇṇa was a Pujari (priest) in the Gaṇapati Temple.

The famous Anantēśwar Temple at Manjēśwar (Kāsargōḍ Taluk) was founded by the Shenvis in the 11th century. On account of its importance Madhvācharya is said to have visited it.

But permanent settlements of Konkani Kunbis are found in Supa and other parts of North Kanara, Belgaum etc. In Kanara they were attracted by the labour required in the spice gardens. Many are working there to this day.

But the greatest 'invasion' of the Konkani people into Karnataka was of the Christians and Hindus after the commencement of the Inquisition Courts in Goa in 1560. Hindu communities wholesale settled in the different parts of the Bednore and Sonda Kingdoms. The 'Gaonkars', later known as Konkani Mahrattas, settled in Karwar Taluk mostly. Along with them came the Bhaṇḍāris, Paṭṭis, Komarpants, Sōnāis etc. Christians settled in Bednore, in South Kanara and in Honnavar and Kumṭa Taluks of North Kanara.

But the most important community that emigrated from Goa was the Shenvi community. They were literally thrust out as all opportunity and status were denied to them in Goa. Their temples were destroyed and they left the place with their family gods.

They settled in the dominions of both the Sonda and Bednore kingdoms. Here the Shenvis had an unexpected rise in their fortunes. Some among them were not only Ministers of State in both these kingdoms, but they acted as agents to all European traders, specially the English. The history of the Mahale family of Bhaṭkal is noteworthy. One Damars Pai of Pānimangalore straightaway released a Bednore king by paying a huge sum as ransom to the Mahrattas personally. It is said that the Nāḍkarni family settled at Gokarn in the eleventh century.

These Shenvis came with the Kunbis also for cultivation. Ultimately, these Shenvis became the richest landlords in Kanara.

They were responsible for building the biggest temples in Konkani, specially at Bhaṭkal. These temples celebrated the important religious festivals like. Dasara, Divāli, Krishnāshṭami and even Rāmanavami in a unique way.

Here also they continued to write the Konkani language in Kannada script. This was a continuation of the custom introduced in Goa.

This anomaly was found in South and North Kanara also. The English administration thinking it was all Kannada language made Kannada the official language of both Kanaras. The Shenvis continued their system till the introduction of Kannada in schools. But the Christians continue to use it to this day. All their religious literature and also newspapers and journals are in the Konkani language but in Kannada script.

Thus Konkani is not a new language in Karnataka. It existed from olden times and is found in many parts of Karnataka. It has kept pace with other languages of Karnataka, and Konkani communities have lived and moved very cordially with the Kannada communities.

With their Aryan patrilineal culture, they have made their own contribution to the cultural life of Karnataka.

APPENDIX VII

KODAGU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

By SRI D. N. KRISHNAIYA

Kodagu is the language spoken by the Kodavas or Coorgis and other people in Coorg who follow the Coorgis in their customs, manners and dress. It has no script of its own, but is written in the Kannada script. It is rather a dialect of old Kannada, intermixed with Malayalam and Tamil words, the former in abundance.

The Kodagu language, according to Mr. Richter, is a convenient medium for conversation. By its contracted rounded forms, with abrupt terminations in half-vowels, it does not impose much strain on the organs of speech. Though it has not the force and expressiveness of Kannada, it glides more readily over the lips. It is rich in words and forms, and, as the Coorg chants attest, is admirably suited for expressing easy flowing poetry of a humorous or solemn strain.

The Kodagu language consists of 33 letters, *viz.*, 12 vowels, one-half consonant and 20 consonants. It rejects all aspirated consonants.

The half-consonant or medium between vowel and consonant is O, which sounds like M, N, or Ng according to position.

In writing the Koḍagu language there is a frequent use of half-letters, which are denoted by a peculiar flourish above the respective consonants. Yet these half-letters are not mute consonants, but are followed by either of the two peculiar short and neutral vowels O and U.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word like 'avang' instead of the Kannada 'avana' meaning 'his'.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged, and single consonants doubled: *e. g.*, 'unḍu' for Kannada 'unṭu' (is); 'ikka' for Kannada 'iga' (now). Compound consonants are separated: *e. g.*, Kannada-yentha; Kodagu-yennata. The Kannada letter (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the Hale (Old) Kannada form as in Puḍi, (seize), Pāl (milk).

The roots of nouns and verbs in Koḍagu are chiefly monosyllables and dissyllables which may be traced back to Hale-Kannada or to the common Dravidian stock; there are, however, also many Sanskrit words as tadbhavas, which are changed into queer forms: *e. g.*, Sanskrit 'yogi' tadhava 'jogi'—Koḍagu form 'joyi'. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussalmans has also enriched the language with Hindustani expressions. Encouragement given to the learning of English in the Coorg schools by the British in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century has also introduced a good number of English words of common usage into the Koḍagu language.

Following the usage of other grammars of the Dravidian tongues, the declension of Koḍagu nouns may be represented with seven or eight cases, but several of them, being but the result of affixed particles, the cases might well be reduced to five, *viz.*, the Nominative, Objective or Accusative, Genitive, Dative and Vocative.

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify. As in Kannada their number is not very large, but many are formed from nouns by affixing the irregular participles—ano (having become) and uḷḷo, (having possessed): *e. g.* chai—beauty, chiano—beautiful; paṇa—money. Paṇauḷḷo—rich or one possessing money. The relative participles also are frequently used as adjectives: *e. g.*, pāḍuvo—pakki—the singing bird.

The numeral adjectives are considered a criterion of the origin of a language, and in Koḍagu they are very much like those of the other Dravidian languages. The cardinal numbers in Koḍagu from one to twelve are, respectively ondu, danḍu, mundu, nālu, anji, āru, yēḷu, yetṭu, oyimbadu, pattu, pannondu, panneranḍu. In all compound numbers for danḍu (2), ranḍu is substituted, which resembles the Kannada 'yeraḍu' or the Tamil 'iranḍu'.

Pronouns: The pronouns in Koḍagu greatly resemble those in Kannada.

Verbs: There are two conjugations of verbs in the Koḍagu language one set of verbs ending in U, and the other of those ending in I, O or A. The

verbs ending in U add to their root the affix 'vo' in the present and 'no' in the past relative participle, *e. g.*, root: pāḍu, sing, pres. relative participle, paduno- 'who sang'; verbs ending in 'e' add 'po' and 'to'; *e. g.*, root nene—to think, present relative participle, nenepo—who thinks. Past relative participle, neneto—who thought. The various inflections of the verb are formed from the root, the present relative participle and the past relative participle.

Adverb: As in Kannada, adverbs in Koḍagu are formed from nouns by adding the affixes—āyitu, āyi (Kan. āgi).

The most common adverbs of time and place are the following:

Yekko—when; ikko—now; akko—then; yendu—which day; indu—this day; andu—that day; yelli—where; illi—here; alli—there.

Syntax: Koḍagu syntax is quite in harmony with that of the Dravidian languages. The principal verb is invariably placed last in the sentence, and, as a general rule, every complement to the subject, object and predicate, whether expressed by a word, a phrase or a clause, precedes the word complemented.

KODAGU LITERATURE :

In the Koḍagu language there was no literature except a few indigenous songs on a very limited range of subjects till the twenties of this century. These songs (called paḷamēs—old compositions) commemorate the chief events of social life, marriage, death and festivities. Some of them like the Harvest-song and the Wedding-song show the Koḍagu dialect in all its peculiarities. They seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. One old 'paḷame' mentions the country as being divided into 35 nāḍs and sub-divisions of districts. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Kannada expressions. In fact, with slight modifications, the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions.

Richter, the author of the *Coorg Manual* (1870) gives the following opinion about the Coorg songs: "Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting, and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour that runs through these lines."

The rules of Kannada versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true they move not in the gay iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration.

In its simple form the Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English blank verse.

The Koḍagu 'paḷames', or songs, are on various themes such as the settling of gods (deities) in Coorg from Malabar, the exploits of the old-time heroes of Coorg and the description of the manners and customs of Coorgis during their marriage, deaths or funerals and in festivals like Huttari or the new harvest. In the second half of the 19th century, Graeter, a German missionary, learnt the Koḍagu dialect and translated many Koḍagu songs into English.

The Koḍagu 'paḷames' were collected and published for the first time in 1924 by N. I. Chinnappa in the book entitled *Paṭṭōla Paḷame*. *Paṭṭōla Paḷame* is a book written in the Kannada language describing the customs and practices of the Coorgis from birth to death. It also contains a brief history of Coorg. Koḍagu songs are collected and included in that book to illustrate the customs and religious practices of the Coorgis.

The same writer translated the *Bhagavad Geeta*, 'the Song Celestial', into the Koḍagu language and published it in 1922. This translation published in book form is entitled *Bhagavantanda Pāṭu*. Both the *Paṭṭōla Paḷame* and the *Bhagavantanda Pāṭu* have been appreciated and received well by the Koḍagu-knowing people of Coorg.

About 1920, Haradāsa Appacha Kavi wrote three dramas in the Koḍagu language. It was a pioneer attempt by him but he has succeeded well in his attempt. His three dramas are on the Kaveri, the patron goddess of Coorg, on Subramanya, the patron god of Coorg, and on Yayāti Rāja, a purāṇic king of India. His dramas are of the old type containing four acts and the conversations are interspersed with songs. These dramas are popular even to this day.

The next work written in the Koḍagu language is a book called *Āru Bēru Purāṇa*. (1947) This book contains a description of the customs, manners and practices of the Coorgis, and also the Koḍagu songs composed by its author. The author of this book is one Apadonda Ganapati.

I. M. Muthamma has published a collection of poems in the Koḍagu language entitled *Poomāle* between 1940 and 1945.

In 1961, Periyanda Chengappa composed Koḍagu songs on themes like the story of the goddess Kaveri, harvest, marriage, customs, formation of nāḍus or sub-divisions in Coorg and allegiance to be paid to the headmen among the Coorgis called the 'Takkār', funeral ceremonies etc., and published them in book form. This book is entitled *Koḍavaḍa Andōlat Pāṭu*.

KODAGU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

In 1962, B. D. Ganapati wrote a book *Kodagu maththu Kodavaru* in Kannada. He has included in it a number of Koḍagu songs illustrating the manners and customs of the Coorgis and also songs on deities installed in different parts of Coorg. Many of these songs are taken with acknowledgement from the book *Paṭṭōle Paḷame* of N. I. Chinnappa mentioned earlier.

About this time one Mackatira Pooviah wrote a drama in the Koḍagu language called *Dhruva Kumāra*

The above-mentioned works are the only ones written and published in the Koḍagu language, but they are all printed in Kannada script, there being no separate script for the Koḍagu language. An attempt to have a separate script for the Koḍagu language was made in the last decades of the nineteenth century by Dr. Coravanda Appaiah, but it found no encouragement and was finally abandoned. Most of the above-mentioned works do not rise to the level of being called Koḍagu literature. Only the Koḍagu dramas written by Haradāsa Appacha Kavi and *Bhagavantanda Pāṭu* by N. I. Chinnappa show considerable literary merit. The Koḍagu 'Paḷames' or songs come under folk-lore or folk-literature.

APPENDIX VIII

TULU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

BY PROF. MARIAPPA BHAT

Tulu is one of the ancient languages of South India. It is an important member of the Dravidian group of languages and is spoken in the region called Tulu Nāḍu lying on the West Coast of South India, comprising the major portion of the District of Dakshina Kannada (South Kanara) situated in the Mysore State. The Taluks of Kārkaḷa, Mangalore, Buntwal, Puttur, and a major portion of Uḍupi form the core of the Tuluva country. There is a goodly bit of Tuluva land in the Kāsaragod Taluk. Thus on the north, east and south-east, the Tuluva region is contiguous with the Kannada region and in the extreme south with the Chēra (Malayalam) country. To the west lies the Arabian Sea. According to the Census Report of 1961, the number of people speaking Tulu is about eight lakhs.

The people whose mother-tongue is Tuḷu are called Tuḷuvas. The country is called Tauḷuva (a Sanskritized adjectival form of Tuḷu) and finds mention along with Karnataka, Konkana, etc. in inscriptions.

It is hard to trace the etymology of the word Tuḷu. Some scholars have attempted to equate Tuḷu with the attributes such as meekness or softness, while others with valour or bravery. As in the case of many other languages, all this seems fanciful. However, there cannot be any doubt about its venerable past. The Tamil Sangam works (*Aga Nānnuru*) refer to this great land of Tuḷuva while extolling the eminence of a town called Mutur in these words: "The famous leading town Mutur, consisting of several divisions ('chēries') gives asylum to all needy new-comers, just like the Tuḷuva country with its plentiful groves wherein the peacocks with their spread-out tails have (enchanted) eyes, round in shape like a 'pare' (drum)." This takes the antiquity of Tuḷu to the date of the Tamil Sangam works which are claimed by some scholars to belong to the 2nd century A.D.

From historical times the administration of Tuḷuva has been under the political influence of Karnataka. Tuḷuva kings belonging to illustrious Tuḷuva dynasties such as Ālūpas, Bangas, Chutas, Ballālas ruled over the Tuḷuva land for long centuries. Even among the Vijayanagara kings there was a Tuḷuva line of princes. It is from the time of the Kadambas that we find the Tuḷuva kings as feudatories of the Karnataka dynasties. Regarding the influx of Brahmins into the Tuḷuva country tradition has it that they were brought to this area for carrying on religious worship and sacrifice by Mayūravarman, the illustrious Kadamba ruler. This must have been responsible for their adopting Kannada as the official language from historic times. So far, not a single inscription written in the Tuḷu language has been met with. All the inscriptions and other historical documents found in the South Kanara District are in Kannada or Sanskrit. Though the language of the offices and courts, schools and colleges and other public institutions has been Kannada throughout, the language of the bazar, the language of the common folk, and of the village communities continues in many cases to be Tuḷu. In the far-off villages of the interior (towards the foot of the ghats) there are people, especially those belonging to the socially backward sections like Harijans and others, who even to this day cannot converse in any language other than Tuḷu.

Tuḷu is a highly developed language with a rich vocabulary. In the comparative vocabulary of the Dravidian languages compiled by the Heads of the Dravidian Language Departments of the University of Madras and the Etymological Dictionary by Emeneau and Burrow, it will be noticed that most of the cognates occur in Tuḷu also. It is capable of expressing the most subtle shades of meaning in appropriate terms. There are a good many folk-songs, legends and quasi-historical narrations called *Paddanas* and *Sandis*. Owing to

two main handicaps Tuḷu Literature could not flourish: (1) want of royal patronage from the beginning, as the official language has all along been Kannada; and (2) want of its own script. Tuḷu has pressed into service the Kannada script whenever it was reduced to writing.

It may be of interest to state, in passing, that Tuḷu like other languages being a regional language, is the mother-tongue of the natives belonging to diverse castes and sub-castes: the Harijans, Jainas, Brahmins, Bunts, Gowḍas, Mulyas, Oil-mongers, Baidyas, Christians (mostly Protestants), etc. This has necessarily resulted in accentuating certain dialectical differences creating minor dialects within itself, such as Brahmin Tuḷu, Konkaṇi Tulu, Pāḍri Tulu, (according to social groups), and Uḍupi Tulu, Kārkala Tulu, Puttur Tulu (according to geographical demarcations).

Very little of the ancient Tuḷu literature is traceable today. This is indeed unfortunate. As in the case of other major languages, so for Tuḷu too, it was Christian missionary zeal that was responsible for the revitalization of Tuḷu. After the publication of the Tuḷu translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew (1842), Brigel wrote the *Grammar of the Tuḷu Language* (1872) in English, which to this day continues to be the only reference book in Tuḷu for students of linguistics. In 1886, Manner published his *Tuḷu-English Dictionary*. Except for Tuḷu translations of certain other Christian religious works and some of the old quasi-historical narratives called Paddanas, there is very little by way of Tuḷu Literature. It is a matter for regret that the famous *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson does not even take notice of Tuḷu. There was a short-lived renaissance move for the advancement of Tuḷu language and literature in the twenties of the present century, which was responsible for the compilation and publication of the old folk-songs and the quasi-historical *Pāddanas* and *Sandis*. Translations and a few original compositions began to appear. National songs and propaganda songs (for prohibition, encouragement of Swadeshi goods and unity and independence of the country) and a goodly number of social dramas were attempted. A grammar of Tuḷu language under the caption *Tuḷu Vyākaraṇa* (1932) was prepared and published by that indefatigable scholar, the late S. V. Paṇiyāḍi, who was primarily responsible for the starting of the Tuḷu Nad Press and the publication of twelve works in the Tuḷu language. But this enthusiasm did not last long and creative work in Tuḷu suffered a set-back.

The Paddanas mentioned earlier are usually inspiring tales of the life and vicissitudes of Tuḷuva heroes. *Koti-Chennaya*, a beautiful heroic legend written in Kannada by the late Panje Mangesha Rao, is based on the material from one of the Tuḷu *Paddanas*, which has assumed religious importance and is celebrated as 'Baidyera Nema', an indigenous quasi-religious dance also called 'Būṭada Kola'. Butada Kola or Nema is a periodical quasi-religious dance performed by professional dancers (usually called *nalikketakulu* or *pambader*) dressed in weird costumes with appropriate make-up, taking the role of diverse Butas: most common among

them are Gulige, Kallurti, Raktasvari, Malaraye, Kalkuda, Nayer, Panjurli, Annappe, and Dumavati. Some of the Butas are males and others females. Almost all of them represent some (legendary) hero or heroine and the entire dance-story is based on a *Paddana* which is a legend woven round a particular character.

Even a cursory study of their vocabulary reveals that the Tuḷuvus have been a highly civilized community from the earliest times. The primitive indigenous Tuḷu words, many of them adaptations of old Kannada words, present to us a vivid picture of the simple life of the ancient Tuḷuvus.

The Tuḷuvus had their homes (il) and property (nela). The farmers (okkel) knew tilling (maṇ okku) and agriculture (gēyme). They had cattle (kaykanji). There was a master (uḷḷāya). Perhaps they worshipped a female deity (uḷḷālti). They enjoyed a regulated family life after marriage (maḍime) and were blessed with relatives (bodaynaikula) such as father (appe), mother (amme), son (mage), daughter (magaḷ), elder brother (aṇṇe), younger brother (megiye), elder sister (akke), younger sister (megdi or tangati). They were acquainted with agricultural operations consisting of the plough (nayer), ploughing (adappuṇi), seed (bittu), manure (gobbaro), tank (kedu), transplanting (neji nāṭi), weeds (kaḷe), oxen (ēru), crop or field (kēy), growth (buḷe), rice (ari), etc.

They knew about iron (karbo), knife (katti), silver (boḷḷi), maro (timber).

They were familiar with reading (ōduṇi), writing, (barepuṇi) and arithmetic (eṇṇuṇi).

They had good knowledge about the measurement of time and the seasons, moon and month (tingoḷ), sun and time (portu), today (ini), yesterday (kode), tomorrow (yelle), day after to-morrow (muraṇi), rainy season (mariyaḷa), summer (aregaḷo) etc.

Most of the famous Kannada writers of Tuḷunādu from the earliest times have been proud of their Tuḷu origin. We find the famous Jaina poet Ratnākaravarṇi saying in the course of his prefatory verses that the Tuḷuvus should exclaim his *magnum opus*, *Bharatēsa Vaibhava* as a work *par excellence*. “Yena porly andendu Tuḷuvaru maiyubbi kēḷabēkaṇṇa”. According to him Tuḷuvus were great critics. In many of the Kannada writings of the Tuḷu poets we find the Tuḷu genius expressing itself in the several descriptions and idioms. Perhaps it was the influence of Tuḷu folk-songs that weighed with Ratnākaravarṇi in adopting the folk-metre ‘Sāngatya’ for his great epic.

In return, Tuḷu has also benefitted in certain modes of literary composition. Many Yakshagāna plays have been translated from Kannada into

Tuḷu and the Yakshagāna art and literature developed in it. Of late, the Kannada theatre has been exercising a healthy influence on the Tuḷu theatre too.

Thus we see that there has been mutual goodwill between the two communities, Kannada and Tuḷu, from the hoary past and each has influenced the other without affecting the individuality of either.

APPENDIX IX

A SATAVAHANA SETTLEMENT RECENTLY DISCOVERED

BY DR. M. SESHADRI

Recently a settlement of the Sātavāhanas came to light at Sannati, 25 miles from Chitapur, Gulbarga District, as a result of explorations carried out by Dr. Seshadri and his staff of the Department of Archaeology.

Interesting finds from the overground survey of the place are pieces of rouletted ware, crystal and carnelian beads, imitation Samian ware, shell bangles and typical Sātavāhana tile pieces.

A large number of reliefs belonging to Buddhist monuments are recovered at the site. The Chandralamba Temple at this place attracts a large number of pilgrims. Originally dedicated to Durga, it may go back to 8th-9th century A. D. Within the precincts of this temple are found a number of relief slabs which covered the dome of the Buddhist stupas that flourished during the period of the rule of the Sātavāhanas. One of them, though broken in the middle, depicts the birth of the Buddha. Another at the foot of the neem tree just outside the temple is a large slab with the throne, the footprints and the Bōdhi tree. Also a number of reliefs have been used as steps for the bathing ghat near the temple.

There was a circular building adjoining the Bheema river, which adds to the picturesqueness of the place. The villagers have completely rifled the building and only the circular basement now remains. The super-structure is entirely gone. It is quite evident that dressed limestone in mortar formed the

dome in regular ashlar style instead of brick. The circular basement has still *in situ* some reliefs (Aṇḍa slabs). One of them is remarkable for its galloping buffalo and a winged horse. Some of the reliefs, portions of Āyaka pillars, and other architectural members of this building have been all piled up in erecting a roofless structure to house the figure of Mahishasuramardini in the same field, barely fifty yards from this ruined monument.

Two Āyaka pillars with Prākṛit inscriptions, probably belonging to the same monument adjoining the river, were found lying in the fields. In a few cases, the top portion of the Āyaka pillars contain beautifully sculptured panels. The presence of the Āyaka pillars at Sannati would indicate a similarity with the Buddhist monuments of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati in Andhra. They were generally put up at the four cardinal points and were five in number, symbolizing the five chief events in the life of the Buddha: Janana (Nativity), Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa (Renunciation), Samyaksambōdhi (Enlightenment), Dharmachakra-pravartana (First Sermon) and Mahāparinirvāṇa (Death).

The reliefs which are typically Sātavāhana open up a new chapter in the art history of Karnataka. They range in time from the first century B. C. to the third century A. D. on the basis of stylistic evidence. The palaeography of the inscriptions which use the Prākṛit language corroborate this date assigned to these reliefs.

They depict simply and elegantly domestic scenes in which men and women, belonging particularly to the rich and princely classes, relax with the wine cup flanked by chāmara-bearers. Occasionally, Mithunas also occur. The head-dress of the men, the coiffure of the women, coupled with heavy girdles at the waist and ornaments on the ear, wristlets and anklets remind us of Mathura and early Amarāvati. The heaviness of the breasts and the figures in general, would also testify to their early character. Unfortunately, many of the reliefs are in fragments.

It is interesting to note that some of the slabs are inscribed. These inscriptions are under study. They reveal the names of donors who contributed these panels and other ornamental pieces to cover the Buddhist buildings. One among such donors was the householder Susala.

There are two huge mounds near the village. They are dome-like and hemispherical and may contain within their bowels Buddhist stupas. The excavation of these mounds may throw considerable light on the plan and the architecture of the Buddhist buildings and also on the history of Buddhism in Karnataka.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Neolithic axes from
T-Narsipur, Mysore Dt.

Fig. 2. General view of river pebble bed, Ghataprabha





Fig. 4. Ghataprabha pebble bed. Many palaeolithic implements are made of pebbles. Obviously they were made on the spot.



Fig. 3. Buddhist Mound, Sannati, Gulbarga District.



Fig. 5. T.N. 22. General view of excavation.

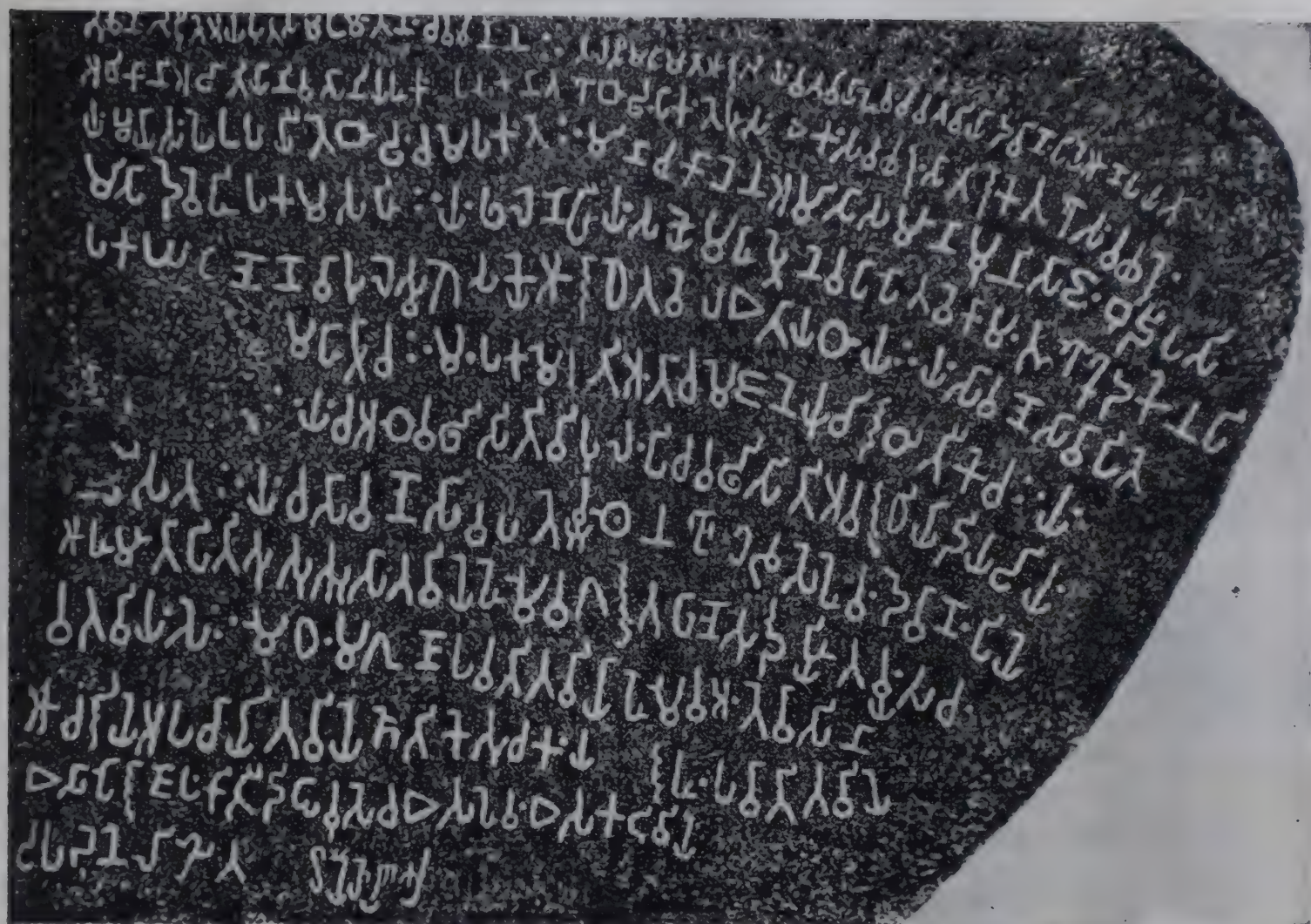


Fig. 6. Asokan Inscription, Brahmagiri

Fig. 7. Mound.
Banavasi



Fig. 8. Jog Falls. The
Sharavati river falling ver-
tically down to about 830
feet



Fig. 9. Sannati. Ayaka
Pillar, with relief depict-
ing a domestic scene.





Fig. 10. Nativity of the Buddha. Covering slab of a Stupa at Sannati

Fig. 11. The Talagunda
Pillar Inscription — 5th
century.





Fig. 12. Halmidi Inscription — 5th century



Fig. 13. Chalukyan Ardhanariswara, Mahakuteswara — 6th century

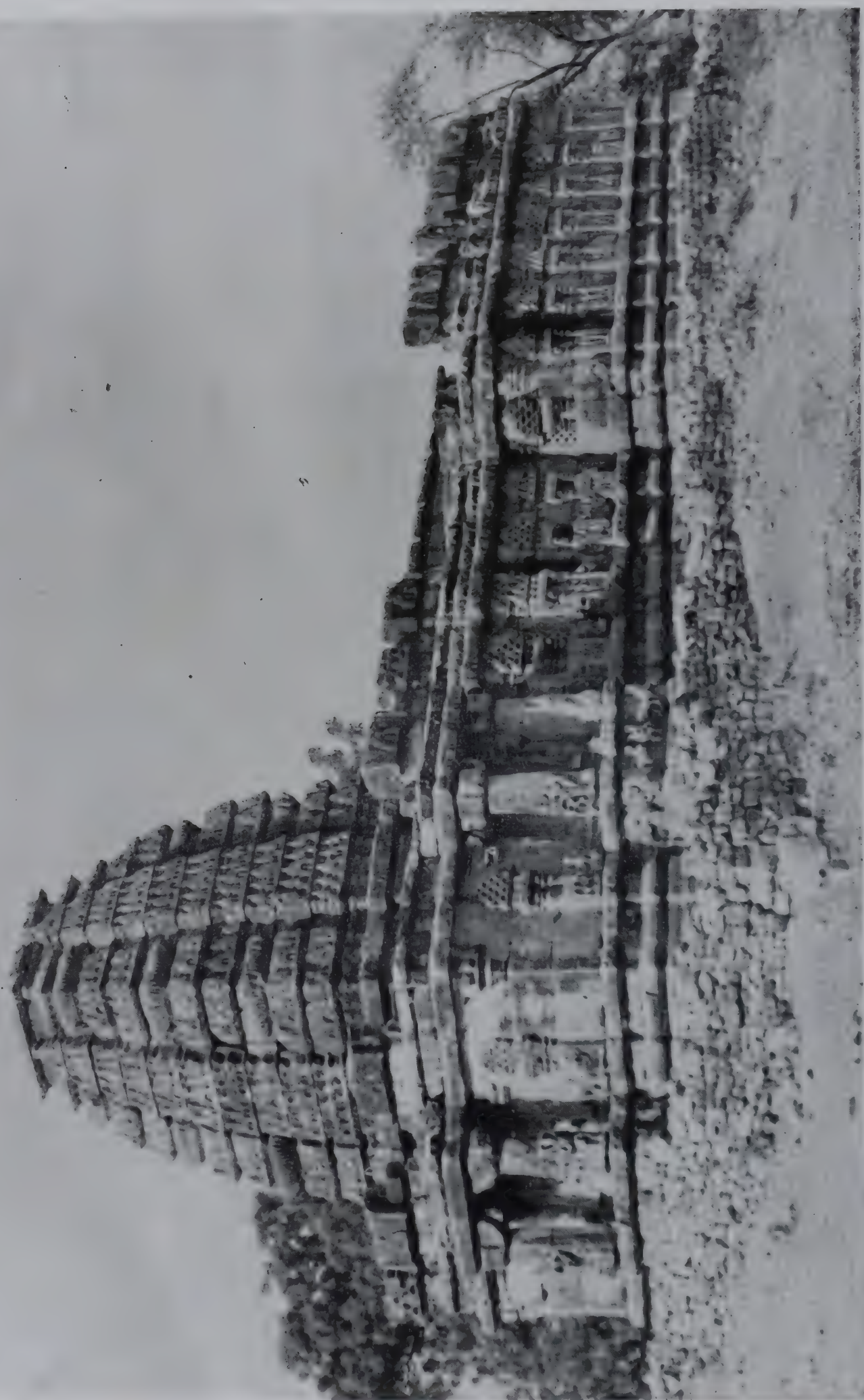


Fig. 14. Papanatha Temple, Pattadakal



Fig. 15. Lokamahadevi or Virupaksha Temple, Pattadakal



Fig. 16. Durga Temple, Aihole



Fig. 17. Naga, Badami



Fig. 18. Ladkhan Temple,
Aihole, Bijapur District

Fig. 19. Vishnu seated, Badami Cave 3

Fig. 20. Trivikrama, Badami Cave 3





Fig. 21. From a painting in the Badami Cave

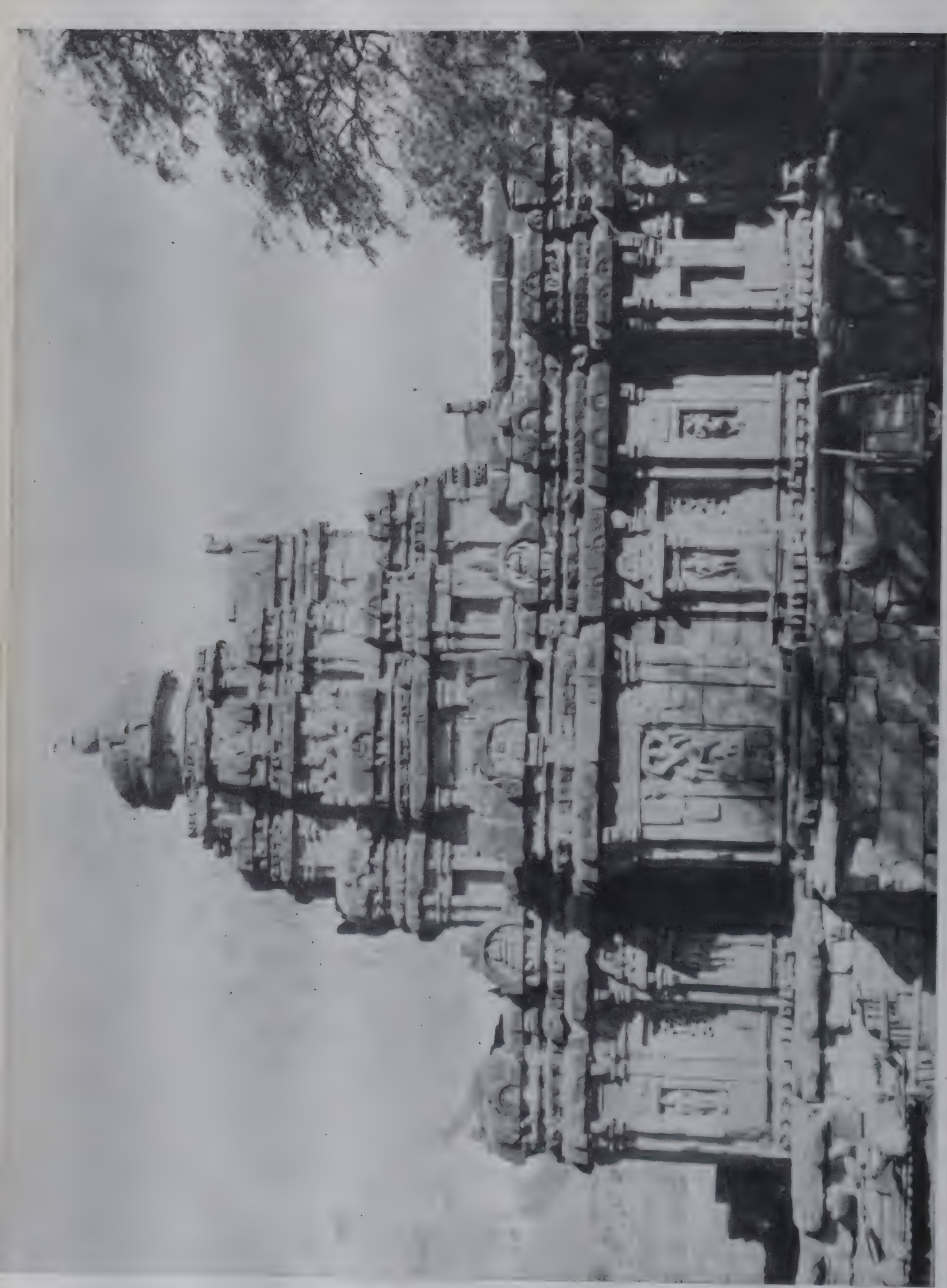


Fig. 22. Temple of Mallikarjuna, Pattadakal



Fig. 23. Harihareswara Temple, Harihat



Fig. 24. 18-handed Nataraja, Badami



Fig. 25. Siva-Tandava on a ceiling, Aralaguppe (Tumkur District)

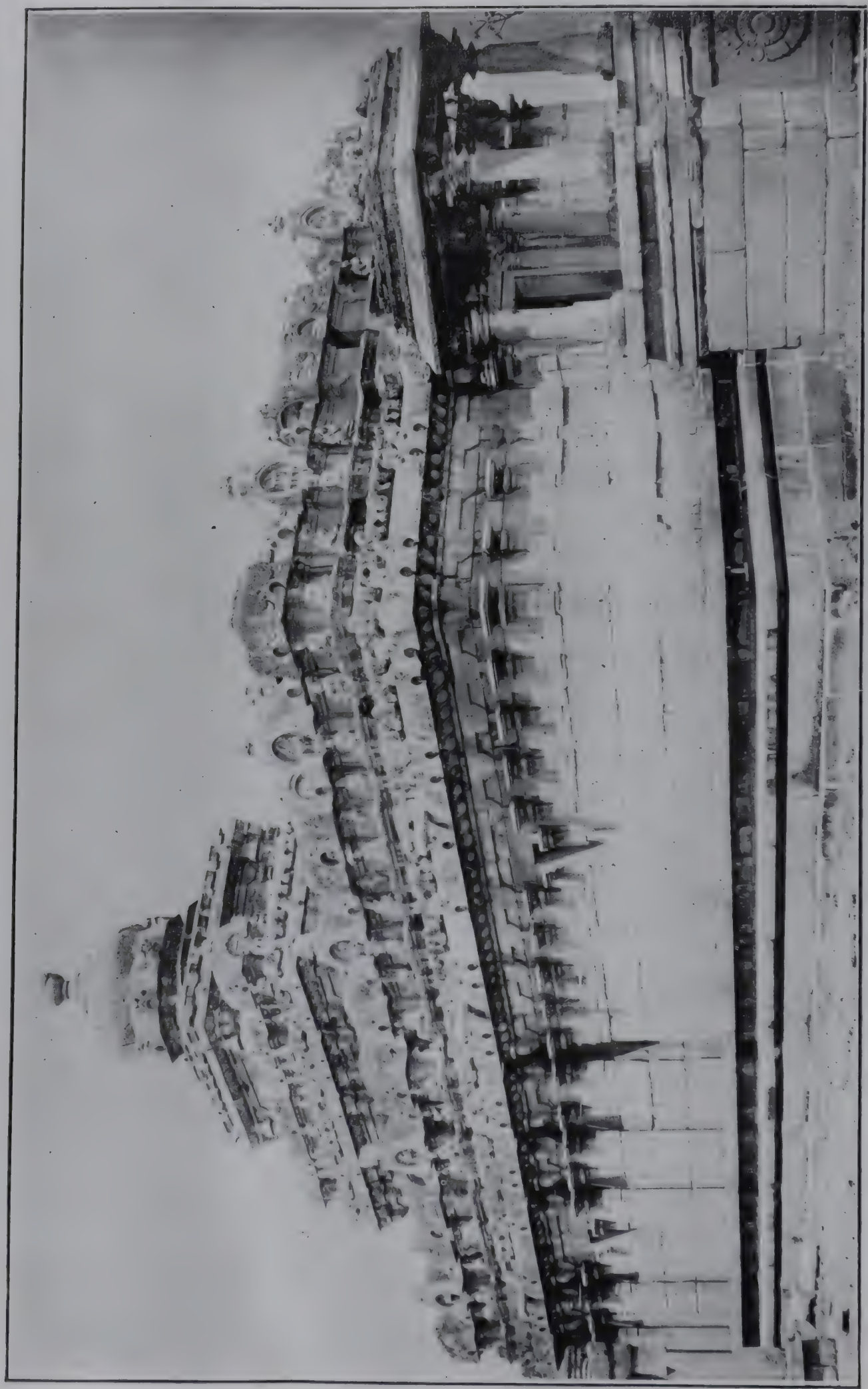


Fig. 26. Chavundaraya Basti, Sravanabelagola



Fig. 27. Lakulisa



Fig. 28. Colossal statue of Gommateswara,
Sravanabelagola.

Fig. 29. A Poet's auto-
graph, Sravanabelagola
(Sri Kavi Ratna)





Fig. 30. Western Ganga gold coins

Fig. 31. Panchakuta Basti, Kambadahalli (Hassan District)





Fig. 32. Gullakayajji, Sravanabelagola



Fig. 33. A veeragal from Hiregundagal, depicting a fight between the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas.



34. A Veeragal from Hire-madhure



35. A close-up of the face of Gommateswara, Sravanabelagola



36. Inscribed metallic image of the Ganga Period. From Jain Matha, Sravanabelagola

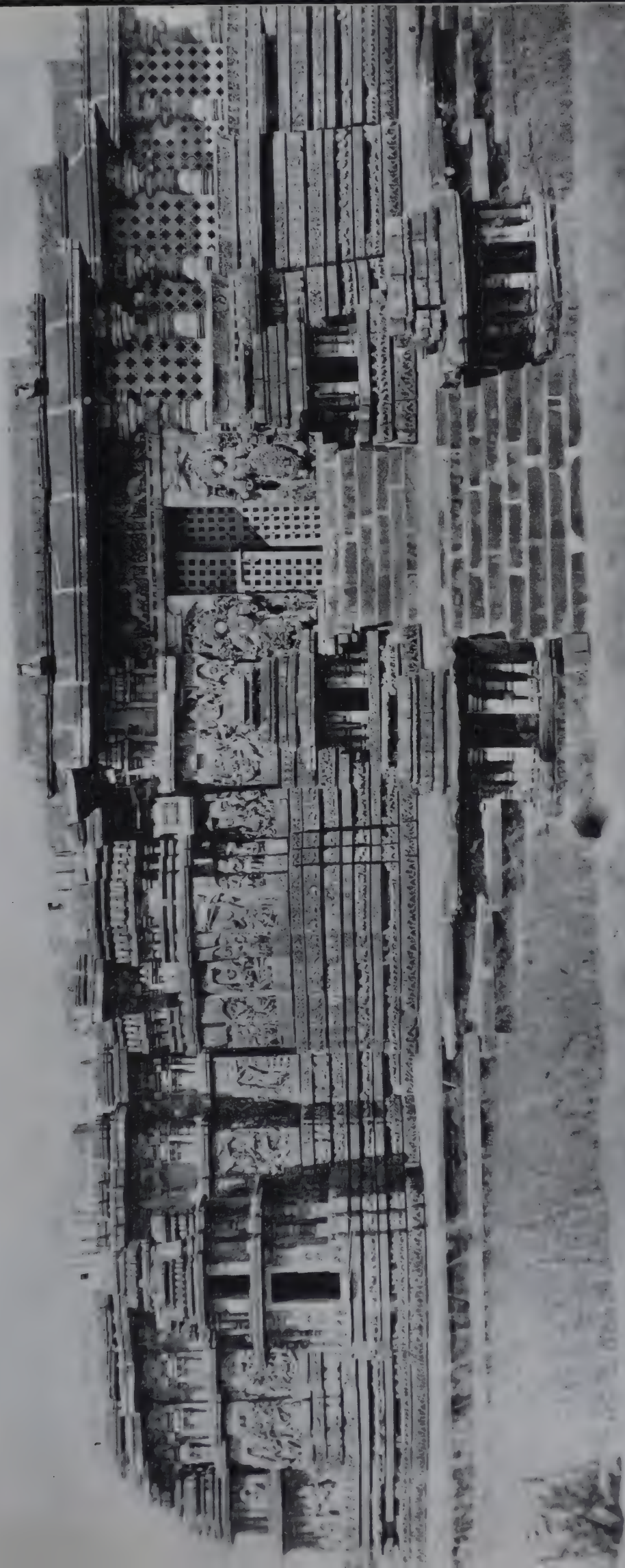


37. Depicting the death of Neetimarga — Doddahundi

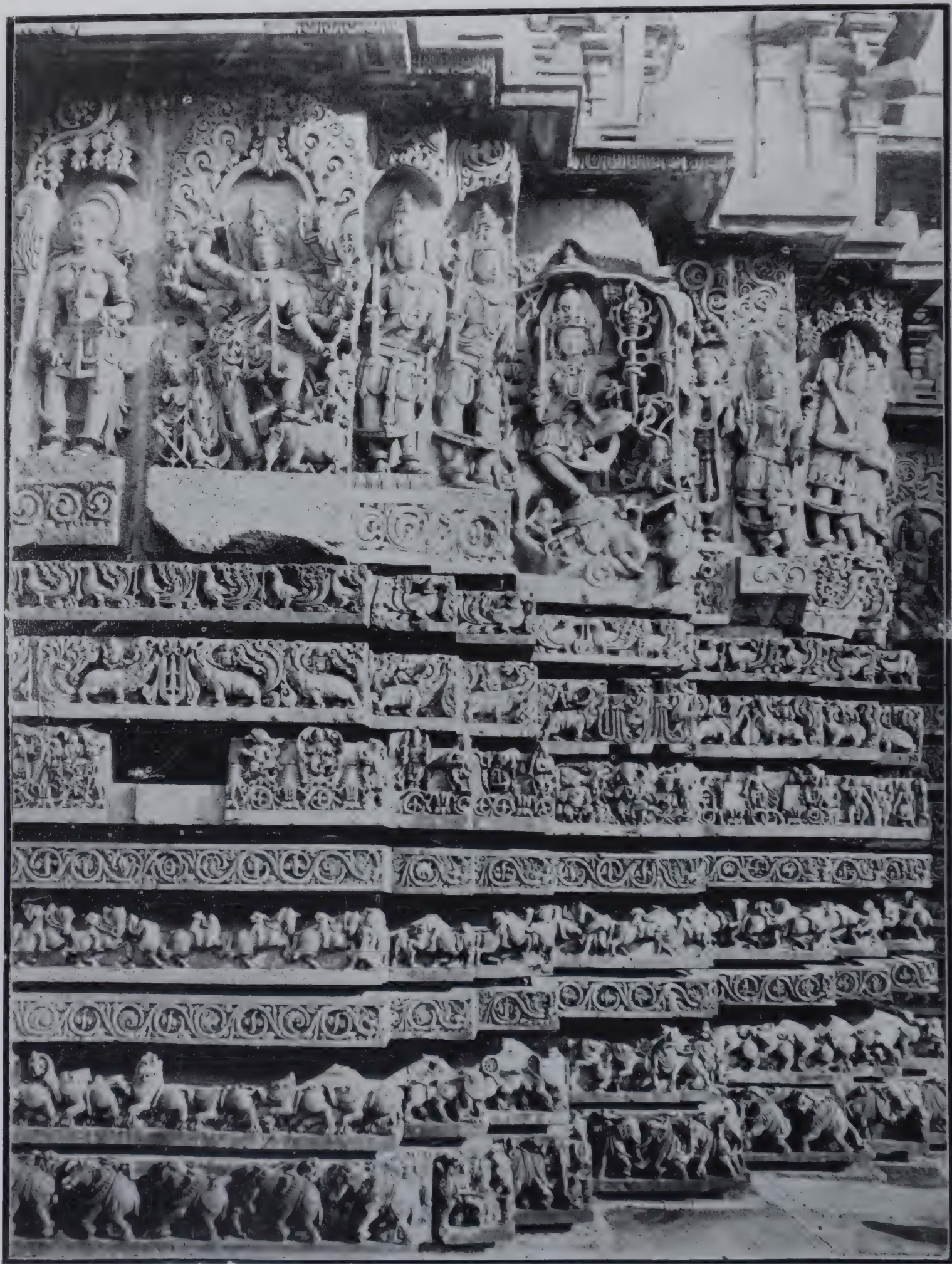
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39. Dancing Indra — Bhandari Basadi, Sravanabelagola



10. General view of the Hoysaleswara Temple, Halebid



41. Wall details and friezes, Hoysaleswara Temple, Halebid



42. Wall details, Hoysalesvara Temple, Halebid



43. Episode from Yakshagana — Halebid



14. Bracket figure: Lady with parrot,
Chennakesava Temple (1117 A.D.), Belur



45. Lady with mirror,
Chennakesava Temple, Belur

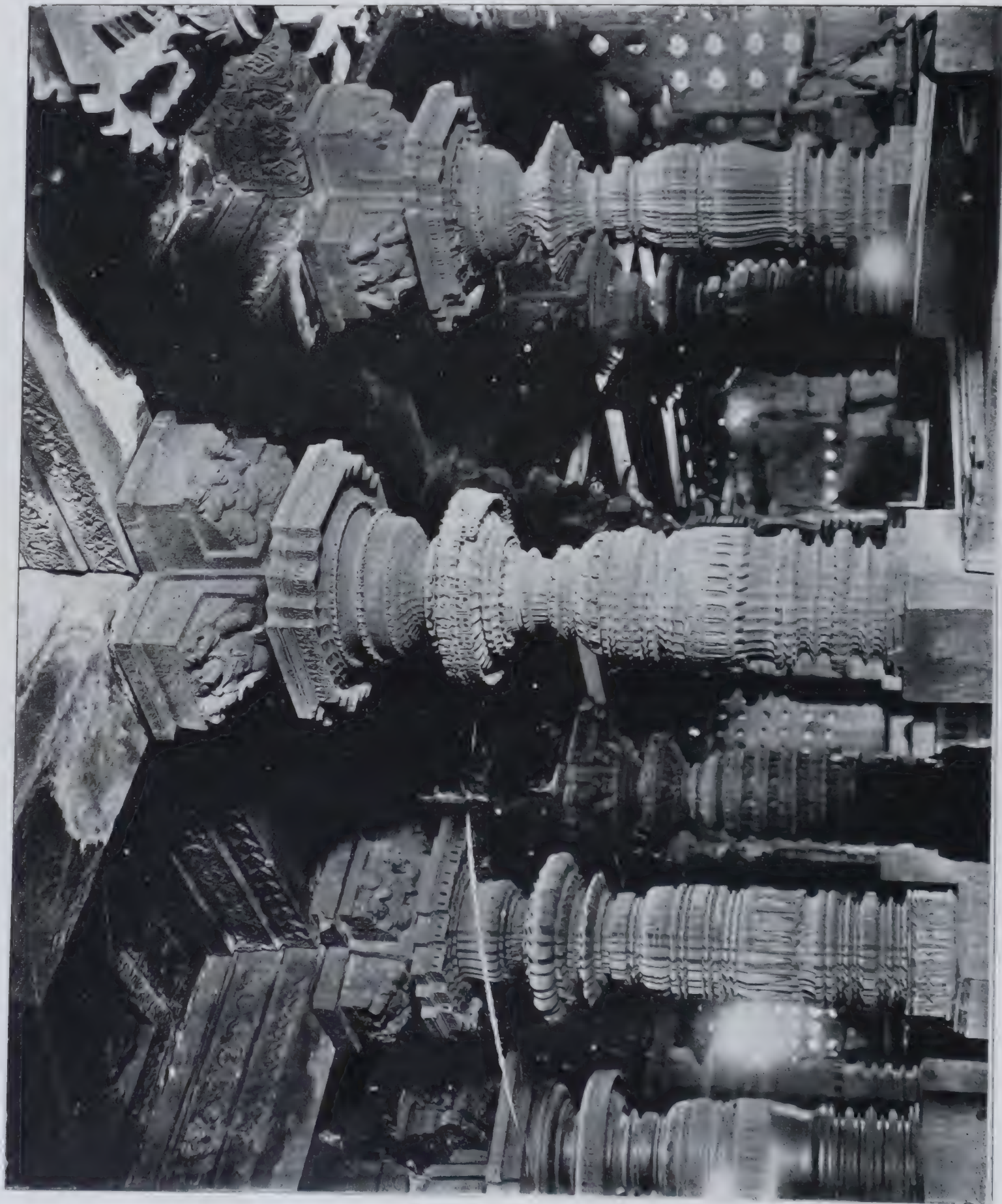
47. Lady at her toilet,
Chennakesava Temple, Belur

16. Lady in a dancing pose,
Chennakesava Temple, Belur





18. Bracket figure from the Navaranga of the Chennakesava Temple, Belur, with the name of the sculptor Chavana on the pedestal.



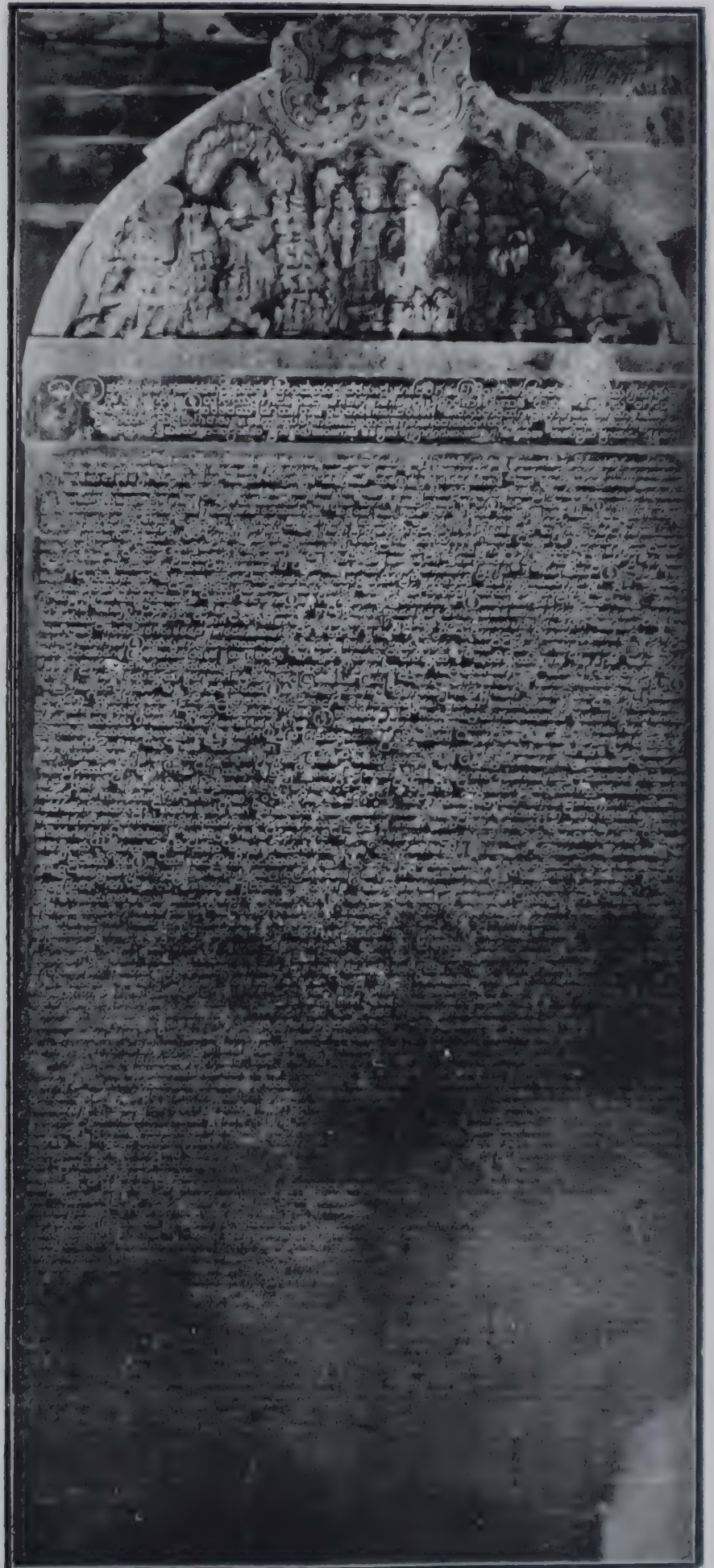
19. Navaranga Pillars, Chennakesava Temple, Belur



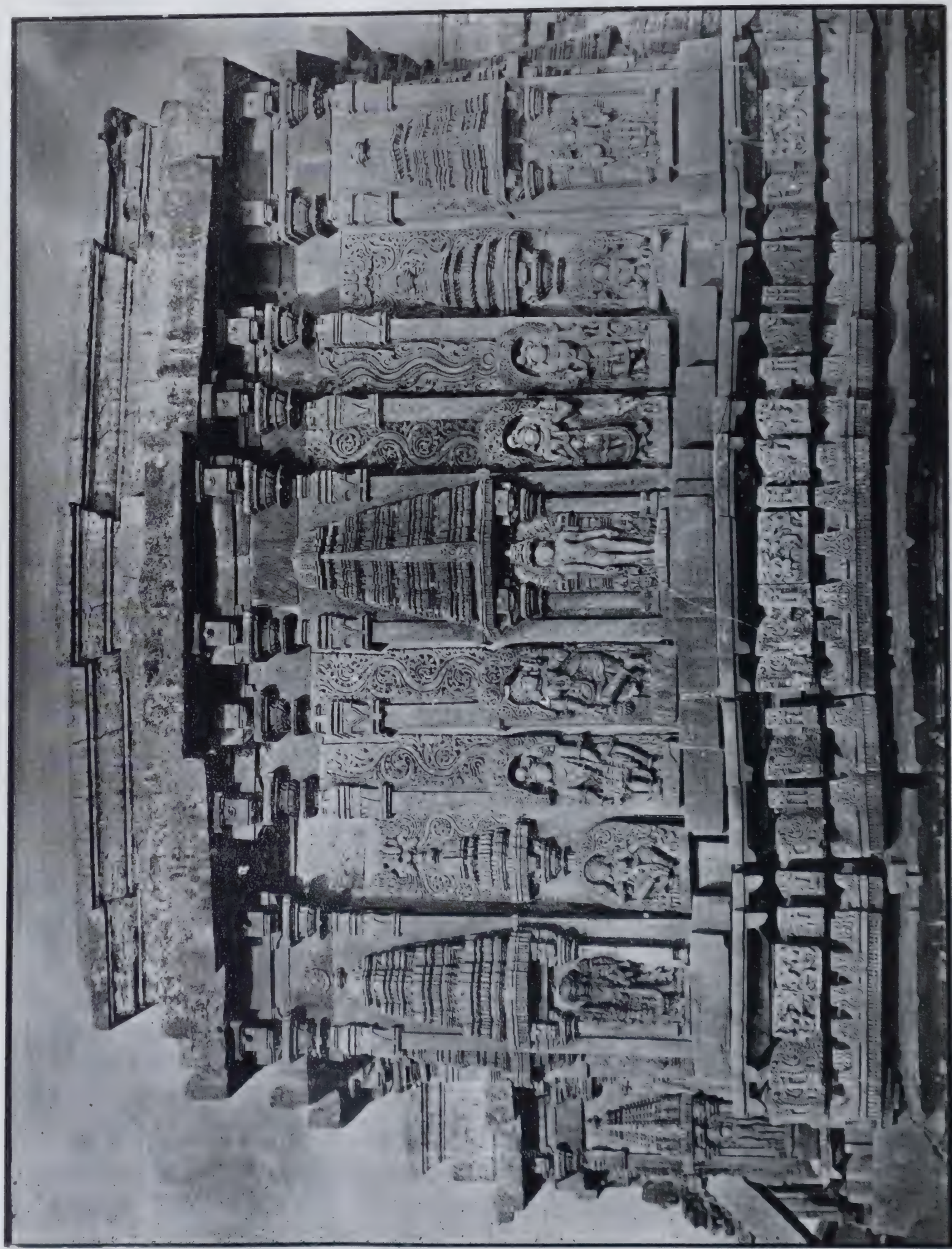
50. Central ceiling, with Narasimha in miniature form.
Chennakesava Temple, Belur



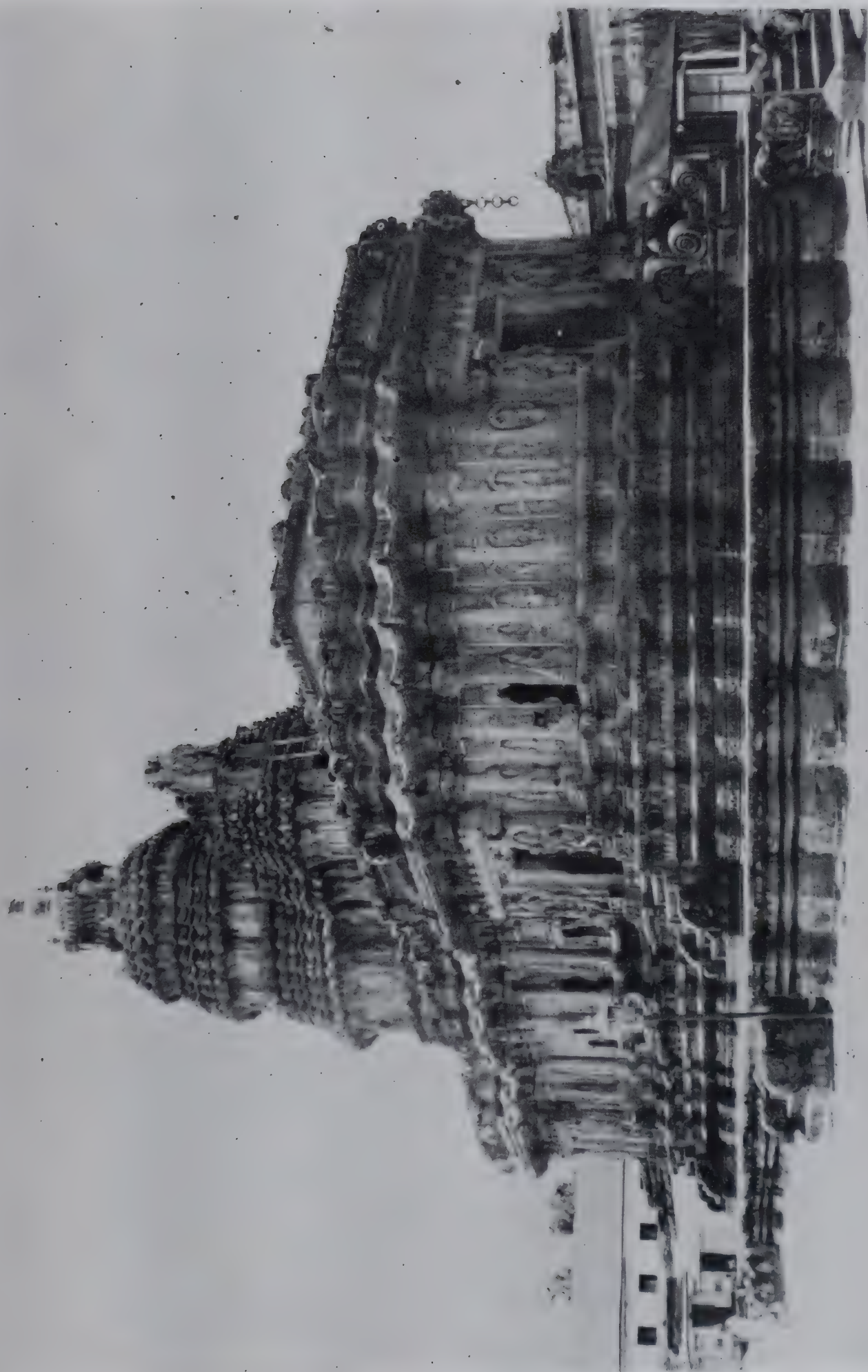
51. Kesava Temple, Somanathapur



52. A Hoysala Inscription stone.
Kesava Temple, Somanathapur



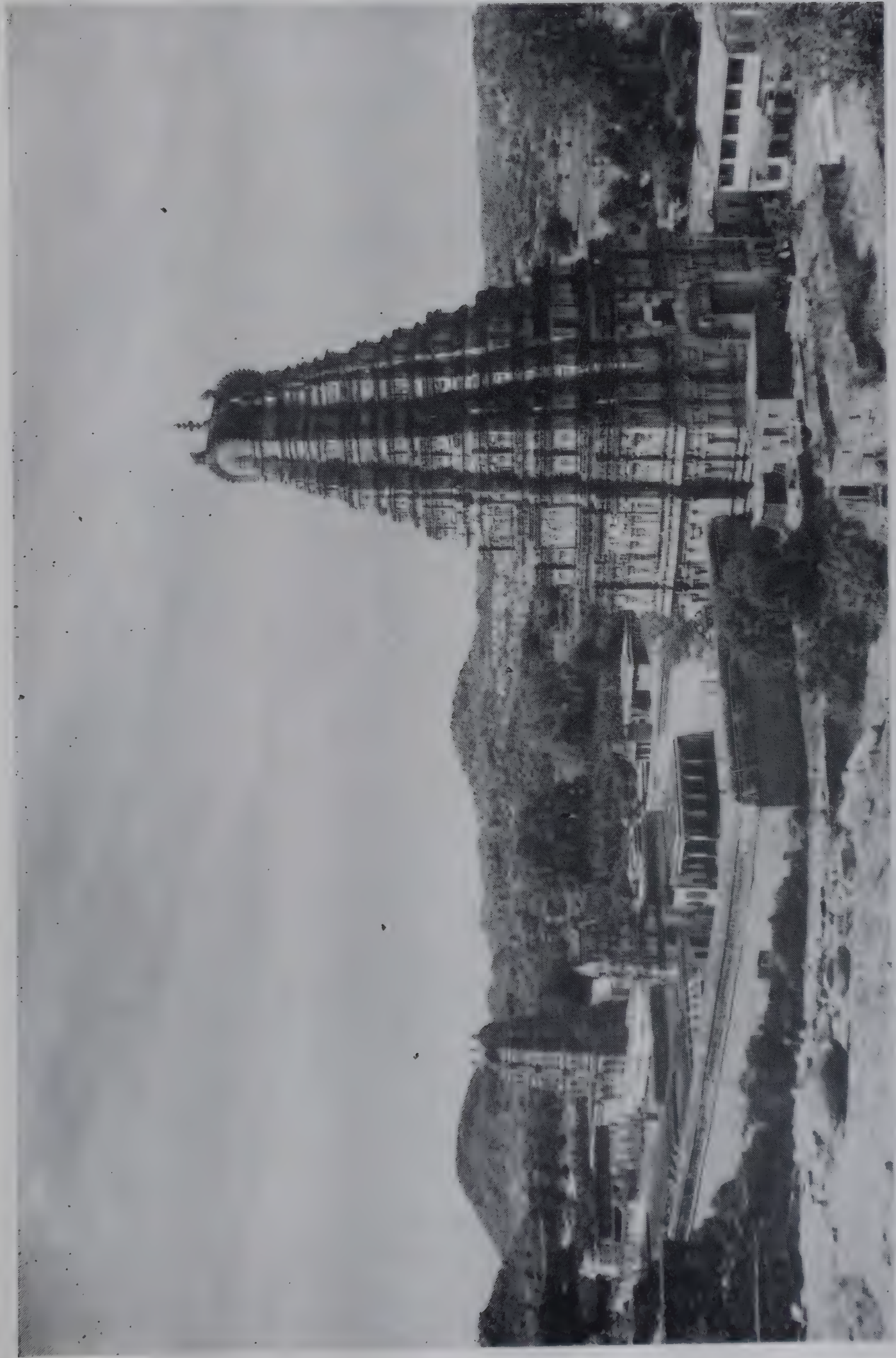
53. Wall details from the Santinatha Jaina Basadi, Jinanathapura (Hassan District)



54. Vidyasankara Temple, Sringeri



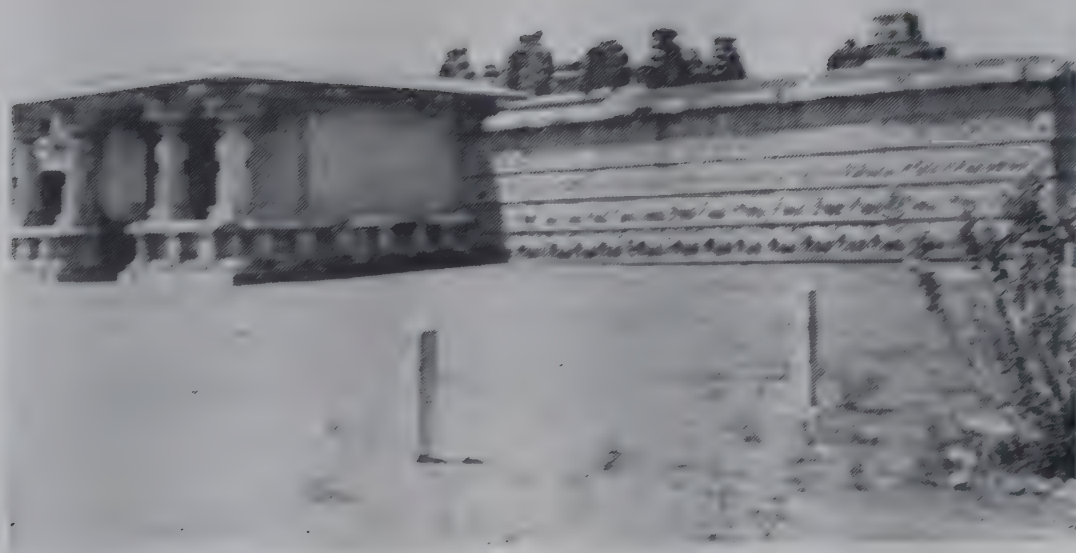
55. Temples on the Hemakuta Hill, with the Virupaksha Temple, Hampi



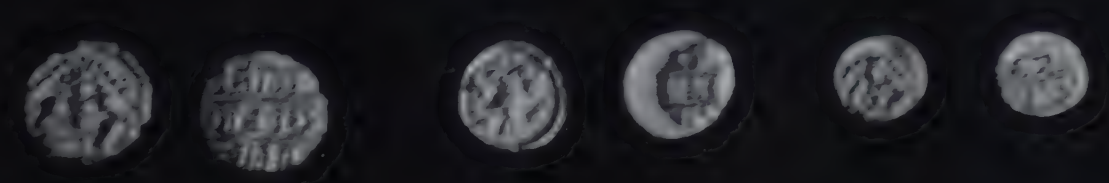
56. A panoramic view of the Virupaksha Temple, Hampi



57. Vitthalaswami Temple, Hampi



58. Hazara Ramaswami Temple, with bas-relief on the outer wall



59. Gold coins of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutadevaraya, Sorab Hoard



60. Lotus Mahal, Hampi



61. The Royal Crest of the Vijayanagara Kingdom



62. Mutilated figure of Narasimha, Hampi



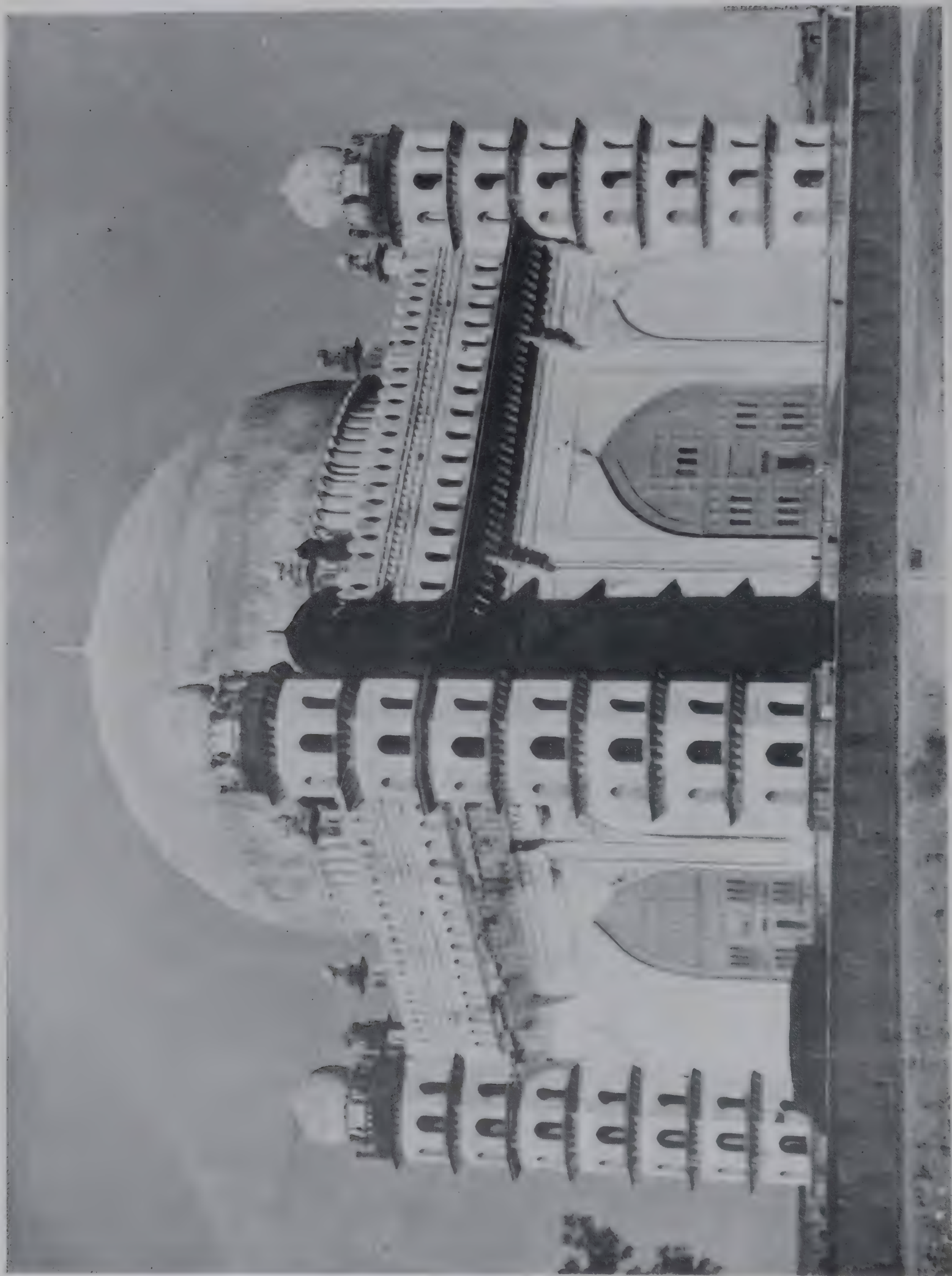
63. Vijayanagar coins



64. Mahomed Gawan's College, Bidar



65. Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur



66. Gol Gumbaz, Bijapur



67. Venkataramanaswami Temple, built
by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, Fort,
Bangalore City

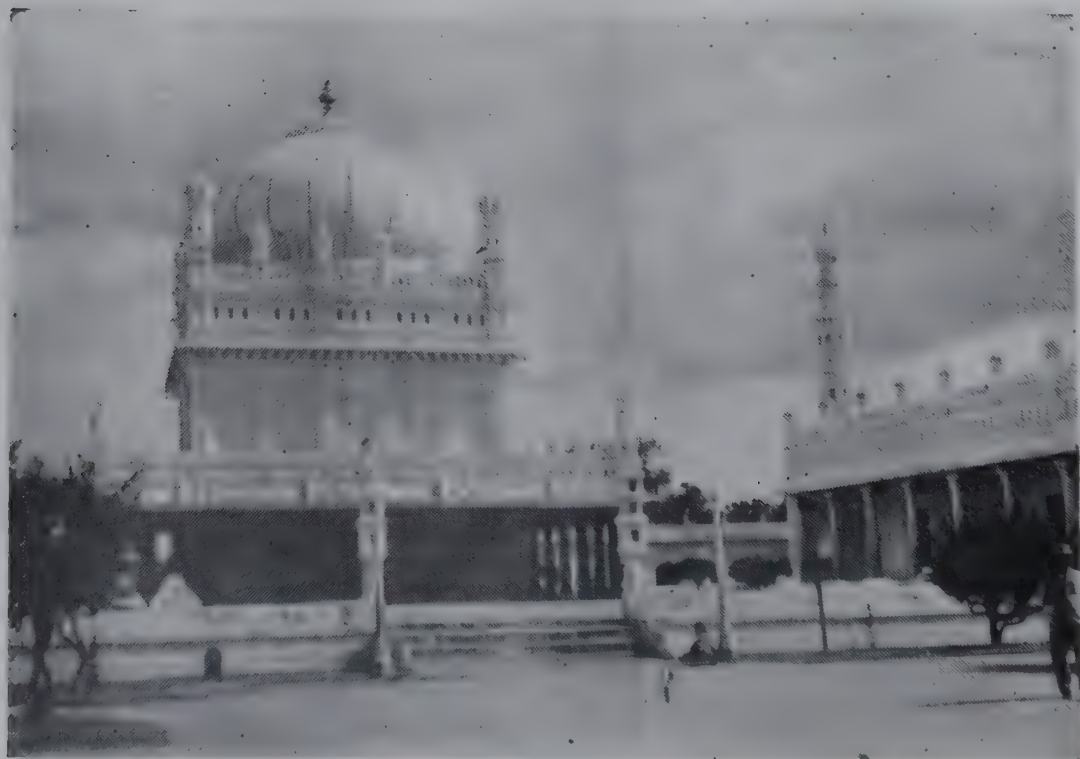
68. Daria Daulat (Summer Palace) of
Tipu Sultan, Srirangapattana





69. Webb's Monument, Nandi Hills
(Kolar District)

70. Gumbaz (Tombs of Haidar and Tipu),
Srirangapattana





71. Monuments on the Chitradurga Hill



72. Manjunatha Temple, Dharmasthala,
South Kanara District

73. Equestrian statue of Chamaraja
Wodeyar X, Lalbagh, Bangalore City





74. Maharaja's Palace, Mysore

75. Sri Krishna Temple, Udipi, with the Temple Cars

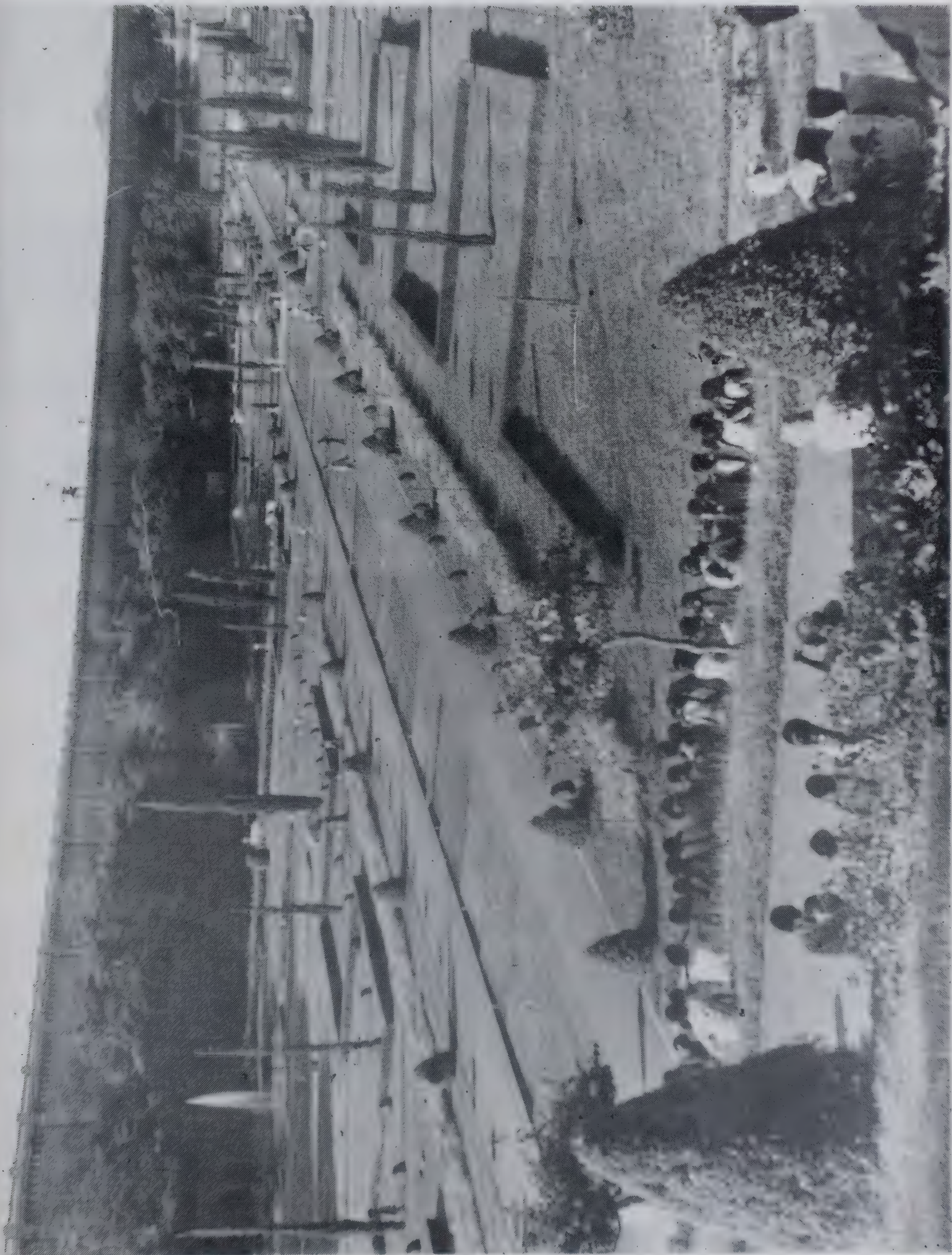




76. The Oriental Research Institute, Mysore

77. Khedda Operations





78. Brindavan Gardens and the Krishnarajasagar Dam, Mysore



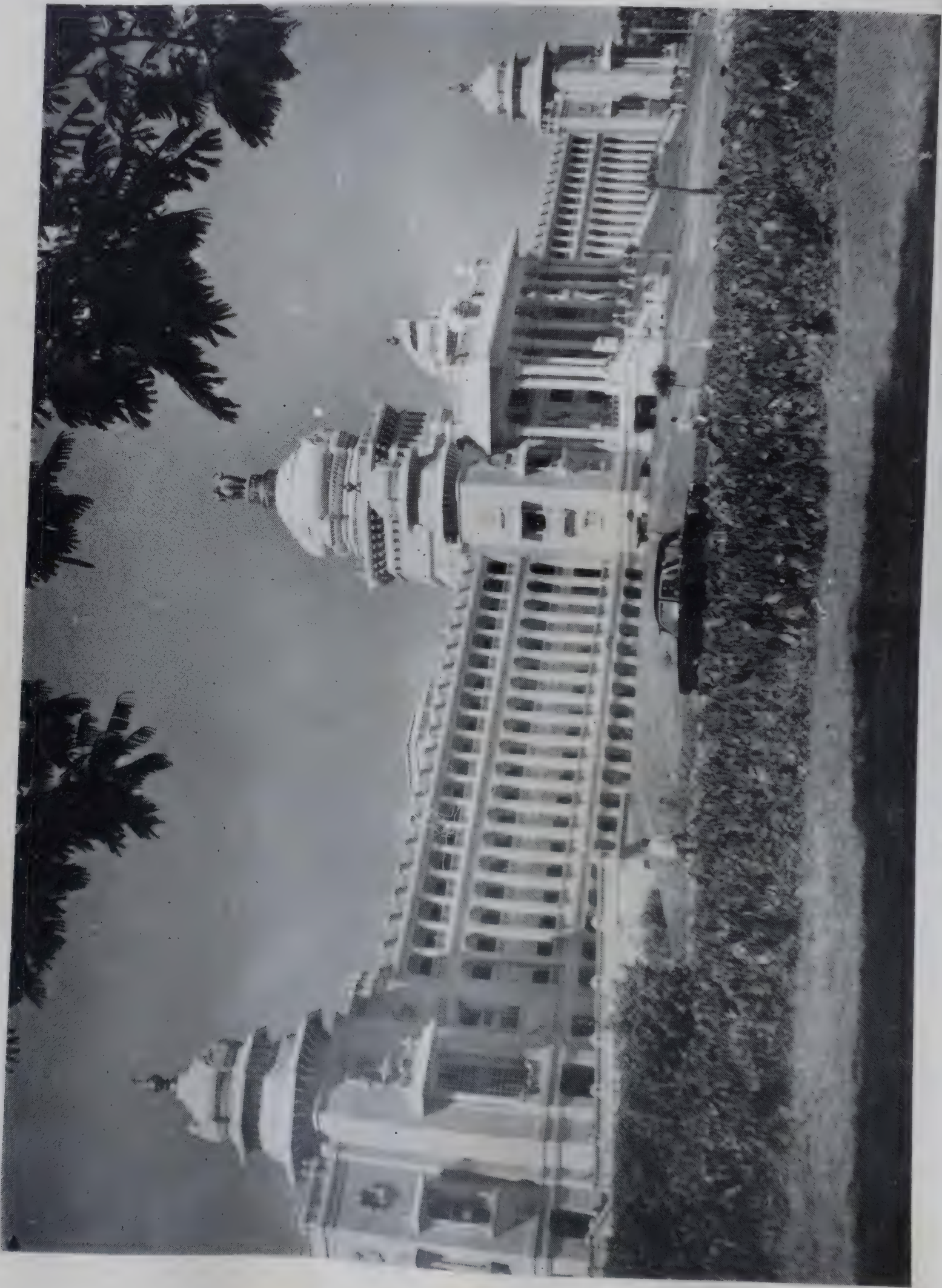
79. St. Philomena's Church, Mysore

80. Karnataka University, Dharwar





81. Tungabhadra Dam, Hospet



82. Vidhanasoudha (The Secretariat) Bangalore

GLOSSARY

A

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Abhinaya : | Gesture : the art of conveying meaning and feeling through hand-poses and facial expression in Indian Dance. |
| Abhishēka : | Anointing ceremony of the King ; bath given to idol of the deity with water, milk, honey etc. |
| Āchārya : | Preceptor : founder of a philosophic system. |
| Achit : | Non-spirit. |
| Achkaṭ : | Extent of land capable of being irrigated by a tank or other water source. |
| Adhikāri : | A government officer |
| Adikaraṇa : | A section into which a body of Sūtras (brief aphoristic statements) are divided. |
| Āgama : | Scripture : a sacred work dealing with the worship of Śiva or Śakti (Goddess). |
| Agnichayana : | A ritual to prepare the sacrificial fire-place used for sacrifice to the gods. |
| Agrahāra : | A settlement of learned Brahmins, held in tenure on favourable terms. |
| Alankāra : | Decoration ; a figure of speech ; also used to denote an exercise in the learning of music. |
| Ālap or Ālāpana : | A simple form of musical progression improvised without words to bring out a rāga or melody form. |
| Alaripu : | A preliminary dance sequence to effect the blossoming of the limbs. |
| Amildar : | A revenue officer in charge of a taluk, also called Tāhsildar. |
| Amśa : | A part ; an aspect ; having attributes in part. |
| Amūrta : | Formless ; not being represented in the form of an image. |
| Ankita : | A pen name or <i>nom-de-plume</i> , usually at the end of a musical composition : it was usually bestowed on a disciple by his teacher. |
| Anuṣṭubh : | A Sanskrit verse-form of four lines, with 8 syllables in each line, or 32 syllables in all. |
| Apabhramśa : | Prākṛit language of the later period. |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Archa : | An image or replica into which God is invoked and worshipped. |
| Arhat (or Arhanta) : | Religious guide : the perfected man among the Jainas. |
| Ashṭadikpālas : | The divinities in charge of the 8 directions. |
| Āśrama : | A hermitage or forest retreat ; the four stages of man's life, brahmachari (student), grihasta (householder), vānaprastha (retired life or a recluse), and sannyāsi (one who has renounced worldly life). |
| Aśvamēdha : | Horse sacrifice performed by an Emperor : a decorated horse was first sent out with escort to neighbouring and even distant countries to proclaim the Emperor's suzerainty, before the sacrifice was performed. |
| Āśvāsa : | A Canto or Chapter of a poetical work. |
| Ati-bhanga : | A term used in dancing to denote a multi-bending pose. |
| Avanga (or Abhanga) : | Used in dancing or sculpture to denote a straight stance, with no bends. |
| Āvaraṇa : | A covering ; that which obscures. |
| Avidya : | Nescience ; false knowledge. |
| Avyakta : | Unmanifest. |

B

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Bāgāyat : | Garden land. |
| Bahusuvarṇa : | A sacrifice in which much gold is distributed as gifts. |
| Bakshi : | An officer in the Palace. |
| Bandha : | Ingenious arrangement of a Sanskrit stanza in a particular shape. |
| Bārābalūti : | Twelve village functionaries : headman, accountant, astrologer, watchman, guard, water-regulator, washerman, barber, potter, blacksmith, carpenter and goldsmith : these got shares of grain at harvesting time ; the system by which such distribution was made. |
| Basadi or Basti : | A Jaina temple or monastery. |
| Baṭāyi : | Equal distribution of produce between Government and the cultivator. |
| Bayalāṭa : | An open-air folk-drama. |

GLOSSARY

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|-------------------|---|
| Beeja-mantra : | A sacred word for constant repetition given by the teacher to a disciple at the time of initiation. |
| Bhagavān : | An epithet of God. |
| Bhāgavatara-āṭa : | A dramatic show dealing with Avatārs and purāṇic stories. |
| Bhajan : | Religious music ; singing the name and praise of God in unison. |
| Bhakta : | One endowed with devotion. |
| Bhakti : | Devotion to God. |
| Bhaṇḍāri : | Officer in charge of the Treasury. |
| Bhāva : | Emotion. |
| Bhāvageeta : | A lyric. |
| Bhāshya : | A Commentary. |
| Bhēda : | Difference. |
| Bhikku : | A member of the Buddhist order : a mendicant. |
| Bhōga : | Land provided for one's enjoyment. |
| Bhukti : | Land in possession and enjoyment. |
| Birudu : | Title. |
| Bova or Boyi : | Carrier of a palanquin. |
| Brahmachāri : | A student : a celibate. |
| Brahmadēya : | Rent-free gift of land to learned Brahmins. |
| Brahmapuri : | An educational settlement in a town with Brahmin teachers. |
| Brāhmi-Muhūrta : | The time before dawn believed to be most suitable for the contemplation of the Divine. |

C

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| Canteroy Pagoda : (or Kanṭheeraya Varāha) | Named after Kanṭheerava Narasarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore : a gold coin worth about Rs 3½. |
| Carbon-dating : \ | The carbon-di-oxide in the air contains a minute amount of radio-active carbon or carbon 14. This is an active isotope of ordinary carbon whose atomic weight is 12. Trees and plants absorb the carbon-di-oxide from the air ; animals eat plants or other plant-eating animals. It follows then that all living things contain a small amount of the radio-active variety of carbon. When the |

plants or animal dies it can no longer take in any more CO₂. Thus its carbon content cannot increase any more. This radio-active carbon has a half life period of about 5600 years. This means that half of any given sample of C14 disappears at the end of this period. By measuring the proportion of C14 actually present in any ancient object an archaeologist can calculate its age.

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|--------------------------|--|
| Cutcherry (or Kacheri) : | A revenue or other administrative office. |
| Chaitya or Chetiya : | A Buddhist Prayer-Hall. |
| Chāmara : | A whisk : a fan made of yak tail used in temple service. |
| Champu : | A literary composition in high-flown style containing verse interspersed with prose. |
| Chamūpati : | Commander of an army. |
| Charaṇas : | Stanzas in a musical composition. |
| Chattra (or Sattrā) : | A rest-house: also a place where food is distributed free. |
| Chaturanga : | The fourfold division of the army in the ancient days, consisting of chariots, elephants, horses, and infantry equipped with weapons like swords, mace, bow and arrow etc. |
| Chauri (or Chāmara) : | Whisk: an emblem of royalty. |
| Chauth : | A levy of one-fourth of produce enforced by Maratha chiefs. |
| Chert : | Flint. |
| Chit : | Consciousness |
| Chowkies : | Police outposts |

D

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| Daḷavoy : | The military chief and counsellor of Mysore kings usually a hereditary post. |
| Ḍamaruga : | A kind of drum, shaped like an hour-glass. |
| Dāna : | Gift or offering. |
| Danḍanāyaka (or Dannāyaka) : | Commander-in-chief. |
| Darśana : | System of Hindu Philosophy, of which in the classic age there were six : Nyāya, Vaiśeṣhikars, Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Pūrva Mimāṃsa and Uttara Mimāṃsa. |

GLOSSARY

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| Daśabandha : | One-tenth share or levy. |
| Daśāvatāra : | The ten incarnations of Vishnu. |
| Daya : | Compassion. |
| Deeksha : | Initiation. |
| Dēśi : | Local : Indigenous. |
| Dēvadāsis : | Women devoted to the service of temples. |
| Deva (or Dēvata) : | God : a minor deity. |
| Dēvi : | Goddess : a common suffix to the names of Hindu ladies. |
| Dewan : | Chief administrative head of a state. |
| Dharma-mahāmātras : | Officers in Mauryan polity in charge of institutions devoted to moral and spiritual activities. |
| Dhwaja-stambha : | A flag-post, particularly in front of a temple. |
| Dhvani : | Literally, sound : what is suggested or implied. |
| Dhyāna : | Meditation. |
| Digvijaya : | A triumphal march of conquest undertaken by any king. |
| Doḍḍāta : | An elaborate type of folk-drama, played in the open, with dance and music. |
| Durbar : | A royal court : Royal audience or levee. |
| Dvārapālas : | Guards at the gate : sculptured figures on either side in front of a Hindu shrine. |

E

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| Ēka-danḍi : | A religious order whose members carried a single staff. |
| Ēkādaśi : | Eleventh day of the fortnight in the lunar month (after full moon or new moon) dedicated to fasting and prayer among Vaishnava sects. |

G

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| Gachcha : | An order of Jaina monks. |
| Gādi : | Throne : a seat of eminence. |
| Gadyāṇa : | A gold coin in ancient days (about 90 grains in weight). |

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| Gajahasta : | A hand-pose in dancing, to resemble an elephant's trunk. |
| Gamaka : | The art of the musical reading of poems : tonal variation in music. |
| Gaṇa : | An assembly : group of syllables in verse-composition ; an order of Jaina monks. |
| Gandharva : | A celestial being, given to singing. |
| Gānja : | Indian hemp. |
| Garbhagṛiha : | The inner shrine of a temple. |
| Garuḍa : | The Divine Eagle, the vehicle of Vishnu. |
| Gāvunḍa : (or Gauḍa, Gowḍa) | Village headman. |
| Geeta : | Song : a shortened form of <i>Bhagavad Geeta</i> . |
| Ghaṭika : (or Ghaṭikā-sthāna) | Literally, a measure of time of 24 minutes: A place of higher learning. |
| Gōpura : | A tower, usually over the entrance in South Indian temples. |
| Gōtra : | The family origin, usually traced back to a Rishi. |
| Gōshṭi : | Literally, a group ; used of a group of reciters or singers. |
| Grāma : | Village : used in music for a group of essential notes. |
| Grāmakūta : | Village Assembly. |
| Gṛihya-sutra : | Aphoristic sayings laying down the ritualistic observances for house-holders. |
| Guḍigar : | Carver in sandalwood or ivory |
| Guṇa : | Quality : according to Sāṅkhya Philosophy, Prakṛiti (Nature) consists of three qualities (or strands), Sattva, Rājasa and Tāmasa. |
| Guru : | Teacher. |
| Guru-parampara : | The lineal succession of teachers. |

H

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| Hari : | God : A name of Vishnu. |
| Harikatha : | A musical discourse, popular in South India. |
| Hōma : | A Vedic sacrifice in which oblations are offered into fire. |
| Heggade : | A chief ; chief of a village. |

GLOSSARY

Hobli : Sub-division of a Taluk, comprising several villages.

I

Iśvara : Personal God.
Itihāsa : The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* : a traditional or legendary history.
lagati : Platform or plinth

J

Jāgir : Rent-free lands or villages granted for services rendered to Government.
Jangama : Literally, one who is on the move : a Lingayat priest.
Japa : Repetition of God's name.
Jaṭāmakuṭa : Having a crown of matted hair.
Jāvāḷi : A light musical composition, usually erotic in sentiment.
Jayasthambha : A Pillar of Victory.
Jijnāsa : Enquiry : profound study.
Jyōtisha : Astronomy or Astrology.

K

Kalā : Art : any practical art among the 64 which are listed in classical works.
Kalaśa : Fineal : rounded ornamental pinnacle on the top of a temple tower, shaped like a water-pot.
Kalpa : Age : a day of Brahma of 1000 yugas, corresponding to 432 million years of mortals : one of the six Vedāngas laying down rules for sacrificial observances.
Kalpalata : A creeper of Indra's paradise, supposed to grant all wishes.

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| Kamaṇḍala : | A vessel, often with a spout, for carrying water used by sanyāsins. |
| Kanda : | A form of verse of 4 lines, in Kannada. |
| Kāpālika : | A Śaiva sect given to severe austerities. |
| Karaṇa : | Literally, doing or making; an instrument or means of action; sense-organ. |
| Karaṇika : | Accountant. |
| Kārika : | Verses of an expository nature on grammatical or philosophical subjects. |
| Kātantra : | Name of a grammar by Sarvaśarman based on the sūtras composed by Bhagavat Kumāra. |
| Kaumara : | A student of Kumāra's grammar |
| Kāvya : | A poetical composition. |
| Keertana : | A song in praise of God: a verse-composition, containing stanzas and a refrain, same as Kṛiti. |
| Kēvalin : | A perfected soul, among the Jainas. |
| Khaṇḍaṇi : | A tax levied by the Maratha Government. |
| Kinnara : | A mythical being with a human figure and the head of a horse. |
| Kinnari : | A stringed musical instrument. |
| Koḍugi : | Gift (usually of land) |
| Kolāṭa : | Stick-dance. |
| Koppa or Koppal : | A village |
| Kramapāṭha : | Exercise in memorising the Vedic texts, leaving at each time one word and taking up another. |
| Kṛiti : | Same as Keertana: a musical composition in praise of God. |

L

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| Lakṣhaṇa : | Characteristic quality: used for a standard form, in music. |
| Lakṣhya : | Literally, aim: used for the model to illustrate a particular definition in music. |
| Lānchhana : | Emblem: Coat of Arms. |
| Laukika : | Secular: belonging to this world. |
| Laya : | Dissolution: in music, the uniformity of the duration of each time-unit or mātra. |
| Leela : | Play: sport; the Divine play. |
| Lēkhaka : | A writer (of documents). |

GLOSSARY

Linga : Mark : a rounded piece of stone symbolizing Siva, used as an object of worship.

M

Madanakai-vigraha : A bracket figure in sculpture standing on the top of a pillar, usually slanting and supporting the roof.

Madarasa : A primary school of Muslim learning.

Mahajanas : Assembly of village elders.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara : Provincial Governor

Mahānubhāva : A great man ; literally, one of vast experience.

Mahānavami : A festival observed on the 9th day of the 7th lunar month for the worship of arms.

Mahāpasāyita : Master of Robes in a royal palace.

Makara : Alligator or crocodile ; the idealized form used for decoration in sculpture.

Makara-kunḍala : An ear pendant, with the makara design.

Makara-tōraṇa : Ornamental doorway with the makara design on the top.

Malnad (or Malenad) : Hilly country in the western part of Mysore.

Manana : Pondering over great truths to fix them in one's mind.

Mānastambha : An ornamental stone pillar erected in front of a Jaina temple.

Maṇḍala : A Province, being a sub-division of a kingdom.

Māṇḍalika : A Provincial Governor.

Mansabdar : A military feudal chief.

Maṇṭapa : A pavilion, standing on stone pillars.

Mantra : Incantation : sacred letter, utterance of which is believed to have mystic power.

Mānya : Land enjoyed rent-free, given to honour a person.

Mārgi : Used in music to denote a classical style, as opposed to Dēśī, the indigenous folk variety.

Māstikal : A stone erected in honour of a woman who has performed sati : mahāsati-kal.

Maṭha : A monastery : place of residence of the head of a religious order.

Mātrāgaṇa : Metrical foot in poetry counted on the number of syllables, short counted as one, and long as two syllables.

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| Mattar : | A land measure, probably of about 5 acres. |
| Māvanta : | An elephant-driver. |
| Māya : | Illusion : Divine power. |
| Mēla : | A fair : A gathering, usually associated with the celebration of a temple festival. |
| Mīmāmsa : | Literally, logical inquiry : usually connotes a system of Indian philosophy founded by Jaimini, concerned with the interpretation of Vedic ritual ; also known as Pūrva Mīmāmsa or Karma Mīmāmsa. |
| Munsif : | A subordinate judicial officer. |

N

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|-------------|--|
| Nāḍu : | A province or region. |
| Nāda : | Sound. |
| Naivēdya : | Food offering to the deity, later partaken by the devotees. |
| Nāma : | Name : an appellation. |
| Navaranga : | The middle hall of a temple. |
| Nāyaka : | A chief. |
| Nibandha : | A literary treatise or composition. |
| Nirūpa : | An order. |
| Nyāsa : | Giving up : placing or putting down : assignment of various parts of the body to different deities accompanied with prayers. |
| Nyāya : | System of logic : Gautama was the classical codifier of the Nyāya Sūtras. |

O

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|---------------|--|
| Octroi : | Customs duty, usually levied by municipalities. |
| Okkalu : | Farmers. |
| Om (or Aum) : | The most sacred syllable of the Veda symbolizing the Supreme Spirit, consisting of the three letters, A, U, and M. |

P

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|--------------------|---|
| Pāduka : | Sandals, usually made of wood. |
| Pagoda : | A temple : a gold coin in mediaeval times (also called varāha) of the value of about Rs 3½. |
| Panchabāb : | Literally, five items,—on which customs duties were levied, viz., toddy, liquor, gānja (opium), tobacco and betel-leaves. |
| Pancha Mahāśabda : | The sound of five instruments in honour of a dignitary : horn, drum, conch, bheri (big drum) and gong (jayaghaṇṭe) |
| Pancha Pradhāna : | Five Ministers of the King. |
| Pasāyata : | A chamberlain in the royal palace in charge of robes. |
| Paṭēl : | Village head. |
| Patra : | A document or letter. |
| Paṭṭaṇa ṣeṭṭi : | The chief of a trade-guild in a town. |
| Paṭṭaṇaswāmi : | Mayor : head of a town assembly. |
| p. H : | A number which is a quantitative expression of the degree of acidity or alkalinity of a fluid. Roughly the limits of the scale are 0 in the acid direction and 14 in the alkaline direction. Neutral water has 7 as its pH. |
| Prabandham : | A narration or discourse ; a literary composition. |
| Prabhāt-pheri : | A procession going round in the early morning singing devotional or patriotic songs. |
| Pramāṇa : | A mode of proof or arriving at correct knowledge ; an authoritative sacred text. |
| Pramēya | The topic to be tested or examined. |
| Praṇava | The sacred syllable 'aum'. |
| Prapatti : | Self-surrender to god. |
| Praśasti : | A title : a panegyric written in praise, in prose or verse. |
| Prasthāna-traya : | The Triple Canon of Vedānta : The <i>Upanishads</i> , The <i>Brahma Sūtras</i> and the <i>Bhagavad Geeta</i> . |
| Pramāṇa : | A line of ancestors, usually Rishis to whom one traces one's spiritual lineage. |
| Prāyaścitta : | Expiation : ceremony or other act performed to wash off one's sins, |
| Puṇḍra : | A sectarian vertical mark made with sandal (usually) on the body by the Vaishnavas. |
| Pura : | A fortified town. |
| Prabhākara : | A teacher of Mīmāṃsa philosophy associated with Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. |

R

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| Rāga : | A melody type in Indian music ; attachment. |
| Ragaḷe : | A kind of blank verse in Kannada. |
| Rājasika : | Active : partaking of the quality of Rājasa, characterized by restlessness and vigour. |
| Rājasūya : | A royal sacrifice performed by a paramount ruler. |
| Rajjuka : | A rope-measurer : an overseer. |
| Ranga-mantapa : | A pavilion used as a stage for a dramatic show. |
| Rasa : | Aesthetic enjoyment. |
| Rishi : | A Seer of Truth : a pure soul to whom the Vedas were revealed. |
| Rūvāri : | Sculptor. |

S

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| Sādhana : | Striving in the path of spiritual progress. |
| Sāligrāma : | A piece of black stone with special marks used as an object of worship by Vaishnavas. |
| Sallēkhana : | Fasting unto death to obtain liberation, practised by the Jains. |
| Samādhi : | A tomb, usually of a religious teachers, also called 'Vrindāvana' ; the final stage of yoga characterized by absorption with the Absolute. |
| Sāmanta : | A Governor or Chief who is subordinate to the King. |
| Samaya : | Religion : faith ; philosophy. |
| Samsāra : | Worldly life : the cycle of births and deaths to which the soul is subject. |
| Samskāra : | Observances intended to purify a person : inherent tendencies. |
| Sandhivigrahi | A Minister for War and Peace. |
| Sandhya : | Prayers at the time of sunrise and sunset. |
| Sāngatya : | A form of Kannada verse in four-lined stanzas. |
| Sangha : | Assembly of Buddhist monks. |
| Sanghārāma : | A place of residence of Buddhist monks. |
| Sāṅkhya : | A system of philosophy founded by Kapila. See 'Darśana'. |

GLOSSARY

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| Sante : | A weekly fair in a village, to serve a group of villages. |
| Sanyāsa : | Renunciation : the fourth stage of a person's life when he renounces worldly life and devotes himself of God-realization. |
| Sapta-mātrikas | The seven Divine mothers said to attend on Śiva, but usually on Skanda ; they are : Brāhmi, Māhēśvari, Kaumāri, Vaishṇavi, Māhendri, Vārāhi and Chāmunda. |
| Sarvādhikāri : | One enjoying absolute power. |
| Sāsana | An ordinance ; An inscription on copper or stone ; a religious text. |
| Sat : | Truth : that which exists. |
| Sati : | Custom of wife immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre : a lady who follows her husband in death. |
| Sattra | A place for study where food is provided free. |
| Sāttvik | Pertaining to Sattva, the highest of the guṇas (qualities) characterized by light and knowledge. |
| Sāyar, : | Transit duties : miscellaneous revenue. |
| Senabōva : | Accountant. |
| Sēnādhipati : | Commander-in-chief. |
| Shanbhogue : | Village accountant. |
| Siddhānta : | Doctrine ; ultimate conclusion in a philosophical argument. |
| Siddha : | A perfected being. |
| Siddhāya : | Quit-rent. |
| Siddhi : | High spiritual attainment ; the possession of supernatural powers. |
| Śikhara : | Top : the ornamental top of a tower. |
| Śilpa : | Science of sculpture ; a piece of sculpture. |
| Śīme : | A region ; a political sub-division of a province. |
| Smṛiti : | Remembrance ; the body of traditional law, civil and religious as codified by law-givers. |
| Snātaka : | One who has finished his Vedic studies. |
| Srauta : | Relating to Śruti or the Vedas. |
| Sravaṇa : | Intent listening, particularly to the spiritual teaching imparted by a teacher. |
| Srēṇi : | A merchant guild. |

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| Sruti : | That which is heard by Seers (Rishis) and transmitted to others : Vedic learning. In music, the basic note on drone. |
| Stūpa : | A Buddhist monument. |
| Sunka : | Customs duty. |
| Sūtra : | A brief statement ; an aphorism. |
| Swādhyāya : | Self-study. |
| Swara : | Tune : a musical note. |
| Swayamvara | Choosing a husband from among several suitors. |

T

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| Tadbhava : | A Sanskrit word adopted and modified for use in local vernaculars. |
| Tāla : | Time-measure in music. |
| Tāmasik : | Partaking of Tamas, the lowest of the three guṇas : dull : indolent. |
| Tāṇḍava : | A form of vigorous dance : the dance of Śiva at the time of the dissolution of the Universe. |
| Tantra : | Body of sacred texts relating to the worship of the Goddess as the Mother of the Universe. . |
| Tapas : | Penance or austerities. |
| Tapta-mudra : | A seal containing emblems of Vishnu heated and applied to the body of a Vaishnava as a mark of initiation into the faith. |
| Ṭeeka : | A gloss or commentary. |
| Teertha : | A place of pilgrimage : holy water. |
| Teerthankara | Perfected Being, of whom there are 24 worshipped by the Jains. |
| Ṭippaṇi : | Notes by way of explanation. |
| Tithi : | A day of the lunar fortnight. |
| Tōraṇa : | Literally, a festoon : an ornamental friezé over a doorway. |
| Tridanḍi : | A religious order carrying three staves tied together to symbolize control over thought, speech and action. |
| Trimurti : | The Trinity, Brahma (Creator), Vishnu (Preserver) and Śiva (Destroyer). |
| Triphala : | In Ayurveda, the mixture of three myrobalans powdered (aḷale kāyi, tāṛēkāyi and nellikāyi, in Kannada). |
| Triśūla : | Trident, carried by an order of Śaiva devotees. |

GLOSSARY

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| Tulābhāra : | Weighing oneself against gold, silver and other precious articles to be distributed as gifts later. |
| Tulāpurushādāna : | Gifts of precious articles weighed against a person. |
| Tyāga : | Renunciation. |

U

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| Umbaḷi : | Lands granted rent-free. |
| Upādhi | A term in Vedānta philosophy denoting the limitations imposed on the self by which one is bound to worldly life. |
| Upanayana : | Investing with the sacred thread in three strands as initiation to a life of study and religious endeavour. |
| Upāsana : | Worship : devotion. |
| Ūr : | Town. |
| Ūravar : | People belonging to the town. |

V

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| Vachana : | Sayings composed by Veeraśāiva saints and mystics characterized by pithiness and a simple, lucid style. |
| Vachana-kāra : | The composer of vachanas. |
| Vāhana : | Vehicle. |
| Vaiśya : | Trader : the third among the four Hindu castes whose occupation was agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade. |
| Vājapēya | Horse-sacrifice. |
| Varāha : | A gold coin of the Vijayanagara rulers of the value of about Rs. 3½. |
| Varṇāśramadharma : | The duties assigned to the four varṇas into which Hindu society was divided, viz., Brahmin (Priest), Kshatriya (Warrior), Vaisya (Producer of wealth through land, cattle and trade, and Sudra, the unskilled labourer ; and to the four divisions of man's life, Brahmachāri (student), Grihastha (householder), Vānaprastha (recluse) and Sanyāsi (the monk). |

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| Vēdanga : | The six subjects ancillary to Vedic studies, viz., Sikshā (proper articulation), Kalpa (ritual or ceremonial), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chandas (prosody) and Jyotisha (astronomy). |
| Vēṇa : | A stringed musical instrument. |
| Veeragal : | A hero-stone commemorating the death of a hero belonging to a village, usually containing sculptures depicting the fight and the hero going to Heaven, in panels. |
| Veerapāṇchāla : | The guild of artisans working on wood and metal. |
| Ventya : | Sub-division of a kingdom. |
| Vibhūti : | Glorious attributes : greatness and power. |
| Vihāra : | Retreat or place of residence of Buddhist monks. |
| Vikshēpa : | Throwing away or scattering : confusion or distraction. |
| Vimāna : | Tower over the central shrine ; aerial car |
| Vishaya : | A sub-division of a province. |
| Vivriti : | A commentary. |
| Vrata : | Religious observance for the securing of some boon from deities. |
| Vrinda : | Literally, a group : in music, a group of musicians performing together : orchestra. |
| Vritti : | Literally, profession : land given as a gift for meritorious services or for scholarship. |

Y

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| Yajana : | Performing sacrifice. |
| Yajna : | Sacrifice made to the gods, usually accompanied with the offering of oblations. |
| Yakshagāna : | A form of folk drama with elaborate costumes, and music and dancing, presenting mythological stories. |
| Yāli | A mythical animal used in sculpture, being a combination of an elephant and a lion. |
| Yūpastambha | The sacrificial post to which the animal for sacrifice is tied. |

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 Basavappa Nāyaka, 674, 675
 Basavappa Sastri—Asthana Vidvan, 845, 846, 850, 867
Basava Purāṇa, 621, 628, 629, 841
 Basavaraj of Chetiguppa, 910
 Basavaraja I of Keḷadi, 616
 Basavaraja—poet, 669
 Basavaraja Kattimani, 849
 Basavaraja Rajguru, 876
 Basavēśwara (Basava), 82, 292, 293, 302, 355, 369, 371, 372, 444, 447, 456, 470, 591, 621, 622, 628, 629, 630, 662, 666, 714, 735, 790, 913, 970
 Basel Mission Press, 842
 ‘Beechi’, 869
 Beera Mahendra, 140
 Beera Noḷamba, 141
Bēhara Gaṇita—by Bhaskara, 617, 693, 737
 Belaturnāḍ, 122
 Beḷavola 300—a gift to Būtuga, 134
 Bellappa Dandanāyaka, 533
 Bellary—sites of palaeolithic man near, 90,—District known as Satāvahanihara, 104
 Belliappa, 838
 Belur—capital shifted to from Dorasamudra, 393
 Belvi, D. V., 836
 Bendre, D. R. (Ambikātanaya Datta) 847, 850, 868
 Bendre, L. J., 869
 Bengaluru—mentioned in a Veeragal of about, 890, A.D., 125
 Bernier, 576
 Besant, Mrs. Annie, 792, 803, 894, 898
 Bentinck, 761
 Besnagar, 160
 Beṭageri—native place of Vattakēra, 108, 869
 Beṭageri Krishna Sharma, 848
 Beṭṭada Arasu, 691
 Beṭṭada Chamārāja Woḍeyar, 690, 692, 696
 Beynon, Rev. W., 728
 Bhadrabāhu, 99, 107, 144, 161, 461, 164, 477
Bhagavad Geeta, 158, 159, 161, 405, 427, 734, 793, 970
Bhāgavata, 160, 162, 164, 405, 471, 591, 631, 632, 744, 821, 867; Karnataka, birthplace of, 231
 Bhāgavata Dharma, 106, 158, 159
 Bhāgavatara-āṭa, 867
 Bhageeratha — grandson of Mayurasarman, 112
 Bhāgnagar (Hyderabad), 576
 Bhairadēvi of Gerusoppa, 671
 Bhairarasa of Karkaḷa, 599
 Bhairarasa dynasty, 720
 Bhairavēndra, 730
 Bhandārkar, R. G., Sir, 159
 Bharadvaj, D. K., 837
 Bharamappanāyaka, 684
 Bharasīvas, 152
 Bharata—son of Aditeerthankara, 111
 Bharata—of Nāṭya Śāstra, 655, 658
Bhāratēśa Vaibhava, 624, 660, 731, 732
 ‘Bhārati,’ Kannada daily, Ed. Navaratna Krishnaswami, 833
 Bhārati Nanja, 735
 Bhāratiṭpriya, 851
 Bhāratiṭtirtha, 532, 609, 636, 646
 Bhāravi, 119, 120, 138, 186, 190, 191, 192, 228
 Bharukachcha—‘Barygaza’ of the *Periplus* (Broach), 103
 Bhāsarvajna—commentator of *Gaṇakārika*, 154
 Bhāskara, 588
 Bhāskarakavi—author of *Jeevandhara Charite*, 164, 625
 Bhāskarāchārya—the mathematician, 403
 Bhaskara Rao or Baba Saheb of Nargund, 755
 Bhāshyāchāri, (Editor), 831
 Bhashyam Thirumalāchār (Editor), 831
 Bhaṭṭakalanka, 80, 187, 735

- Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, 365, 857
 Bhaṭṭāraka Lakuliśa, 154
 Bhaṭṭōji Dikshita, 745
 Bhavabhūti, 151, 154, 258
 Bheemāchārya of Chimmalgi, 896
 Bheemādēvi—Queen of Dēvarāya I, 600
 Bheemādēvi—Queen of Dēvarāya II, 542
 Bheemakavi, 628
 Bheema Rao Mundargi, 755
 Bheemēśa Viṭhala, 872
 Bheemsen—the historian, 575
 Bhillama II, 270, 271
 „ III, 272, 273
 „ V, 402
 Bhimrao, 908
 Bhimarao Bevoor, 896, 917
 Bhimsen Joshi, 875
 Bhimsen Rao Desai of Banakal, 910
 Bhōganandeeśvara Temple, 133, 141
 Bhoganātha 636, 638, 639, 644
 Bhōja of Dhārā, 272, 315, 544
 Bhujabala Sāntara, 323
 Bhujabali—Jaina author, 107
 „ —Jaina teacher, 476
 Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmeśvara II of Kalyāṇa Chalukyas) 142, 176
 Bhuvanēśvari—shrine at Hampi, 650
 Bhūvikrama (Ganga King), 120, 131
 Bibi Nāchchiyar, 422
 Bichitranand Patnaik, 941
 Biḍāram Krishnappa, 873, 874
 Bijapur District—palcolithic sites, 90
 Bijjala 290, 291, 292, 294, 305, 371, 518
 Bijjaḷanāyaka—a great minister, 518
 Bilhaṇa, 198, 274, 275, 378, 375, 376, 377
 Bindāchārya Burli, 929
 Bindu Rao—Editor, 835
 Bindusāra, 99, 100
 Biranaik of Hichgad, 921
 Bishop Cherbonour, 840
 Bishop Johannas, 725
 Bolara Babu Rao, 849
 Bommālādēvi 521, 524
 Bommarasa, 627, 634
 Bommayya Naik of Bole 921
 Bommayya Naik of Surva 921
 Bōpadeva, 405
 Boppadeva—Changāḷva King, 407
 Brahma Chaitanya 799
 Brahmagiri—site of Chalcolithic and Neolithic man, 93; Asokan inscriptions at, 70, 77, 100, 110, 171, 194, 413
 Brahmagiri—birthplace of Kaveri, 97
 Brahmasiva, 370
Brahma Sūtras, 160, 161, 646, 648, 793, 970
 Brāhmi—Daughter of Rishabhadeva, invented Kannada Alphabet, 183
 Braithwaite, Col., 702, 703, 708
 Brajendranatha Seal, Sir, 780
 Brigel, J. Rev., 85
 Briggs, Col., 763, 764
Brihatkathā—of Guṇādhyā, 110, 120, 144, 152, 367—Sanskrit version by Durvineeta, 186, 190
 Buchanan, Robert, 70, 799, 803
 „ Francis, 795
 Būchirāja—well-versed in Kannada and Sanskrit, 467
 Buddha, 107, 114, 157, 160 174; Buddhism, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114, 145, 161, 164, 175—spread in India 172;—Karnataka, 174, Buddhist Sanghas, 106, 171;—sects 107; taken back into the Hindu fold, 106
Buddhacharita by Aśvaghōsha, 150, 191
 Buddhasvāmin, 110
 Buddhavarsha—brother of Pulikēśi II, 201
 Būdi Basavayya, 753
 Buhler, 189
 Bukka, 176, 529, 530, 531, 636, 637, 638, 639
 Bukka I, 535, 536, 537, 579, 585, 599, 606, 609, 648, 649, 720
 Bukka II, 538, 607, 616, 645, 620

- Burhan Khan, 662
 Būtuga, 124-6, 134, 141, 193, 196, 237
 Būtuga II, 125, 173, 239, 314
- Caldwell, Dr., 846
 Caligula, 572
 Campbell, Col., 708
 Campbell, Rev. Dr., 728
 Campbell, Dr., 772
 Chaitanya, 590, 591
 Chākarāja, 634
 Chalcolithic culture of Indus Valley, 92, of Deccan 92, of Karnataka 93, —details of sites 94,—man 70
 Chāḷukyas, 112, 116, 120, 121, 122, 127, 131, 140, 176;—of Bādāmi (Vātāpi) 95, 129, 130, 131, 137, 138, of Kalyāṇa 132, 142;—of Vengi (Eastern Chāḷukyas) 124
 Chāḷukya (King) Āhavamalla, 174
 Chāḷukya Bheema II, 403
 Chāḷukya Jayasimha Vishnuvardhana, 138
 Chāḷukya Keertivarman II, 121
 Chāḷukya Satyāśraya Vijayāditya, 131
 Chāḷukya Srivallabha Maharājādhirāja, 130
 Chāḷukya Vikramāditya II, 121, 139
 Chāmarāja (of Hadināḍ), 689
 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, 674, 686, 752, 770, 772, 754, 873, 878, 879
 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Ankanahalli, 695
 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar the Bald, 691
 “Rāja Woḍeyar,” a grandson of Rāja Woḍeyar, 691
 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar II, 689
 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III, 690
 Chāmarāja Woḍeyar X, 772, 774, 797
 Chāmarasa, 542, 622, 628, 635
 Chānd Bibi, 560, 561, 574, 575
 Chānd Minār of Daulatābād, 756, 657
 Chandra (Poet), 186
 Chandrabhūṣaṇa Paṇḍita (Kālāmukha teacher), 176
 Chandrāditya—eldest son of Pulikēśi II, 192, 206, 207, 208
 Chandragupta Maurya, 99, 107, 164, 172
 Chandragupta II, 112
 Chandragupta Vikramāditya, 549
 Chandra Kavi, 640
 Chandramauli—a great scholar and minister, 462
 Chandrasekhara Patil, 848
 Chandrasekhara Sastri, 879
 Chandrasekharāyya, 782
 Chandravadanamma, 879
 Chandravaḷḷi (excavations); 100, 102, 104, 109; Inscriptions of Mayuraśarman, in Prakrit, 114; 171, 172, 194
 ‘Chandrōdaya,’ Monthly, 835
 Changadēva—astronomer, 403
 Chanmallappa Kurle, 913
 Channabasappa Ambli, 925
 Channabasappa ‘Deputy’, 817, 820, 846
 Channa Basavāṅka, 629
 Channappa Wali, 929
 Chandrakeertimuni — preceptor of Ballāḷa I, 451
 Chāru Ponnēra, 140
 Chatterji, Bankim Chandra, 89
 Chatura Kallinātha, 655, 659
 Chaturmukha Bommarasa, 629
 Chaudaiah—sculptor, 484
 Chaudappanāyaka, 670
 Chavana—sculptor, 483
 Chāvunḍarāya, 126, 127, 192, 195, 253, 356, 363, 477, 624
 Chāvunḍarāya II, 308, 366
 Chennabasava, 369, 372
 Chennabasavēśvara, 444
 Chennaiah of Nagamangala, 692
 Chennammāji of Keḷadi, 610, 674
 Chennaveera Kaṇavi, 848
 Chennubhaṭṭa, 674
 Chidānandakavi, 741

- Chidānandāvadadhūta, 740
 Chikka Channa Bhairādēvi, 687
 Chikkadēvamma (dancer), 879
 Chikkadēvarāya (of Mysore), 610, 644, 663, 664
 Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, 83, 693-5, 709, 719, 730, 732, 733, 737-9, 741, 756, 844, 866
 Chikkahampa, 483
 Chikka Krishnarāja Woḍeyar, 752
 Chikkupādhyāya, 694, 738
 Chikka Rama Rao, 874
 Chikka Sankannanāyaka (Keḷadi King), 610, 671
 Chikkaveerappa, 757
 Chikkaveerarāja, 761
 Chincholi Venkannachar, 853
 Chinnamanāyaka, 681
 Chinnamma of Kārkaḷa, 865
 Chinna Timma, Aruku, 559
 'Chitrāgupta', Ed. H. K. Veeranna Gowda, 834
 Chitrakantha — war-horse of Vikramāditya, 139
 Chitravāhana (Ālupa, Senāvara king), 321, 322
 Chokkanathanāyaka of Madhura, 693
 Chōḷas, 125, 127, 132, 134, 139, 142, —Empire 129,—of Nidugal 412-3
 Chōḷa Chengannan, 110
 Chōḷa Dhananjaya Eriga, 412
 Chōḷa Mahadevi—wife of Ballāḷa II, 521
 Chōḷa Vijayāditya, 139
 Cholika Muttarasa, 412
 Chromite, 1, 22, 28
 Churamuri Seshagiri Rao, 850
 Chutu Kudananda—coins of 102, 103
 Chutu Pallava—ancestor of Veera Kurcha, 137
 Chromium, 21, 22, 28
 Cintra Museum of Portugal—many inscriptions preserved in, 153
 Civil Disobedience Movement, 894, 901, 902, 912, 919, 924
 Clive, 696, 699
 Closepet Granites, 18
 Cole, A.H., 762
 Cole, R.A., 86
 Coleridge, 847
 Columbite, 21
 Columbium, 24
 Conti—Italian traveller, 601, 606
 Copper ores, 21, 22, 25
 Cornwallis, Lord, 697, 704
 Corundum, 21, 22, 25, 28
 Cousens, Mr., 194, 381, 383, 384, 574, 658, 970
 Crawford, 196
 Cuddapah system, 7, 21
 Dādabhai Naoroji, 891
 Dadi Somayya Danāyaka, 523
 Dakaṇāchari, 483
 "Dakhani"—Language, 86, 722,—writers, 722
 Dakkanāyaka, 681
 Daḷavoy Dēvarājiah, 669, 680, 695, 696, 698
 Daḷavoy Nanjarāja, 680, 698, 852
 Dalhousie, Lord, 766, 771
 Dambal (Dharmavoḷal)—Buddhist monastery at, 345
 Daṇḍanātha Chandugideva—a great minister, 518
 Daṇḍanāyaka Kēsimayya, 346
 Dāṇḍekar, V.P., 869
 Daṇḍi (n), 119, 138, 186, 190, 191, 192, 193, 229, 634
 Dantidurga, 121, 210, 232, 233-4, 243, 244-5
 Dargah Quli Khan of Sira, 698
 Daroji—Paleolithic sites, 90
 Das, C. R., 894, 900
 Dasappa, H. C., 782, 948
 Dasarathi Dixit, 869
 Dasimayya Daṇḍanāyaka — a great minister, 518
 Dāsōja—sculptor, 483

- Datar, B. N., 836, 917, 947, 949
 Dayananda Sagar, Editor, 834
 Dayananda Saraswati, 157, 787, 792
 "Deccan Herald" (English daily), 838
 Deeparāja, 630
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 Desai of Soratur, 755
 Dēvachandra, 187, 845
 Dēvadās Gandhi, 931
 Devājammanṇi, 695
 Dēvammāji—daughter of Veerarāja, 760
 Dēvanandin (Pūjyapada), 192
 Dēvaṇṇabhaṭṭa, 638, 644
 Dēvara Dāsimaṃya, 368, 371
 Dēvarāja—Commander, 685
 Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, 693
 Devarāta Maharshi of Gōkarṇa, 859
 Dēvarāya, 537, 624, 720
 Dēvarāya I, 538, 570, 607, 609, 611
 Dēvarāya II, (Praudha Dēvarāya), 538-544, 591, 600, 607, 616, 640, 644-5
 Devaratamuni, 175
 Devereux, 811
 Dēviṣetti—built a Jinalaya, 452
 Devōttama, 736
 Devōttama Jois, 874
 Dēvuḍu, 849, 850
 Dhananjaya — author of *Nāmamāla*, 380
 'Dhanurdhāri' by Manjappa Hardekar, 836
 Dhānyakaṭaka (modern Dharanikota), 103
 Dharani Paṇḍita, 735
 Dharāsēna, 476-7
 Dharāśraya Jayasimha — brother of Pulikēśi II, 201, 205
 Dharmakeerti, 173, 230
 Dharmapala — of Bengal, defeated Dhruva, 235
 Dharmapāla — famous Principal of Nalanda College, 172
 Dhondu Waugh—insurrection of, 753
 Dhondo Narasimha Mulabagil, 850
 Dhruva — Rashtrakūta, 122, 234-5, 239
 Digambara Rao Bindu, 909
 Dignāga, 172, 230
 Dilavar Khan—the Moghul General, 682-3, 882
 Dinḍigarāja, Dinḍigēndra, 124, 131
 Divākara, 641
 Divalabbarasi, 141
 Divāmbike—Kadamba Princess, 141
 Divyajnani-Kashmiradēva, 175
 Diwakar, R. R., 850, 925, 931, 943,—Editor, 'Karmaveer,' 836
 Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, 730, 737
 Doḍḍaiah of Periyapatna, 624
 Doḍḍa Krishnarāja Woḍeyar, 665, 669, 695
 Doḍḍa Narādhipa, 133
 Doḍḍa Pillai Danāyaka, 522
 Doḍḍa Sankanna, 670
 Doḍḍa Vasantanāyaka, 682
 Dodmane Shivaram Kannaye Hegde, 921
 Dodmeti (Doddameti) A. J., 849, 850, 905, 919, 947, 949, 954
 Dōhara Kakkayya, 371
 Duggamāra, Duggimāra, 122, 140
 Duggamāra, Ereyappa, 178
 Dundur, K. B., 931
 Dupleix, 696
 Durga Temple at Aihole, 175, 195, 381, 383
 Durgasimha, 258, 362
 Durlabhādēvi, 200, 383
 Durvineeta, 118-20, 144, 165, 186, 190-2, 343, 356-7

Eastern Chāḷukyas, 123, 162

Echchalādēvi, 518

Echchamma Nāyaka, 867

Eḍeyamma, 178

Education and Science: (Up to 1200 A.D.): The beginnings 342; The Buddhist system of Education, 344; Primary Education 345; Institutions of Higher Education 346-50; Maṭhas 353; Temples 351; Educational Organization 351; Facilities for scholars 352; Subjects of Study 352; Discipline 353; Professional Education 354; Physical Education 354; Popular or Mass Education 355; The Vceraśaiva Movement 355; The Sciences 356-9; *Mānasōllāsa* 359.

Hoysala Period 461-64; Centres of learning; Agrahāras, Ghaṭikas, Bahmapuris, Maṭhas, Temples 461; Jaina and Buddhist maṭhas 462; Endowments 463; Primary Education 463; Women's Education 463; Technical scholars 464; Education in fine arts 464; Sciences 464.

Mediaeval Period 609-618; Education of the Princes 609; Primary Education 610; Institutions of Higher learning; Subjects and Methods of study 612; Popular Education 613; 'Keertana' and Yakshagāna 614; Muslim Education 615; Sciences 615-618.

Ēkāmbara Dikshita, 668

Ēkāmbaranātha—wrote on medicine, 614

Ēkāmbaraśastrin, 746

Ēkōrāma, 446

Elala—a Chōḷa King, 183

Elephanta Caves, 203

Eliot, T. S., 848

Ellora—123,—paintings at 216—cave temple, 98

'English Geethagulu' of Sri, 847

Erea *alias* Eroyarāma (Raṭṭa), 305

Ereganga, 178, 481

Ereganga or Ereyāppa (Ganga), 125

Ereganga Neetimārga, 132

Ereyamma—laid down her life in battle, 178

Ereyanga (Hoysala), 392-3, 442, 451, 481

Ereyappa, 125, 141

Erimadanāyaka, 683

Fr. Da-Jarric, 656

Fr. Thomas Stephens, 87

Fateh Muhamed, 698

Fazal Ali, 903

Fergusson, 175, 194, 482, 652, 653

Ferishta 535-6, 539, 558, 568, 573 575

Fiaz Khan, 874

Fiddle Anantappa, 876

Fillorton, 799

Firuz, 570

Firuz Shah, 537

Flacon—a French agent, 693

Fleet, Dr., 99, 104, 195, 788

Foote—discovered neolithic and palaeolithic sites, 90, 92

Forest Satyagraha, 916, 923, 924

Gadagayya (Gadigeyya) Honnapur-maṭh, 835, 896

Gadiganur—Palaeolithic sites, 90

Gajānkuśa—Chōḷa King, 142

Gajapati Kapilēśvara, 539

Galaganatha, 846, 849

Ganakumari Chandavva, 456

Gaṇapatibhaṭ of Bisalkop, 921

Gandabhērunda Pillar at Baḷḷigāme, 386

Gaṇḍa Dīṇḍima—Poet Laureate of Dēvarāya II

Gandhi, Gandhiji, 76, 422, 600, 781, 791, 796, 798, 851, 886, 892-4, 897-8, 904, 906-9, 912-915, 919, 920, 924-6, 928, 945

Ganesh Hegde of Hoskop, 921

INDEX

- Gangas 112, 116, 119, 120-1, 130, 137, 140, 142, 162, 165, 171, 193, 197; of Kalinga, 117,—of Mysore, 195,—of the Parivi branch, 113,—of Talakāḍ, 95, 113, 117, 137-8;—of Ummattur Ganga—Bāṇa relationship 131, 546-7
- Gangādēvi, 535, 601, 639
- Gangādhara, 634
- Gangādhara Chittal, 848
- Gangādhara Rao Deshpande, 896-8, 901, 906, 914-5
- Ganganārāyaṇa (Būtuga), 173
- Gangarāja—General of Vishnuvardhana, 394
- Gangubai Hanagal, 876
- Gārgya—disciple of Lakuliśa, 153
- Garret, J. Rev., 768
- ‘Garuḍas’, 395, 509
- Garudachar, B. K., 780
- Garud Sadasiva Rao of Gadag, 867, 870
- Gāthā—saptaśati, (Gāthā Saptasai or Sattasai), 106-7, 110, 184, 190
- Gaudagere Venkataramanacharya, 856
- Gauramma—daughter of Veerarāja, 761
- Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, 102
- Gavigangādhareśvara Temple, 666
- Ghiasuddin Sultan, 400
- Ghōra Angeerasa—Guru of Krishna, son of Dēvaki, 159
- Giḍḍēgowda, 667
- Gitabai Kulkarni, 876
- Gokak, V. K., 848, 852, 868
- Gokhale, Gopalakrishna, 892
- Goldsmith, 850, 851
- Gōleyabhaṭṭa, 179—a gift to by Nripatunga
- Gōl Gumbaz, 574, 658, 723, 881
- Gōmabbe—a Ganga princess, 141
- Gommaṭa, Gommaṭeśvara, 126, 195;—statue at Venur erected, 721
- Gopalachari, K., Dr., 106
- Gopāladāsa, 715, 871
- Gopala Iyengar, 833
- Gopalakrishna Adiga, 848
- Gopalakrishna Rao, K., 851
- Gopala Rao Patwardhan, 710
- Gopa Kavi, 734
- Gopanandi, Āchārya, 451
- Gōpanārya, 586
- Gopinatha Rao, T. A., 152
- Gordon, J. D., 770, 772
- Gōsāhasra—most common gift of the times, 180
- Gōtamiputra—name on the coins found at Kolhapur, 174
- Govardhana Rao, M., 838, 909
- Gōvinda—a great Advaita teacher, 414
- Gōvinda—Rāshṭrakūṭa King, 123
- Gōvinda II, 234
- Gōvinda III, 122, 132-3, 179, 229—consolidation of the empire, 235-6
- Gōvinda IV, 232, 243-5, 344
- Gōvindāchārya Agnihotri, 929
- Gōvinda Dikshita, 663
- Govinda Pai, M., 77, 87, 184, 837, 847
- Govindarao Yalgi, 896
- Govindaswami Raja, 870
- Govinda Vaidya, 693, 734
- Gouḍapada, 414
- Gowramma, wife of K. A. Venkataramayya, 927
- ‘Grantha Māla’—Monthly, 832
- Gray, 701
- Greeks—became Indianized, 151
- Gubbi Company, of G. H. Veeranna, 868, 870
- Gubbi Mallanārya, 736
- Gummanāyaka, 681
- Guṇabhadra, 259, 344
- Guṇachandra, 242, 735
- Guṇādhara, 476
- Guṇādhyā, 110, 186, 190, 367
- Guṇaga, Guṇagāṅka—title of Vijayāditya, 181
- Guṇamadhura, 185
- Guṇanandi, 250
- Guṇasāgara (Ālupa ruler), 321

- Guṇavarma, 250
 Guṇavarma I, 363
 Guṇḍa—architect of temples, 209
 Guṇḍanna, K., 869
 Gundappa, D. V., Dr., (D.V.G), 833, 847, 850-1, 867
 Gundappa, L., 850
 Gupta, B. N., Editor, 834
 Gurulinga Vibhu, 627
 Gurunanja—(wrote a Kannada commentary on *Yajurveda Bhasya*'), 630
 Gurupadaswami, M. S., Editor, 834
 Guru Rāmaviṭhala, 872
 Guru Rao Deshpande, 875
 Guttiya Ganga—Mārasimha, 125
 Guvaladēva I, 296
 Guvaladēva II, 297
 Guvaladēva III, 298
- Hafiz—the great Persian poet, 570
 Haidar Ali, 676, 680, 682-86, 688, 695-704, 707, 709-11, 721, 727, 741, 749-52, 756-58, 799, 800, 811, 820, 882—Tomb of 723
 Hāla—Sātavāhana King, author of *Gāthā-saptasati*, 106, 110
 Halagur Krishnāchārya, 876
 Halakundi—Palaeolithic man found, 90
 Hallikeri, 919
 Hālmīḍi-inscription of Kadama Kākus-thavarman, 77, 78, 113, 185
 Hamilton, 795
 Hamsanātha — Guru of Ratnākara-varṇi, 660
 Handiganur—dramatic artist, 867
 Haṇḍe Hanumappa of Sholapur, 559
 Handur, Dr. of Dharwar, 896
 Hanumanthiah, K., 784, 907, 948, 954, 957
 Hanumantha Rao, Guḍihal, 910
 Hanumantha Kakkuri, 910
 Hanumantharao Kowjalgi, 901, 905, 913, 914, 915
 Hanumantharao Mohare, 836, 913, 914
 Hanumantha Rao Walvekar, 876
 Hanumappanāyaka of Tarikere, 674, 680
 Hanumappa Woḍeyar of Ummattur, 685
 Haradattāchārya — author of *Guṇa-kārika*, 154
 Harappa Culture, 92, 184
 Hardekar Manjappa, 836, 912, 913, 919, 960
 Hardiker, N. S., Dr., 836, 900, 902, 906, 913, 915, 921
 Haribhadrasūri, 155
 Harihara I, 176, 534, 535, 579, 606, 607, 648-650
 Harihara II, 176, 537, 538, 570, 600, 606, 637, 643, 647
 Hariharadēva, 466, 467, 470
 Hariharaputra, 173
 'Harijan'—Weekly, 925
 Harisēna, 99
 Haripanth Phādke, 711
 Harita Venkatachārya, 743
 Hāritiputra Sātakarṇi, 102
 Hāritiputra Vishnukaḍa Chutukulanda Sātakarṇi, 106
 Harivarma, 118, 162, 165
 Harris, General, 705, 760
 Harsha, Silāditya of Kanauj, 138, 228, 739
 Hasan Zafar Khan, 722
 Hastimalla (Ganga), 124, 129,
 Havell, 175, 970
 Hebbal Alagwadi, 896
 Hegde, G. G., 869
 Heggade Ereyanna—Endowment for primary education, 463
 Heḷavanakatte Giryamma, 739
 Hēmachandra, 478
 Hēmādri — Minister, 401, 404, 405
 Hēmasēna *alias* Vidyādhanañjaya *alias* Dhananjaya, 193
 Hēmareddi Mallamma, 867, 971
 Henjēru (or Penjēru) or Hēmāvati, 140

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INDEX

- Abbakkadēvi, 731
 Abbe Dubois, 795, 840
 Abbevillian tools, 90
 Abdul Karim Khan, 874, 875
 Abdulla Kutb Shah, 576
 Abdur Razzak, 541, 542, 544, 601, 604, 605, 607
Abhilāshitārthachintāmaṇi or *Māna-sōllāsa*, description and its contents, 371, 378, 379, 517
 Abhinava Chārukeerti Panditācharya, 600
 Abhinava Janārdanaviṭhala, 872
 Abhirāma-Kāmākshi, 639, 641
 Abhinavakētalādēvi—Queen of Ballāḷa II, 519
 Abhinava Mangarāja, 634, 867
 Abhinava Vādi Vidyānanda, 633
 Ābhīras, 112
 Achalānandaviṭhala, 872
 Achalāpura — Capital of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda, 128
 Achchaṇṇa, 468
 Acheulian tools, 90
 Achugi II, 298, 308
 Achugi III, 308
 Achyutarāya, 588, 604, 642, 650, 652, 653, 656, 657, 660, 666
Achyutarāyābhyudaya, 557, 641-
 Achyuta Viṭhala, 872
 Adarang, 875
Adhikaraṇamālā, 645, 743, 745
 Adil Shah, 658
 Ādipurāṇa, 177, 192, 623
 Āditya I (Chōḷa), 124, 314
 Ādityārya, 612
 Ādityavarma, 138, 206, 208
 Adriśya Kavi, 734
 Agaḍi—Egyptian traditions of burial arrangements found at, 96
 Āgarayya, 196
 Agasti—a Pāśupata teacher, 154
 Agastya, 96, 97
 Aggalarasa, 132
 Agnimitra, 106
 Āhavamalla, 174
 Ahmad Shah—brother of Firuz, 539, 570
 Ahmad Shah Wāli, 657
 Ahmad II, 570
 Ahmad III, 571
 Ajjampur-play-wright, 869
 Ajanta (Paintings), 110, 113, 114, 216
 Akaḷanka, 230, 374
 Akbar, 575, 673
 Akbar Ali, 848
 Akkādēvi, 271, 272, 354, 516
 Akka Mahādēvi, 82, 372, 447, 463, 867, 971
 Akshōbhyateertha, 587, 590, 645, 646
 Allauddin, 405
 Albert Zart, S. J., Fr. 840
 Albuquerque, 547, 573
 Alexander, 151
 Ali Adil Shah II, 574
 Ali Imam, Sir, 943
 Aḷiya Lingarāja, 845
 Aḷiya Māchayya, 523
 Allama, 369, 371, 372
 Allamaprabhu, 82, 444, 591, 628
 Allasāni Peddana, 549
 Allauddin II (Bahamani), 535, 614
 Alladuddin II, 539
 Allauddin Khilji, 528
 Āḷupas, 112, 119
 Al Masudi — Arab writer, 614
 Altekar, Dr., 180
 Aluminium, 20, 22

INDEX

- Amalānanda or Vyāsāśrama, 474
Amarāvati, 107, 109, 172
Ambigara Chaudayya, 373
Amembala Pai, 896
Amir Barid (Minister), 547
Amōghavarsha I, 123, 124, 125, 131, (Nripatunga) 132, 139, 173, 186, 237, 242, 242, 257, 476
Amōghavarsha II, 239
Amōghavarsha III, 239, 244
Amritasāgara—Jaina Poet, 188
Amritappa (a Dance Teacher), 879
Amritēswara Dannāyaka, 483
Āmuktamālyada, 548, 549, 550, 584, 640
‘Ānanda’—Writer, 851
Ānandadāsa (Surapura), 871, 875
Ananda Rao, T, 777
Ānandabōdha Bhaṭṭachārya, 473
Anantabhaṭṭa, 642
Anantachari (a metal worker), 842
Anantadēva (astronomer), 403
Anantādriśa, 372
Anantakrishna Sastri, 860, 865
Anantanarāyana Sastri, 850
Āṇḍāl (Godadēvi), 584
Āṇḍayya, 369, 470, 479, 740
Aney, M. S., 943
Anglo-Myore War, 700, 708, 759
Ankayya, 140
Ankuśarāya, 686
Aṇṇagaḷa Padas, 661
Annamāchārya, 587, 659
Aṇṇambhaṭṭa, 745
Aṇṇa Saheb Kirloskar, 869
Aṇṇāvadhūta, 872
Aṇṇayya or Beera Noḷamba, 141
Aṇṇiga, 141
Aṇṇu Guruji, 929, 931, 939
Antimony, 22, 24
Aparāditya—‘Konkaṇa Chakravarti’, 86
Aparājita (a Pallava King), 124
Appājirāja (Coorg), 756
Appanna Patil, 929
Appayya (Dance Teacher), 879
Appayya Dikshita, 579, 585, 647, 743, 745, 855
Arasappa Nāyaka of Sōde, 671
Archaean Age, 21 ; rocks, 22
Arhat Srutavimsatikōṭi—Buddhist saint, 114
Arikamēḍu, 102
Arikēsari, 251, 252, 266-269
Arishṭanēmi, 164
Arsenic, 24
‘Arthasadhaka Patrike’, 833
Arthasāstra, 104, 150, 550, 858
Aruṇagirinātha 1, 640, 641
‘Arunōdāya’—Anglo-Kannada, Ed. B. Rice, 831
Aryamumukshu—writer of Prakrit glosses, 476
Arya-Tārā Dēvi, 174
Asaga, 193, 250, 259
Asandinad, 122
Asbestos, 21, 22, 25
Asoka, 77, 99, 100 (Edicts in Karnataka, 100), 104, 105, 107, 110, 111, 114, 139, 161, 164, 165, 171, 172, 183, 194, 205, 342, 493, 585, 788, 969
Attlee, 784
Atma Sastri, Jade, 861
Atri—a Pāsupati teacher, 154
Atta Hussain Khan, 876
Attimabbe, 253, 363, 364
Attiyabbarasi—Queen of Anniga, 141
Augustus—Silver coins of 100
Augustus Muller, S.J., Fr. 843
Aurangzeb. 574, 657, 674, 694, 707, 722, 737, 750
Aurobindo Ghosh, 157, 793, 891, 892, 896, 900
Avanijanāśraya Pulikēśi—Ruler of Lāṭa, 210
Avantisundari Kathā, 119, 138, 186, 191, 192
Avanyanāḍ 30—a province, 120, 131, 300
Avineeta—a Ganga King, 118, 144, 165

- Avarasela—a Buddhist sect, 107
 Avvaiyar, 133
 Āyi Narahari, 860
 Ayyappa—known as Nanniga, 141
 Ayyappan, 173
 Ayyavarman — crowned by Simhavarman, 137
- Bababudan—the Sufi saint, 723
 Babburu Ranga, 741
 Babu, M. N., 869
 Bāchirājā, 302
 Bāchiyarasa, 522
 Bādāmi, 98, Cave temples at, 216
 Badanaval Khadi Centre, 901
 Bagalkōṭ—Palcolithic sites at, 90, 103
 Bāganabbe—a ruler, 456
 Bahadur Khan, 923
 Bahamani Kingdom, 568
 Bahamani Sultanate—foundation of, 535
 Bāhubali—a Jaina poet, 623, 730
 Bahaiddin Gurshasp, 399
 Baichappa—a Jaina warrior, 600
 Baichōja of Nandi, 484
 Baillie, 702, 703
 Bairavanāyaka (of Hāgalvāḍi), 683
 Baird, Captain, 708
 Bairkur Venkatalakshmi, 878
 Balaji Rao I, 695, 750
 Balaji Rao, 710
 Balachandra—a Jaina writer, 474, 477
 Baladeva—Officer of King Bijjaḷa, 292
 Balaiah—a sculptor, 384
 Balappa Hukkeri, 876
 Bālavaidyada Cheluva, 742
 Balavarman, 123
 Bālayogi, Sri, 793
 Ballāḷa I, 42, 392, 407, 451, 465, 523
 Ballāḷa II or Veeraballāḷa, 386, 393, 395, 396, 397, 402, 403, 407, 411, 452, 468, 483, 519, 522, 523, 524, 526
 Ballāḷa III (Veerabhallāḷa Dēvarasa) 398, 399, 411, 453, 469, 471, 472, 523, 528, 531, 532, 553
 Ballāḷa IV, 567
 Balleyanāyaka, 519, 520
 Bāṇas or Mahabalis, 112, 117, 120, 124, 129, 130, 131, 133, 140, 151, 190, 192, 193, 197, 228, 648
 Bāṇa Kingdom, 134
 Banavāsi—Naga-stone refers to grant by Hāritiputra Sātakarni 102; 103, 104, 107, 110, 111, 113 Kalidāsa may have visited 114; gift to Būtuga 134; Sanghārāmas 172; stronghold of Kālāmukhas 175; described by Pampa 177; Temples at 194; 251
 Bāṇa Vidyādhara—son-in-law of Prithivipathi, 133
 Bāṇa Vijayabāhu Veera Raṇāditya III, 134
 Bāṇa Vijayāditya, 132
 Bāṇa Vikramāditya, 134
 Bandham Lakshminarayana, 655, 662
 Banerji, Sir Albion, 779, 781
 Bangalore—mentioned in an inscription of 900 A.D., 666
 Bangalore Nagaratnamma, 874
 'Bangalore Herald', Ed. James—the first newspaper, 831
 Bangalore University, 816, 962
 Banjari—mother-tongue of a tribal group, 74, 76
 Bankapura—(Hoysala capital, northern), 393
 Bappadēva, 476
 Bappure-Nāgiyakka caused an image of Tara to be made, 174
 Bārābalūti System, 688, 800, 811
 Barauni—a Muslim historian, 405, 529
 Barbosa—Portuguese chronicler, 550, 554, 603, 604, 605
 Barji Khan, 876
 Barnett, L. D., 78
 Barry Close, Sir, 753
 Barth, 145
 Barygaza, 103

INDEX

- Henry Haig, Rev., 832
 Heras, Father, 716
 Hindustani Seva Dal, 900, 906, 915, 917, 921
 Hippalus, 103
 Hirannayya, 867, 868
 Hiraṇyakēśin, 193
 Hiriya Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, 689
 'Hitabōdhini'—First Kannada monthly, Editor Ramanuja Iyengar, 832
 'Hitechchu', 835
 Hieun Tsiang, 111, 114, 171, 172, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224, 344, 345, 352, 354, Account of Pulikēśi's kingdom, 203, 204, 205
 Home Rule League (Karnataka Branch), 892, 897
 Home Rule Movement, 898
 Honnamma—a reader (Vijayanagar), 604
 Honnamma (Sanchiya Honnamma), 739
 Hosakēri Aṇṇachāraya, 896
 Hosamani Siddappa (S. K.), 919
 'Hoysala'—author, 869
 Hoysalādēvi—Queen of Chāḷukya Emperor, Sōmēśvara I, 392
 Hoysalēśvara Temple at Halēbid, 481, 482
 'Hubli Gazette', Ed. by Hardiker, 836
 Hudson, T. Rev., 729
 Hukkerikar, R. S., 836, 917, 925
 Hulla—a great General, 452
 Hullayya, 520
 Hultzsch, Dr., 184
 Hume Allan Octavian, 887
 Hurli Bheemarao, Ed., 837
 Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, 574
 Hydari, 909
 Hyderabad Karnataka and the Congress—907
 'Hyderabad Samāchar', 837
 Ibn Batūta, 353, 400, 529, 530, 532, 614
 Ibn-i-Nishati of Gōlkonḍa, 722
 Ibrahim I, 573
 Ibrahim II, 574, 575
 Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 723
 Ibrahim of Gōlkonḍa, 560
 Ibsen, 850
 Ilangō-aḍigal, 183
 Inamdar, V. M., 849, 869
 Indian Institute of Science, 775, 776
 'Indian Review of Reviews', 833
 Indra III, 238, 239, 245
 Indra IV, 179
 Indrāgnidatta, 106
 Indrānandi—author of *Srutāvatāra*, 187
 Indus Valley Culture, 76, 444
 Iriga—a son of Dinḍi, 131
 Irivabedanga Satyāśraya, 364
 Irugappa Dandā(dhi)nātha, 599, 600, 648
 Irukkadēva, Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya, 410
 Iruḷa—son of Attiyabbarasi, 141
 Irungoḷa—Chōḷa Mahārāja, 412
 Irungoḷa II, 413
 Isāna—a Pāśupata teacher, 154
 Isami—Muslim chronicler, 405
 Isila — a small provincial town, in Mysore territory under Aśoka, 77, 100, 102, 110, 194
 Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, 548, 573
 Ismay—a chronicler, 529
 Īśvara Deekshita, 638
 Īśvara Deva — Disciple of a Kālāmukha Guru, 175
 Īśvaradēva-Rudragaṇa—a Kālāmukha Guru, 176
 Īśvara Kavi, 634
 Īśvaranāyaka, a General, 545
 Īśvarapōtarāja (Paramēśvara Varma), 207
 Īśvara Puri, 590
 Īśvari Prasad—Historian, 569, 571

- Itagi, H. R., Editor, 838
 Itsing, 218, 224, 225, 332
 Iyer, K. V., 849
- Jagaddēva – Paramāra Chief, 393
 Jagadēkamalla, 132, 291
 Jagadēkamalla II, 281, 491 — wrote
Sangeeta Chūḍāmaṇi
 Jagadēkamalla — Naḷamba Pallava,
 142
 Jagadēvarāya—of Channapatna, 561,
 683, 686
 Jagannātha, 855
 Jagannāthadāsa, 715, 871, 844
 Jaganmōhini—daughter of Pratāpa-
 rudra, 547
 Jagarāya, 562, 563
 Jagirdar, R. A., 925
 'Jai-Hind' later name of 'Hubli
 Gazette', 837
 'Jaimini Bhārata', 611, 733, 736, 740,
 741
 Jainism, 105, 107, 114, 145, 161, 162,
 164, 165, 167, 170, 175, 176—
 Philosophy, 164 ;—Writers, 164 ;—
 Hoysala Period, 450-454; Post-
 Vijayanagara Period, 720, 721;
 Jaina-Sri Vaishnava conciliation,
 536, 537
 Jaising — veteran soldier of Mughal
 India, 574
 Jaitrasimha — General of Bhillama,
 402
 Jaitugi or Jaitrapala, 403
 Jākavve or Jakkalādēvi — Queen of
 Taila II, 270
 Jakkaṇāchāri, 483
 Jakkaṇāchārya—a vachanakāra, 630
 Jakkaṇāmātya, 742
 Jakkaṇārya, 626, 734
 Jakkaṇṇa — sculptor
 Jakkiyabbe—an administrator under
 the Rāshtrakūtas, 354
 Jalhaṇa — Author of *Sūktimuktāvali*
 404
 Janardhana Rao Desai, 872, 908, 910
- 'Janavāṇi', Kannada daily, 834
 Janna—Kavi Chakravarti, 468, 469
 Jaṭavarma Sundara Pāṇḍya, 397
 Jaṭāsimhanandi, 191
 Jaṭāvarma—Veera Pāṇḍyan Prince,
 121
 Jaṭila Parāntaka—a Pandyan Prince,
 121
 Jatinga Ramesvara Hills — Asokan
 edicts; traces of neolithic man, 93,
 97, 100, 171
 Jathar, B. D., 963
 Jathar, R. V., 931
 Jawaharlal Nehru, 900, 909, 919, 920,
 951, 953
 Jayabandhu, 186
 Jayabbe, 125, 140
 Jayachāmarāja Woḍeyar, 874
 Jayadev Kulkarni, 929
 Jayadēva, 664, 738, 879
 Jayakar, M. R., 850
 'Jayakarnataka'—Monthly, 836
 Jayakeerti — author of *Chhandānu-
 śāsana*, 188
 Jayakēśi (Sāntara King), 322
 Jayakēśin I (Kadamba), 273, 297
 Jayakēśi II, 297-99
 Jayakēśi III, 301, 402
 Jayamēru, 133
 Jayanandivarman Bāṇa, 132
 Jaya Prakash Narayan, 931
 Jayarao Nargund, 896
 Jayasimha, (Chāḷukya), 138, 200, 315,
 316
 Jayasimha I, 200
 Jayasimha II (Jadadēkamalla), 200,
 271, 272, 374, 377
 Jayasimha Vallabha Keertivarman—
 son of Vijayāditya, 119
 Jayasingadēva—another brother of
 Vikramāditya VI, 142
 Jayatēja—Ganga King, 133
 Jayateertha, 473, 587, 645, 647, 743
 Jeevitavara—Sēnāvara King, 322
 Jeṭṭi Thayamma (dancer), 879
 Jimūtavāhana (Sēnāvara King), 322

Jinadattarāya—of Ugravamśa—
founder of Sāntara Kingdom, 322
Jinarāja Hegde, K. B., 948
Jinasēna, 111, 192, 242, 259, 476
Jnānēśvara—saint, 405
Jnanōttama Misra, 473
Jog, V. N., 946, 947
Joshi, K. G., 921, 929
Joshi, N. M., 943
Jyēsthā—mother of Durvineeta, 119

Kabbur Madhvarao, 914
Kabbur, Dr. N. B., 916
Kabir, 867
Kadamba Mrigēśa, 118
Kadamba Ravivarma, 137
Kadamba Vishnuvarama, 137
Kadamba Santīvarma, 189
Kaḍapa Raghavendra Rao, 897, 906,
945
Kadarappanāyaka, 681, 682
Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde, 921
Kaḍengōḍlu Shankara Bhaṭṭa, 837,
847
Kailasam, T. P., 850, 868
Kaiwara Raja Rao, 850, 868
Kajolkar, V. A., 875
Kāka Kālelkar, 896
Kāka Kārkhanis, 913
Kākusthavarman, 111, 112, 113, 130,
137, 162, 165, 185, 195
Kaḷabhras, 112, 119, 137, 138
Kaḷale Nanjarajaiya, 695
Kaḷale Venkatarangachār, 856
Kāḷāmukha, 175, 356; — Acharyas,
154
' Kalānidhi ', 644, 659
Kalāsakti—a Kāḷāmukha Guru, 175
Kālidāsa—said to have visited the
court of Kuntala, 114; 151, 190,
228, 253, 643, 666, 854
Kalidasi—a sculptor, 484
Kalki Narasimha Bhagavan, 856
Kallangowda Patil, 919

Kallarasa or Kallamatya, 635
Kalyāṇidēvi—sister of Sri Madhva,
wrote a treatise on 'Tāratamya',
473
Kamalākarabhāṭṭa, 743
Kamalēśaviṭhala, 872
Kamat, M. N., 837
Kamala Chaṭṭasetti — a merchant
princē, 460
Kambha—eldest son of Dhruva, 192
Kambli, Rao Bahadur, 945
Kampāna—one of the five sons of
Sungama, 529
Kamapana Oḍeyā—son of Bukka I,
535
Kanakadāsa, 585, 603, 604, 610, 632,
633, 660, 715, 737, 790, 842, 970
Kānchi, Kānchipuram—Buddhist cen-
tre, capital of the Pāllavas, 112,
152, 172, 650
Kannā III — Rāshṭrakūṭa King
Krishna, 141
' Kannada Kesari ', Weekly, Editor
Bindu Rao, 835
' Kannada Naḍegannaḍi ' — Weekly,
833
Kannada Sāhitya Parishat, 944, 957
' Kannda Simha ', Weekly, 835
Kannakaira II (Raṭṭā), 305
Kannarasa Ballāha—Krishna, I, 121
' Kanṭheerava ', Weekly, 837
Kanti—famous poetess, 456, 463, 466,
971
Kanyanāyaka — of Wārangal, 529,
540, 567
Kāpālikas, 152, 154
Kāpayanāyaka, 531, 536
Kapilanda—a Pāsūputa teacher, 154
Kappe Ārabhaṭṭa, 186, 221
Karandikar, 898
Karanik Lingappaiah, 694
Karanth, K. R., 947, 948, 955
Karanth, K. S., 849-52, 868, 869
Karibasappa Sastry, 879
Karka II, 240
' Karmaveer ' Weekly, 836, 913, 920

- Karmarkar, D. P., 917, 921, 925, 931
 Karnik Krishnamurthy Rao, 780
 Karnatas—of Mithila or Northern Bihar, 531
 'Karnataka' Bi-weekly, 833
 'Karnataka Kesari', 920
 'Karnataka Patra', Weekly, 835
 'Karnataka Patrike'—the first Kannada Weekly, 831
 Karnataka, Provincial Congress Committee, 899, 901, 903, 905, 913, 914
 'Karnataka Vaibhava', newspaper, 836, 913, 920
 'Karnataka Vritta'—Weekly 835, 913
 Kārnad Sadashivarao, 901, 915
 Kārtaveerya I, 304,
 Kārtaveerya II, 305
 Kārtaveerya III—called Kaṭṭa or Kaṭṭama, 305
 Kārtaveerya IV, 305
 Karur Sēshacharya, 858
 Kasapayyanāyaka, 291
 Kāsimayya—a great Minister, 518
 Kasim Khan—Mughal General, 686, 694
 Kāśi Timmannacharya, 858
 Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Achārya, 638
 Kashmir Saivism, 156, 175
 Kasturi, N., 851, 869
 'Kasturi'—Monthly Digest, 836
 Kasturi Rangāchārya, 855
 Kasturi Rangappanāyaka, 684
 Kasturi Rangappanāyakā, II, 684
 Kaṭāri Sāluva Raseyanāyaka, 399
 Katre, S. M., Dr., 86, 87
 Kaṭṭi—Editor, 836
 Kaṭṭiyarasa—another name of Keerti-varman, I, 206
 Kauṭilya, 105, 151, 512
 Kāvīrājamārga, 78, 80, 83, 84, 120, 173, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 192, 248, 970
 Kaviśvar Giryappa (Dance teacher) 879
 Kēdārēśvara Temple—at Balligāme, 175,—at Nagalapur, 484 ;—Halēbid, 481
 Kēdārōja, 482, 484
 Keertinath Kurtkōti, 869
 Keertivarma I, 98, 113, 119, 153, 201 215, 357, 381
 Keertivarma II, 131, 139, 209, 210
 Kempegowḍa, 554, 665, 683, 710
 Kempegowḍa I, 666
 Kempegowḍa II, 657
 Kempegowḍa III, 668
 Kemparājammaṇṇi, 774
 Kempu Narayana, 845
 Kereya Padmarasa, 467, 628
 Kerōḍi Subbarao, 837
 Kerur Vasudēvachar—Ed., 835, 849
 Kēśava Bhārati—a Madhva Guru, 591
 Kēśava Misra, 647
 Kesava Rao Gokhale, 836
 Kēśava Temple—at Bēlur 481,—at Turuvekere 482,—at Sōmanathpur, 482, 484
 Kēsavavarṇi—wrote commentary in Kannada on Gommaṭēśvara, 477, 625
 Kēsirāja, 80, 81, 256, 469, 470, 753
 Kētamalla, 482,—nāyaka, 519
 Khadripatināyaka, 681
 Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, 919
 Khande Rao, 699, 710
 Khāravēla—King of Kaḷinga, 107
 Khāsa Chāmarāja Wodeyar, 752
 Kher, B. G., 947
 Khoṭṭiga, 240
 Khusru II—of Persia ; sent presents to Pulikēśi II ; Paintings in Ajanta, 204
 Khyad—sites of palaeolithic man, 90
 Kikkēri Nanjunda, 736
 Kielhorn, Dr., 541
 Kinnari Brahmayya, 373
 Kirmani—Tipu's biographer, 799

- Kittappa—a dance teacher, 879
 Kittel, F. Rev., 788, 846
 Kittur Channamma, 867, 971
 'Kodagu', Newspaper, 838
 'Kodagu Vrittanta', 838
 Kodiya Maṭha—in Balligāme; a
 Kālāmukha educational centre, 350,
 357, 462, 612
 Kolachalam Venkatarao, 887
 Kolar Puttappa—a dance teacher,
 879
 Kolhapur—earliest Buddhist relics of
 Western Deccan, 104; 107, 109,
 110,—was a purely Kannada coun-
 try, 174
 Konḍamarasa, 612
 Konḍa Venkatappayya Pantulu, 947
 Kongaṇivarma Dharmamahadhirāja,
 494
 Konguṇivarma, Konkaṇivarma, 112,
 117, 130, 165
 Koppal—Asokan edicts found at, 100,
 171
 Kopparunjinga, the Kāḍava (Pallava)
 Chieftain, 397
 Kōti Kanyādāṇam Tātāchārya, 587
 Krishna I, 121, 131, 234, 244
 Krishna II, 238, 239, 314
 Krishna III, 125, 141, 142, 239, 240,
 244, 257, 258, 314, 478
 Krishna, Dr., 100, 102
 Krishnabai Panjikar, 903, 917
 Krishnamacharya Joshi, 909, 910
 Krishnadēvarāya, 540, 534, 545, 550,
 552-554, 556, 557, 562, 584, 585,
 588, 605, 610, 612, 631, 638, 641,
 643, 644, 647, 649, 653, 655, 660,
 662, 666, 670, 720, 737
 Krishna Kumar Kallur, 868
 Krishnamacharlu, D., 870
 Krishnamacharya (author, *Hosaganna-
 da Nudigannadi*), 83
 Krishnamurti, K., Dr., 850
 Krishnamurthi, Purānik, 849
 Krishnamurthi, P. N., Sir, 775, 776
 Krishnappa Nāyak of Ballam (Man-
 jarabad), 753
 Krishnappa Nāyaka of Gingee, 562
 Krishnarāja of Salya, 731
 Krishnarāja Woḍeyar, 685
 Krishnarāja Woḍeyar II, 695
 Krishnarāja Woḍeyar III, 83, 753,
 754, 762, 770 771, 772, 797, 811,
 845, 849, 878
 Krishnarāja Woḍeyar IV, 774, 782,
 873, 874, 878
 Krishna Rao, A. N., 849, 851, 868
 Krishna Rao, U. S., 880
 Krishna Rao, Hosakoppa, 780
 Krishnarao Mudhvedkar, 835, 906
 Krishna Sastri, A. R., 851
 Krishna Sastri, H., 551
 'Krishnasūkti', 837
 Krishnāvadhūta Paṇḍita, 861
 Krishnavarma, 113, 162
 Krishnavarma II, 113, 118
 Kriyāśakti—last great name of Kālā-
 mukha sect, 176;—Achārya, 645
 'Ksheerasagarā'—writer, 850, 868,
 869
 Kshēmendra, 110, 630
 Kshētrajna, 662
 Kubja—poet, 112, 189
 Kubja Vishnuvardhana, 138
 Kudva, V. S., 837
 Kulkarni, A. V., 869
 Kulkarni, N. K., 850, 868
 Kulōttunga (Chōla), 396, 402
 Kumāra Channabasava, 629
 Kumāradatta, 108
 Kumāra Dhola Bhūkere Daṇḍa-
 nāyaka, 522
 Kumāragupta I, 112
 Kumāra Padmarasa, 627
 Kumāra Rāma, 528, 578
 Kumāraswamiji of Hanagal, 960
 Kumāravarman (Māndhātā), 113
 Kumāra Venkanna, 869
 Kumāra Vyāsa, 542, 549, 625, 631,
 632, 635
 Kumarilabhaṭṭa, 230
 Kumkuma Mahādēvi—daughter of
 Vinayāditya, 208

- Kundakunda, 108, 476, 477
 Kundana Sōmidēvi, 196
 Kundavvi, 133
 Kuntala, Kuntaladēśa—another name for Karnataka, 99, 104, 105, 119, —original *Brihatkathā* hailed from, 190
 Kuroi Kuppa—Palaeolithic sites at, 90
 Kuvalāla—Modern Kolar, Capital of the Gangas, 116, 122
 'Kuvempu' (Dr. K. V. Puttappa), 847, 849, 850, 851
- Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, 539, 543, 607—Lakkaṇṇa Dandēśa, 626, 628, 629
 Lakshma Kavi, 741
 Lakshmana Bangarāja (of Tuḷunād), 730
 Lakshmana Dandēśa—a great minister, 518
 Lakshmanāṅka, 634
 Lakshmana Paṇḍita—Court physician of Bukka II, 616, 645
 Lakshmi Ammaṇṇi — Queen of Krishnarāja Wodeyar II, 696, 697
 Lakshmidēva I *alias* Lakshmana, 305
 Lakshmidēva II, 305
 Lakshmidhara—403, 611, 624
 Lakshmiśa, 733, 734
 Lakuliśa Paṇḍita — a Kāḷāmukha teacher, 375
 Lala Lajpatrai, 891, 900
 Lalāṭanārāyaṇa (Trilōchana Pallava), 139
 Lallia—a usurper, 125
 Lathe, A. B., 946
 Lawrence, Lord, 699, 771
 Lēpākshi — centre of Kāḷāmukhas, 175;—Paintings at, 650, 656
 Lindsay, Col., 761
 Lingadahalli—Palaeolithic man, 90
 Lingamantri, 634
 Lingama of Vellore, 562
 Linganna—poet, 669
- Linganna—Court historian, 673
 Lingarāja, 757, 760, 761
 'Lokabandhu', Weekly, 835
 Lōkanātha Paṇḍita — Kāḷāmukha teacher, 176
 Lōkamahādēvi—ruled jointly with he, husband, 354, 384
 'Lōkamata', Ed. by V. B. Puranik, 836
 'Loksikshaka', Weekly, 835
 Lolla Lakshmidhara, 645
 Longhurst, 650, 653, — his work, 'Hampi Ruins', 602, 604
 Lushington, C. M., 763
 Lushington, S. R., 763
- Maba—a great sculptor, 484
 Macartney, Lord, 697
 Macdonell, Dr., 147
 Mackenzie, 788
 Madakerināyaka, 676, 684
 Mādara Channayya, 371
 Madhava—of Ikshvāku dynasty, 116
 Madhava II—Ganga King, author of *Dattakasūtravṛitti*, 112, 190
 Mādhava, Mādhavachārya (Vidyāraṇya), 537, 636, 743
 Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, 647
 Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka, 399, 411
 Mādhavamantin, 638, 647
 Mādhava Muttarasa, 131
 Madhava Rao, Nyāpati, 776, 777, 783, 833, 944
 Madhava Rao, V. P., 776-7, 833, 944
 Mādhavateertha, 587
 Madhōji Bhonsle, 711
 Madhura (Poet), 599, 623, 626
 Madhura Chenna, 848
 'Madhuravāṇi' — Sanskrit monthly, 862
 Madhusūdana Sarasvati, 745
 Madhvāchārya—Anandateertha, 157, 414, 430, 436, 471, 472, 587, 588, 590, 591, 622, 638, 646, 714, 790, 863, 970

- Maḍivāla Māchayya, 373
Maffet, F. J., 844
Magaḍi Kempēgowḍa, 660
Majli, D. R., 914
Maggeya Māyidēva, 630, 633
Mahābali Bāṇādhiraḥa, 134
Mahabharata, 96, 97, 110, 111, 146, 149, 153, 158-60, 186, 193, 364, 550, 631, 732, 736, 821, 845, 867
Mahābhōji—Daughter of a Mahārāja made a gift of a cave, 107, 108
Mahādēva—Buddhist missionary sent to Mahishamandala, 171, 183,—Grandson of Singhana, 404,—Successor of Vijayāditya, 132,—a Kākatīya King, 403,—Mādeva Temple at Ittagi, finest after Helebid in Mysore
Mahadevappa Mailar—a Danḍi-marcher, 928, 929
Mahadevappa, 922, 923
Mahākūṭa—Pillar inscription of Mangaleśa, 96, 202;—Lakuliśa Temple at, 153
Mahāmandalēśvara Kadamba Tōyimaḍēva, 272
Mahāmandalēśvara Chikkarasa of Hambulige, 131
Mahāmandalēśvara Sāḷuva Krishna-dēva, 687
Mahānavami Dibba, 652, 653
Maharathi Sadakala Kalabaya—Viceroy at Chandravaḷḷi, 104
Mahavaidyanatha Iyer, 873
Mahavalis—another name for the 'Bāṇas', 129, 141
Mahaveera, 164, 477
Mahaveerachārya — of *Gaṇitasara-sangraha*, 257
Mahāyāna Buddhism, 114, 172
Mahēndra—Bāṇa King, 125, 141
Mahēndra (Pallava), 138
Mahēndra I—the great Nōḷamba King, 126
Mahendravarma, 120, 138, 140, 152, 154
Mahesh Narayan, 941
Mahīpati Kakhanḍiki, 872
Mahishmandala, 100, 183
Mahmud Gawan, 571, 573, 575, 615,
Mahmud Ghazni, 528
Mailugi—a brother of Bijjaḷa, 293, 294
Maitrēya—disciple of Lakuliśa, 153
Malaprabha—Prehistoric sites, 90
Malavalli—Prakrit inscription proves Sātavahana rule, 102 106
Maldiv Islands—ships built at, 605
Maḷe Kemparaya, 668
Malik Ahmad—founder of Ahmad-nagar, 572
Malik Kafur—General of Md. Tuglakh, 399, 405, 567
Malik Kafur—General of Bijapur, 687
Malik Khusru, 722
Malik Makbul, 529
Mallaṇarya of Gubbi, 627, 629
Mallappa, D. S., 780
Mallāri Ārādhya, 746, 853
Malliaṇṇa, 483
Mallikārjuna (Raṭṭa), 305
Mallikārjuna (Poet), 469
Mallikārjuna (Vijayanagara King), 539, 542, 544, 635, 642
Mallikārjuna Mansur, 876
Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, 446, 447
Mallitamma—Sculptor, 483, 484
Mallisēna, 695
Māma Warerkar, 869
Mammaṭa, 378
Mamoolanar—Tamil poet, 100
Manarang—a music artist, 875
Manasgi—sites of paleolithic man, 90
Manavāla Mahāmuni, 586
Mancha Dannāyaka of Beṭṭadakōte, 411
Manchana Paṇḍita, 446
Māndhāta, Māndhātri (Kumāravarman), 113, 118
Maṇḍikal Rāmasastri, 854
Mangala or Nōḷambādhiraḥa—the first Nōḷamba King, 140
Mangalavedhe, S. R., 949

- Mangaleśa, 96 119, 138, 153, 174, 200, 201, 202, 215, 220, 228, 290 381, 383
 'Mangalore Samachar', Weekly, 837
 Mangarāja, 464, 634, 635
 Mangarasa, 624, 625
 Mangaya or Ādityadēva, 410
 Manjaiya Heggade, 791
 Manjekhan, 876
 Manjunātha—Hinduised version of Buddhist Manjuśrī, 173
 Maṇikabbe, 133
 Māranāyaka, 689
 Mārappa, 529
 Marshall, Sir John, 444, 745
 Mārasimha, 123-26, 139, 141, 142, 195, 271
 Mārasimha II, 125, 196
 Māravarman Kulaśekhara — Pāṇḍya ruler, 398
 Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 397
 Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka, 520
 Mark Cubbon, Sir, 702, 761, 764, 765, 768, 771, 801
 Maruḷa, 446
 Masanitamma—a sculptor, 484
 Mascarenhas, V. M., 962
 Maski—site of Chalcolithic culture, 93; — provincial town of Asokan period, rock-edicts, 100, 102, 194
 Matanga—first writer on Music after Bharata, 491, 658, 663
 Mathew-de-castro—the first Indian Bishop, 726
 Matthews, General, 708
 Mahipāla—ruler of Kanauj, 238
 Mauryas, Mauryan Empire, 99, 100, 104, 105, 107, 174
 Max Muller, Prof., 157, 189
 Māyaṇa, 648
 Mayūra—poet, 151
 Mayūraśarman, 112, 113, 130, 137 152, 177, 343, 348
 Meadows, General, 697
 Mēdara Kēṭayya, 371
 Megasthenes, 126, 130, 160
 Mēghachandra Traividyadēva, 452
 Mēghanandi Siddhāntadēva—Rajaguru, 453
 Megur Asoti—sites of palaeolithic man, 90
 Mēlkōte, Dr. G. S., 909, 910
 Mēlkōṭe, 419, 420
 Mill, John Stuart, 772
 Miran Hashmi of Bijapur, 722
 Mirza Ismail, Sir, 781-83, 806, 960
 Mogge Māyidēva, 719
 Mohammad-bin-Tughlak, 399, 529, 567
 Mohammad Peer, 868
 Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah, 722
 Mōhanadāsa, 715, 871
 Mohenjadarō, 145, 146, 151, 184, 444, 447
 Mohiyuddin Ali Khan, 706
 Montagu, 898
 Moraes, Dr., 194, 195
 Motilal Nehru, 901, 902
 Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, 954
 Mountbatten, 784
 Mrigēśavarman, 113, 137, 165, 195
 Mriṇalini (Dancer), 880
 Mubarak—son of Ala-du-din, 405
 Mudānanda, 102, 104
 Mudda—a Minister of Harihara II, 537
 Mudda Daṇḍēśa, 623
 Muddaṇṇa, 846
 Muddappa, 529
 Muddiahrāja of Hormane, 757
 Muddurāja, 756
 Muddurāja of Halēri, 757
 Mudiyaṇṇanāyaka of Hāgalavāḍi, 683, 688
 Mudiyaṇṇanāyaka II, 683
 Mugali, R. S., 848, 851, 868
 Muguru Subbanna, 873
 Muhammad — son of Allauddin, Bahamani ruler, 535, 536
 Muhammad — son of Ibrahim II, 574
 Muhammad II, 546, 547, 614, 615

INDEX

- Muhammad Adil Shah, 709
 Muhammad Ali — Nawab of Arcot, 700
 Muhammad Ghorī, 528
 Muhammad Khaleel II, 723
 Muhammad Shah I, 569
 Muhammad Shah II, 537, 569, 570
 Muhammad Shah III, 571
 Muir, 145
 Mujahid Shah, 536, 569
 Mūkāmbikā—originally Buddhist deity Manjuśrī, 173
 Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, 111
 Mukṭāyakka, 373
 Mukundarao, B., 916
 Mummaḍi Kempa Veerappagowḍa—the last ruler, 668
 Mummaḍi Tamma Bhūpāla—a great scholar, 686
 Munavalli, 905
 Munja—killed by Taila II, 270, 271
 Munja-Utpala of Mālva, 315
 Munje, Dr., 898
 Muninātha Chilluka—an incarnation of Lakuliśa, 153
 Muninātha Gilluka, 175
 Muppina Shaḍakshari, 719
 Murad—Akbar's son, 575
 Murāribhaṭṭa, 647
 Murāri Rao of Gutti, 684
 Murige Dēśikēndra, 630
 Murthy Rao, 850, 851, 869
 Mutalik Desai—Editor, 836
 Muthiah Bhagavathar, 873
 Muttarasa Tirumala, 134
 Muthuswami Dikshitar, 662
 Muzaffar Jung, 698
 'Mysore Gazette'—English and Kannada, 833
 'Mysore Gazetteer', 675
 'Mysore Herald',—English, 832
 'Mysore Patriot',—English, 832
 'Mysore Standard', Bi-weekly, English, 833
 'Mysore Star', 832
 Mysore University, 777, 813
 'Mysore Vrittānta Bōdhini', Anglo-Kannada, 831
 Nādamuni, 428
 Nādindla Gōpa, 646
 Nadkarni, M. P., 915
 „ Dayanand, 925
 Nāgas, 137
 Nāgābharāṇa, 637,—a scholar assisting Sāyana
 Nāgachandra (Abhinava Pampa), 465, 466, 468, 731
 Nāgadatta, 144
 Nāgahasti—wrote Prakrit glosses, 476
 Nagakunda, 196
 Nāgalādēvi — mother of King Dēvarāya, 550
 Nāgavarma II, 370
 Nagan Gowḍa, R., Dr., 903, 947
 Nāganikā — Queen of Sātakarṇi II, 105
 Nāgarāja — author of *Punyaśrava*, 107
 Nagaraj, H. V., Editor, 834
 Nagarajan, K. S., 858
 Nāgarasa—rendered *Bhagavad Geeta*, into Kannada, 734
 Nagaratna (Dancer), 879, 880
 Nāgārjuna, 111, 186, 356
 Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 111, 116, 137
 Nāgaśiva Paṇḍita — a Kāḷāmukha teacher, 176
 Nāgaśrī, 102
 Nāgavarma I, 365
 Nāgavarma II, 80, 376
 Nagavarma, 517, 736
 'Nagemari'—an author, 851
 Nagesh Ganesh Hegde, 921
 Nāgēśa—son of Lingabhaṭṭa, 860
 Nagesa Sastri, 859
 Naḷanda, 172, 347
 Namadev, 719
 Nammālvar, 428
 Nana Fadnavis, 701, 704

- Nandas—rule over Kuntala (Karnataka), 99, 100, 107
 Nandalike Lakshminaranappa, (Muddana), 846
 Nandi—Important centre of Kālāmukhas, 175,—temple, 98
 Nandisēna, 185
 Nandivarman—Pallava King, 121, 123, 132, 139
 Nandivarman III, Pallava, 133
 Nanjarāja—Changāḷva King, 407—of Periyapatana, 756
 Nanjarāja—Sarvādhikāri, 685
 Nanjarajaiah, Sarvādhikāri, 695, 696, 699
 Nanjarāja Woḍeyar, 752
 Nanjarāja—Yasōbhūṣaṇa, 746, 852
 Nanjunda—poet, 635
 Nanjunda Dikshita, 854
 Nanjundaiah, H.V., 776
 Nanjundaiah, N. S., Rao Bahadur, 780
 Nanjunda Mudaliar of Periyapatna, 692
 Nanna (Raṭṭa), 304
 Naṇakkasa Pallava, 131
 Nanni Changaḷva, 407
 Nanniga Ayyappadēva Aṇṇiga, 140, 141
 Nanni—Noḷamba Pallava, 142
 Nanniya Ganga—Būtuga II, 125, 173
 Nanni Sāntara, 323
 Naragund Baba Saheb, 867
 Narahari—author of *Naishadha-deepika*, 644
 Narahari—Kumara Vālmiki, 632
 Narahari—son of Vādirājāchārya, 638
 Narahari Sastri, Bellave, 850, 867
 Narahari Sōmayāji, 637
 Narahariteertha, 473, 587, 590, 631, 714
 Nārāṇappa (Kumāra Vyāsa), 631
 Narasanāyaka—of Tuḷu family, 545
 Narasimha—Chālukya King, of Vēmulaṇḍa, 238
 Narasimha Ballāḷa, 467, 628
 Narasimha I, 395, 452, 455, 466, 481, 482
 Narasimha II, 397, 409, 413, 469, 481, 519-20, 522, 545
 Narasimha III, 398, 453, 471-2, 482-3, 522
 Narasimhachar, D. L., 77, 851
 Narasimhachar, P. T., 847, 850, 869
 Narasimhachar, S. G., 846
 Narasimhachar, R., 99, 732, 846
 Narasimhacharya of Kōṭeśvara, 857
 Narasimhadēva—son of Neetimārga II, 125
 Narasimhiṇnyar, Ambil, 879
 Narasimhanāyaka—of Gummareddy-palaya, 680-1
 Narasimhanāyaka IV, 682
 Nargis Begum—one of the ablest women of the Bahamani Kingdom, 571
 Narasimahapōtavarman (Pallava King), 120, 216
 Narasimha Sastri of Kankanahalli, 854
 Narasimha Sōmayāji, 834
 Narasimhaswami, K. S., 848
 Narasimhavarma I—Pallava King; defeated Pulikēśi II and destroyed Bādāmi, 120, 138, 139, 152, 192, 206
 Narayana Bhagavan of Agaḍi, 793
 Narayanadēva—Kālāmukha teacher, 178
 Narayana Guru of Kerala, 793
 Nārāyaṇ Hoskeri, 929
 Nārāyaṇa Kavi, 632
 Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, 473, 475
 Nārāyaṇa Rao, C., Dr. (of Andhra), 870
 Nārāyaṇa Rao, V. S., 921
 Nārāyaṇa Rao Huilgol, 867, 868
 Nārāyaṇa Rao Joshi, 836, 917
 Narayanaswami Dikshita, 858
 Narayana Vājpeyi, 637
 Nariman, 901
 Narendra Dutt of Bidar, 909

INDEX

- Narēndra Mrigarāja Vinayāditya II, 123
- Nasik—inscription of Pulamāyi, 95, 108; —caves at, 106, 107
- Nasir Jung, 698, 699
- Nāṭa-śāle — earliest reference 1045 A.D., 866
- ‘Navabharat’—first daily, Mangalore, 837
- ‘Navajeevana’, 835
- Navaratna Rama Rao, 851
- ‘Navaśakti’—English, 913
- ‘Navayuga’, Hubli Daily, 838
- ‘Navayuga’, 837
- Nayak, T. S., 901, 913, 915
- Nayakeerti Yati — ‘Siddhānta Chakrēśvara’, 462
- Nayasēna, 269, 470, 479, 621, 740
- Neelakantha Bua Gaḍgoli, 876
- Neelakanthappa Sugandhi, 913
- Neelakantha Sivārya, 629
- Neetimārga—son of Rājamalla, 124, 140, 196, 509
- Neetimārga II, Ereyappa, 125
- Nehru Committee, 901, 943, 946
- Nēmichandra (Siddhānta Chakravarti), 468, 477, 478, 599
- Nēmichandra (Guru of Chāvunḍarāya), 195
- Neolithic age, 89;—culture, 92
- Nesvi, T. R., 838, 919
- Netraśivāchārya—Kāḷāmukha ascetic, 175
- Niḍaghaṭṭa—sites of Palaeolithic man, 90
- Nijaguṇa Sivayōgi, 613, 633, 659, 660, 719
- Nijalingappa, S., 948, 949, 951, 955, 957
- Nikitin—a Russian merchant visiting India, 573
- Nikitini—a traveller, 649
- Nilakantha Sastri, Professor, 99
- ‘Niranjana’, Writer 849, 851
- Niravadya Paṇḍita, 114
- Nissar Ahmed, K. S., 848
- Nissar Hussain Khan, 875
- Nittooru Nanjayya, 741
- Nityānanda — Chaitanya’s assistant, 590
- Nizam Shah, 560
- Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, 575
- Noḷambas—descendants of the great Mahēndra, 122, 126, 132, 133, 140, 141, 199
- Noḷapayya, Noḷipayya, 141
- North Hill, Bellary—grinding grooves of neolithic man found on, 92
- Noḷambādhirāja Noḷipayya, 141
- Noḷambādhirāja Poḷālchōra, 124-5, 132
- Noḷamba-Kulāntaka — Ganga King Mārasimha, 142, 196
- Noḷambāntaka—Mārasimha, 125
- Noḷamba Nārāyaṇa, 140
- Noḷamba — Pallava Permānadi, 142
- Noḷambarasa, 142
- Noḷambavāḍi—province stronghold of Kāḷāmukhas, 132, 140, 142, 175
- No-tax campaign, 901, 913, 917
- Nripakāma (Hoysala), 392, 451
- Nripatunga, 139, 179, 184, 186, 356, 621, 478,—Amōghavarsha, 78, 192, 232, 344
- Nripatunga Varman, 125, 133
- Nṛisimhabhārati Swamiji of Srīngēri, 861
- Nuniz, 541, 544, 549, 550-52, 554, 557, 604, 605
- Nūtana Purāṇas, 626
- Nūronda—author of *Soundara Kāvya*, 731
- Nyamati—sites of Paleolithic man, 90
- Ōbalammanagati, 684
- Ōbaṇṇanāyaka (Title: Madikerināyaka), 684
- Ōbavva, 684
- Oḍeyadēva, 193
- Ōduva Giriya, 627
- Onkunda (Okkunda), 84
- Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, 77, 85, 184

- Padari Malloja—a sculptor, 483
 Paes, Domingo—a Portuguese traveler, 544, 545, 549-552, 554, 601, 602, 604, 605, 610, 614, 648, 653, 655
 Padmalā Mahādēvi—Queen of Narasimha II, 519
 Padmanabha Puranik, Dr., 909
 Padmanānka, 628
 Padmapāda, 193, 579
 Padmarasa, 735
 Padmasiva Paṇḍita (Kālāmukha teacher), 176
 Palkurike Sōma, — Sōmanatha, 628, 645, 647
 Pal, B. C., 891
 Pallavas, 112, 113, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130-33, 137, 138, 141, 152, 162, 171, 193, 197, — attempts to perpetuate authority on Kuntala, 118—struggle with Kaḷabhras, 119, —aggression, 120,—driven out from Badami, 139,—disruption of rule, 140
 Pallava Triṇētra, 138
 Pampa, 80, 177, 178, 242, 248, 363, 368, 467, 478, 623, 631
 Panchabāṇa, 735
 Panchāksharayya (Ubbhayagānaviśārada), 876
 Pāṇchālādēva, 126
 Panchava Mahārāya, 408
 Panchamukhi, Dr., 103
 Panchaśika Hārita, 200
 Pandhari Deekshita, 637
 Pandharināthāchārya of Galagali, 862
 Pandit, M. P., 596
 Panditārādhyā, 629
 Pāṇḍurangi Kēśavabhāṭṭāraka, 743
 Pāṇḍurāṅgi Narasimhāchārya, 860
 Pāṇḍya Amara Bhujanga, 315
 Pāṇini, 150, 160, 190, 645
 Paniyādi, U. S., 85
 Panje Mangesh Rao, 87, 837, 847, 896
 Pansekari Venkatasubba (a dance teacher), 878
 Parāgavya—a teacher of Pāśupata sect, 154
 Paramanna Hosamani, 910, 913, 915
 Paramagal Prithivi Nirgunḍarāja, 131
 Paramāra Subhalavarma, 403
 Paramasivayya, G., 780
 Paramayya Ganapayya Hegde, 921
 Paramēśvaravarma, I, (Pallava King), 139, 207
 Parameswara Bhaṭṭa, S. V., 848, 850
 Paranjōti—a Saiva Saint, 152
 Parāntaka (Chōḷa King), 134, 239, 314
 Parāntaka I—Veeranārāyaṇa (Chōḷa King), 124, 129
 Parasuram Bhau, 711
 Parśvadēva,—a Jaina composer, 380
 Parśvanātha, 164
 Partition of Karnataka, 751
 ‘Parvatavāṇi’, dramatist, 850, 868, 869
 Parvatiker, Dattatreya, 876
 Paryāya at Uḍupi, 591
 Pāśupata sect, 149, 153, 155
 Pātālamalla—brother of Vajjala, 126
 Patil, M. P., 908, 919, 925, 948
 Patil, K. F. 838, 923
 Patil Puttappa, 838-9
 Patnam Subramanya Iyer, 873
 Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Dr., 850
 Payanna Vratī, 735
 Pedda Kōmaṭi—of Konḍaveedu, 543
 Peddana—Telugu poet, 554
 Peer, Md., Actor 867
 Pemmaveerappa, 407
 Percy Brown (Art-critic), 382, 386, 481-2, 649
 Permāḍi I (Sinda), 308
 Permāḍi II, (Sinda), 308
 Permāḍidēva, 299, 300
 Perumala Dandayanāka, 411
 Peshwa Baji Rao, 710
 Peshwa Madhava Rao, 684, 711
 Peter Mundy, 672
 Phleat, G. Rev., 842

- Pietro Della Valle—Foreign traveller, 610, 611, 671
- Piklhal, Excavations at, 70
- Pillai Lokāchārya, 425, 536
- Pillai Nāyanar, 736
- Pingala—a Paśupata teacher, 154
- Piriyarāja—rebuilt Piriyapattana, 408
- Pittuga (Raṭṭa), 304
- Piggott, Lord, 697
- Pindaris, 753
- Polālchora, 140-2
- Ponna — Kavichakravarti, 193, 252, 363
- Poonacha, C.M., 838
- Ponnalādēvi—Queen of Dēvarāya II, 542
- Poṭṭi Sriramulu, 953
- Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva, 452
- Prabhāvatī, Queen of Mrigēśvarman, 137, 195
- Prabhumēru, 133
- Prabhuseṇiya — Kannada author, 183
- ‘Prajamata’, Weekly, 834
- ‘Prajamitra’, Weekly, 834
- ‘Prajavāṇi’, Daily, 838
- Prakāśātman, 579, 646
- Prāṇēśa Dāsa, 715
- Prāṇēśachārya, 838
- Prāṇēśaviṭhala, 872
- ‘Prapancha’, Daily, Hubli, 838
- Prasanna Venkaṭadāsa, 715, 871
- Prasanna Venkaṭapati, 872
- Pratāpadēvarāya—younger brother of Dēvarāya II, 542
- Pratāparudra — Kākateya King, 530-1, 546-8,
- Pratāparudra II, 567
- Pratishthana (Paithan)—inland market town, 103-4
- Princep, James, 788
- Prithivipati I (Ganga), 131-4
- Prithivipati II (Ganga), 124, 131, 314
- Prithivirāma (Raṭṭa), 304
- Prithivisetty, 541
- Proloyachāyaka, 567
- Ptolemy, 109, 111, 144
- Pūjyapāla *alias* Devanandin—Jaina Grammarian, 114, 120, 165, 192, 209, 230
- Pulikeśi I, 93, 113, 200, 215, 219, 228, 343, 381, 383
- Pulikeśi II, 113, 119, 120, 130, 132, 152, 189, 192, 201, 203, 206, 215, 218, 225, 228, 290, 321, 343, 344, 381
- Puṇḍanāḍa or Punganur, 141
- Pullayyagudḍa (in Hyderabad) — Neolithic grooves found at, 92
- Pulumāyi, Pulamāyi, 102, 104, 109
- Punnāṭa — South Mysore, 118, 119, 144
- Purṇarikaviṭhala, 655, 662-3
- Purandaradāsa, 585, 588, 603-4, 613, 633, 660-1, 715-6, 970
- Paranik, K. T., 869
- Purṇānanda Bhaṭṭāraka (a Kālāmukha teacher), 176
- Purnaiah, 753, 759, 873
- ‘Pūrṇa Samajika Patrike’ (Kannada), 832
- Purohit, H. R., 920
- Purushōthama—Gajapati King, 545, 571
- Pushpadanta, 107, 476, 478
- Pushpaka—a Paśupata teacher, 154
- ‘Pushpamālike’—Monthly, 835
- Puttadēvamma (Dancer), 879
- Puttanna, M. S., 849
- Puttappa Chetty, K.P., Sir, 780
- Puttaswamiah, B., Editor, 838
- ‘Qasim-ul-Akbar’, Hindustani newspaper, 831
- Quit India Movement, 895, 903, 907, 924-939
- Quli Qutb Shah—of Golkonda, 548
- Qutb-ul-mulk—of Golkonda, 572
- Qutb Shah, 556

Rāchamalla I,—132, 178, 195, 239, 253
 Rāchamalla III, 124
 Rāchamalla Permāḍi, 133
 Radhakrishnan, Dr., 879
 'Raghava', writer, 848
 Raghavachar, K. V., 850
 Raghavachari, T., Actor, 870
 Rāghavānanda Saraswati, 743
 Rāghavānka, 82, 466-7, 460, 627, 734
 Rāghavendra Teertha of Mantrālaya, 715, 744, 790
 Raghu (Kadamba), 112, 162
 Raghuchandra Konkana Sanyasi, 687
 Raghunātha Nāyaka, 663
 Raghunatha Rao, 701, 711
 Raghunāthaviṭhala, 872
 Raghūttama, 646
 Rahamat Khan, 875,
 Rājāditya—Court poet of Vishnuvaradhana, 357, 466
 Rājāditya—Chōḷa Prince, 126, 134, 142, 239, 314
 Rajagopal, K. V., 848
 Rajagopala Chakravarti, 856
 Rajagopalakrishna Rao, 837
 Raja Gautamiputra Villivāyakura, 104
 'Rajahamsa', Weekly, 835
 Rajaji, 900
 Rajakavi Srinivasa Iyengar, 867
 Rājālādēvi, 519
 Rajalingasuri or Rajamallaya, 853
 Rājamalla, 125
 Rājamalla—(of the Mahāvali Family), 129
 Rājamalla—Vijayāditya's son, 124
 Rājamalla Satyavākya, 509
 Rājamalla Satyavākya I, 140
 Rājamalla Satyavākya II, 124-5
 Rājamalla III, 125
 Rājamalla IV, 126
 Rājanātha Dīṇḍima — Court-poet of Achyutarāya, 557
 Rājarāja—Chōḷa prince, 125, 315

Rājarāja III, 397
 Rājaram—son of Sivāji, 674
 Rajaratnam, G. P., 848, 868
 Rājasēkhara—Poet, 514
 Rājasimha Māravarman Pāṇḍya, 121
 Raja Vasisthīputra Villivāyakura, 104
 Rāja Woḍeyar, 685, 690-2
 Rājendra Chōḷa, 127, 271
 Rājendra I (Chōḷa), 315-6
 Rājendra II, (Chōḷa) 316
 Rājendra III (Chōḷa), 319, 397, 398
 Rajendra Prasad, Dr., 907, 951
 Rājiga Kulōttunga Chōḷa, 317-8
 Rakkasa Ganga, 126, 193
 Rakkasa-Tangaḍi, 558, 560, 578
 Rakkita—Buddhist monk, 171
 Ralley, Monsieur, 706
 Rāmā Amātya, 655, 660, 663
 Ramachandra—Yādava King, 405
 Ramachandra—Mālādhāri, 474
 Ramachandra Rao, Tagadur, 905
 Ramachandra Rao, T. S., Editor, 838
 Ramachandra Sarma, 848, 851, 869
 Ramachar, G., 908-9
 Ramacharya Galagali, 862
 Ramacharya, Tupaki, 872
 Ramadas of Kanhangad, 793
 Ramadeva—son of Sri Ranga II, 563
 Ramaiah, P. R., 834
 Ramaiah, M. S., 834
 Ramakrishna Bua Vaze, 875
 Ramakrishna Dhoot, 909
 Ramakrishna Hegde of Mandagesar, 921
 Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, 787, 791, 793
 Ramakrishna Sastri of Hassan, 853
 Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement, 792
 Ramāmaṇi (Dancer), 879
 Ramana Maharshi, 793
 Ramachandra, Swami, 429-30
 Ramanand Teerth, Swami, 909-10

INDEX

- Ramanatha—(Hoysala), 398
 Rāmānuja, Rāmānujāchārya, 154, 161, 369, 394, 414, 419-22, 425-6, 428-30, 471-2, 583, 585, 588, 590, 622, 646, 739, 790, 970
 Ramanuja Iyengar, Ariyakudi, 832, 846, 874
 Ramappa, Patil, 922
 Rama Rao, Bellary, 897
 Rama Rao, Benegal, 837
 Rama Rao, U., Dr., 946-7
 Rama Rao V. Nayak, 876
 Ramarasa Virupaksha, 532
 Rāmarāya (Aḷiya), 556-60, 573, 587, 650, 657, 670
 Ramasubba Sastri, 856
 Rama Sastry, Chamarajnagar, 855
 Rama Sastry, Kunigal, 861
 Ramaswami Iyengar, Gorur, 851
 Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Arcot, 784
 Ramayana, 96, 98, 110, 112, 149, 186, 193, 430, 533, 631-2, 638, 732, 821, 845, 867
 Rambhach, P. (Art-critic), 382-3
 Rambhau Kundagolkar (Savai -Gandharva), 875
 Ramgopal, 880
 Rammohan Ray, Rāja, 787
 Ram Nayak Basgod, 917, 921
 Ram Nayak Bhāvikeri, 917
 Raṇabhaira Gowda, 665-6
 Ranade, R. D., 714, 793, 872
 Raṇadulla Khan, 564, 668, 683-4, 709
 Raṇarāgasimha — son of Jayasimha, 200
 Raṇāvalōka Kambiah, 122
 Raṇavikrama (Bāṇa King), 130
 Rangacharlu, C., 772-3, 812, 832
 Ranga Iyengar, K., 906
 Ranganath, 869
 Ranganatha or Mahalinga Ranga, 740
 Rangōjibhaṭṭa, 743
 Rangaswami Iyengar, A., Editor, 942
 Rāṇi Chennamma of Kittur, 753, 886
 Ranna, 80, 138, 200, 271, 363
 Rāṇi Lakshmiammaṇṇi, 752, 772
 'Rāshṭrabandu', Weekly, 913
 'Rāshṭramata', Weekly, 837
 Ratnākara, 633, 635, 731, 732; Ratnākaraavarṇi, 624, 660-1, 867
 Ratnanandi, 99
 Ratnāvali—mother of a Bāṇa King, 133, 175
 Ratnavali Troupe of Varadacharya, 870
 Ravidatta, 144
 Ravikeerti — Poet of Pulikēśi II, 189, 215, 228, 344, 383
 Ravivarma — Kadamba King, 113, 118, 165
 Ravivarma (Artist), 777
 Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, 289
 Razakars, 910
 Razvi, S. N., 905
 Reddy, K. C., 782, 784-5, 834, 852
 Reeves, Rev.—author of first English-Kannada Dictionary, 728
 Rēvaka — sister of Rāshṭrakūta Krishna, 134
 Rēvakanimmaḍi — daughter of Amōghavarsha, administrator, 178
 Rēvaṇārādhyā, 647
 Revanasidda, Revana Siddhēśwara, 446, 628, 629
 Richard Meade, Col., 770
 Rice, Mr., 99, 165, 788
 Rice, B., Rev., Editor of 'Aruṇodaya', 729, 831
 Rice, B. L., 186-7, 774, 812, 846
 Rice, E. P., 719, 733, 846
 Ripon, Lord, 773
 Rishabha (Teerthankara), 160, 164, 178
 Risley, H. H., 941
 Robert-de-Nobili, 726
 Robson, Francis, 708
 Rudrabhaṭṭa, 468, 631
 Rudragowḍa, Artala, 820
 Rudrappa, 953, 957
 Rudraśakti—Rājaguru of Sōmadēva and Narasimha II, 519

- Rumale Channabasavaiah, 834
 Rūpabhaṭṭayya—Minister of Āhava-
 malla, 174
 Rustami—'Dakhni' writer, 722
 Russell, Mr., 817
- S'abdamāṇidarpaṇa*, 469, 470, 735
 Sadakana Chutu Kanha Maharāthi,
 102, 172
 Sadakana Kalalāya Mahārathi, 102,
 172
 Sadakana Kaṇasa Maharāthiputa, 102
 Sadānand Yogi (Nityātma Suka), 632
 Sadarang, 875
 Sadāsiva—author, 851
 Sadāsivanāyaka II of Ikkeri, 559, 670
 Sadāsivarāya, 556, 557, 560, 587
 Sadasiva Rao, Mysore, 873
 Sadāsiva Yogi, 630
 'Sādhvi', Kannada newspaper, 833
 Saggalādēvi—wife of King Jayasimha,
 176
 Sahasrabuddhe, 862
 Sai Bāba, 793
 Saigotta Sivamara—Ganga King, 139,
 187-8
 Sakalēśa Mādarasa, 371
 Sakari Bhaṭṭaraka—a Śaiva devotee,
 175
 Sala—founder of the Hoysala dynasty,
 392, 451
 Salabat Khan of Bijapur, 671
 Salakaraju Chinna Tirumala, 556-7
 Saldanha, Joseph, 842
 Saletore, B.A., Dr., 600
 Sālināyaka, 683
 Sali Ramachandra Rao, 847, 862
 Sāḷuva Gōpa Tippa Bhūpāla, 644
 Sāḷuva Narasimha — Emperor of
 Vijayanagar, 409, 540, 544, 546,
 558, 588, 640, 659, 683
 Sāḷuva Timma, 646
 Sāḷuva Timmarasa or Appāji, 409,
 548-9
 Sālva, 736
 Sālva Gōpa Tippa, 655
 Samantabhadra, 107-8, 193, 230, 234,
 242, 246, 626
 Sāmbaiya—great composer, 873
 Sambāji, 693
 Sambuvarāya, 639
 'Sampadabhyudaya', Kannada news-
 paper, 832
 Samprati Chandragupta — Grandson
 of Asoka, ruling at Ujjain, 107, 164
 'Samsa' (dramatist), 869
 'Sanskrita Chandrika' — Monthly,
 862
 Samudragupta, 116
 'Samyukta Karnataka'—Daily, 836,
 920
 Sānanda Ganēśa, 627
 Sangana Kallu — site of Chalcolithic
 culture, 93
 Sangama II, 638
 Sangeetavidya Kanṭheerava Karigiri
 Rao, 874
 Sankha—daughter of Nripatunga, 125,
 139
 Sankara—Sankarāchārya, 160, 173,
 193, 245, 414-5, 417-9, 425, 579-80,
 582-3, 588, 638, 646, 651, 740, 742,
 789, 856, 883, 970
 Sankarānanda — teacher of Vidyā-
 rāya, 474
 Śānta Kavi (Sakkari Bālācharya), 847,
 867, 891
 Śāntalādēvi — Queen of Vishnuvar-
 dhana, 394, 452, 456, 463, 481, 519,
 971
 Śāntalinga Dēśika, 736
 Santāna—a Pāśupata teacher, 154
 Śāntinātha, 368
 Śāntivarma (Raṭṭa), 304
 Śāntivarman (Pallava King), 113,
 137, 189, 195
 Sappanna (Sarpabhūṣaṇa), 719, 741
 Sardar, M. S., 947
 Sardar (Vallabhbbhai) Patel, 905, 907,
 910, 947, 951
 Sardesai, G. S., 701
 Sarjah Hanumappanāyaka, 680

INDEX

- Sarjappanāyaka, 680
 Sarkar, Jadunath, 574
 Sārṅgadhara, 644
 Sarṅgadēva—author of *Sangeeta-Ratnākara*, 404, 489, 491, 659
 Sarpabhūshana Sivayogi (Sappanna-svami), 873
 Sarvajna, 613, 719, 740
 Sarvārtha Siddha, 114
 Sarvanandi Muni, 130
 Sarvavarman—author of *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, 110, 190
 Sarvēśvara-Saktidēva—Kālāmukha teacher, 176
 Sastri, S. G., 850, 865, 869
 Sātakarṇi, 95, 195
 Sātakarṇi, II, 162
 Satānika, 198
 Saṭhagopa, 744
 'Satyagrahi'—Weekly, 837, 914
 Satyadhyana-teertha, 860
 Satyanāthayati, 744
 Satyapramōdateertha, 861
 Satya Sai Bāba of Puttaparti, 793
 Satyāśraya—title of Keertivarma Chāḷukya, 200-1, 271
 Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarma, 201, 205
 Satyāśraya Irivabedānga Āhavamalla, 315, 364
 Satyāśraya Prithivivallabha, Ereyitti-yadigal, 130
 Satyavākya—uncle of Ereyappa, 125, 196
 Satyavākya Rāchamalla Permānaḍi, 196
 Saunders, C. B., 770
 Savai Gandharva, 875
 Sāvaladēvi—an accomplished Princess, 354
 Sangama, 529-30
 Sāyana, Sāyanāchārya, 154, 537, 636-640, 644-5
 Schwartz, Frederic, 727
 Second World, War, 783, 798, 806, 808, 825, 895, 907, 909
 Seetarama Sastry, Mysore, 850
 Seetharamiah, M. V., 851
 Senguṭṭuvan, 183
 Sesali Viranārādhya, 647
 Seshadri Iyer, K. Sir., 773, 775, 797, 812, 832, 960
 Seshagiri Rao, Turamuri, 869
 Seshanna, Veene, 873, 884
 Setlur, S. S., 905
 Setty, A. B. Dr., 837, 903
 Seunachandra I, 401
 Shadakshari, 628, 736, 745
 Shahjahan, 575
 Shahji, 668, 686, 709-10
 Shakespeare, 845-6, 850
 Shama Sastri, R. Dr., 99, 858
 Shankara Gana—Kalachuri King, 202
 Shankaragowda Patil, 954
 Shankarrao Gulvadi, 915
 Shantappa Yelamali, 949
 Shantimati Gangoli, 876
 'Sharana Sandesha', 914
 Sharman, Tirumale T a t a c h a r y a , Editor, 833
 Shasta I, 296
 Shasta II (Son of Guvaladēva I), 296
 Shasta III (Son of Tribhuvanamalla), 302
 Shivamurthi Swami, 955
 Shiva Rao, B., 940
 Shyama Prasad Mukherji, 850
 Siddaiya Puranik, 850
 Siddalingayya, T., 782, 907
 Siddamma, wife of Mahadevappa, Mailar, 923
 Siddamma, Bellary, 953
 Siddappa Hosamani, 912
 Siddappa, T., Editor, 834, 838
 Siddarama (Siddharama), 302, 369, 371-2, 444, 733
 Siddaramappa Pavate, 918
 Siddavanahalli Krishnasarma, Editor, 834
 Siddurao Pujari, 901

- Silāditya (Mahārāja) Harsha, 138, 204
 Silpa Siddhanti Siddalingasvami, 885
 Silva, S., 676
 Simhavarman, 113, 118, 137, 138
 Simhanandi (Achārya), 116, 165, 191
 Simhapōta or Singapōta, 140
 Simhavishnu — Pallava King, 119, 137-8, 191
 Simuka—first King of Sātavāhana Dynasty, 104
 Sindu Rāja, 120
 Singa II (Sindas), 308
 Singama Bhaṭṭa—hydraulic engineer, 538
 Singanna Daṇḍanāyaka, 522
 Singapōta — Nolamba King, 122, 140
 Singapōta — Kali Nolambadi arasa, 178
 Singarāya, 739
 Singeyabhaṭṭa — famous doctor and hydraulic engineer, 616
 Singhana—last king of the Kalachuris —294
 Singhana—son of Jaitrapala, 403
 Singhana II, 405
 Singirāja, 628
 Sinha, N. K., Prof., 701
 Sircar, D. C., Dr., 189
 Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, 779
 Siribaya Doddaveerappa, 756-7
 Siriyadēvi, 518
 Siruttondar—a Saiva saint known as Paranjoti, 152
 Sivāji, 565, 574, 674, 693, 710, 750
 Sitaramacharya Alevur, 864
 Sitarama Sastry, Veerakesari, 835
 Sivakoṭi—author of *Voḍḍārādhanē*, 108, 254
 Sivamāra, Sivamāra Saigotta, 120, 122-3, 131-2, 140, 195, 357
 Sivamāra II, 165
 Sivananda Swami,—of Hṛishikesh, 793
 Sivanandivarman — of the Kēkaya family, 137
 Sivappanāyaka, 672-3, 688, of Ikkēri, 692-3 : of Keḷadi, 564-5
 Sivaram Bua, 875
 Sivarudrappa, G. S., 848
 Sivaskanda Nāgaśri—Chūtu Princess, 344
 Sivasubrahmanya Sastri, P. R., 858
Sivatattvaratnākara—An encyclopaedic work, 616, 669, 675
 Siyagalla—son of Sreepurusha, 121-2
 Skandavarman — ruler of Punnāṭa, 118-9, 144
 Skandavarman Pallava, 118, 137
 Skandavarman—Vishnugopa's son, 137
 Sōmadēva—Sanskrit poet, 110
 Sōmadēva—Changāḷva King, 407
 Sōmadēva—Hoysala King, 519
 Sōmadēvasūri, 258
 Sōmanatha, Jagaddala, 466
 Sōmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, 484
 Sōmanātha Kavi, 734
 Sōmaśekharaṇāyaka, 675, 756
 Sōmaya Daṇḍanāyaka (Sōmeya—), 399, 533
 Sōmēśvara—Hoysala King, 319, 469, 523, 649
 Sōmēśvara or Sōvidēva—son of Narasimha II, 397
 Sōmēśvara I, (Chālukya), 142, 273, 317, 344, 392
 Sōmēśvara II (Chālukya), 142, 274-5, 317, 344, 392
 Sōmēśvara III (Chālukya), 281, 344, 371, 378, 491, 517
 Sōmēśvara IV (Chālukya), 200, 283-4, 402
 Sōmēśvaranāyaka, 673-4
 Sōsale Garalapuri Sastri, 854
 Sōmēśvara Sūri, 175
 Sōsale Vidyāratnākara (Narahari Viṭhala), 873
 Sōvidēva or Soyidēva, 293-4, 305
 Sōvidēva—a great Minister, 518
 'Sree' (B. M. Srikantiah), 847, 869, 944, 960

INDEX

- Sreekanta Sastry, Chamarajanagar, 855
- Sreekanta Sastry, Yelandur, 851
- Sreemāra—Pāṇḍyan King, 125
- Sreenāgavarma, 144
- Sreenivasacharya, Lakshmipuram, 855
- Sreenivasa Rao, C., 780
- Sreepurusha—Ganga King, 120-2, 131, 190
- Sreerangarāja of Talakād, 127
- Sreevardhadēva—Jaina Poet, 191
- Sreevijaya, 186
- Srīdharāchārya—wrote on Astrology, 358
- Srīdharadēva, 634
- Srīdaviṭhala, 872
- Srikantha—Sakti-Visishtadvaita commentator on the *Brahma Sūtras*, 592
- Srikanta, Sastri, Dr., S., 138
- Srikanta Sastri, N., 870
- Srikēśi (Sāntara King), 322
- Srīnatha—Telugu poet, 542
- Sringāra Kavi, 731, 736
- Sringāramma, 739
- 'Srinivasa' (Masti Venkatesa Iyengar) 847, 849-51, 869
- Srinivasa Bhaṭṭa (of Bitiyaru), 864
- Srinivasachar, T. C., Editor 'Karnataka Patrika' Kannada - English, 831
- Srinivasa Desikacharya, 858
- Srinivasa Iyengar, B., Editor, 832
- Srinivasa Iyengar, K. R., 782
- Srinivasa Iyengar, M., 833
- Srinivasa Iyengar, S., 942
- 'Srinivasa Kavi' (Venkannachārya Agalagalli), 853
- Srinivasa Kavisarvabhauma, 853
- Srinivasamurthy, M. R., 869
- Srinivasan, P. B., Editor, 834
- Srinivasa Rao Ekhellikar, 910
- Srinivasa Rao Borikar, 909
- Srinivasa Rao Kaujalgi, 896, 898
- Srinivasa Rao Rodda of Dharwar, 820
- Srinivasiah, Dharma Prakasa, 834
- Srīpādarāya, 633, 659, 660-1, 714
- Srīpāla Trividyadēva, 451
- Srīpati Paṇḍita, 592-4, 599, 645, 648
- Sripativīṭhala, 872
- Sri Rama, Viceroy at Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa, 561
- Srīranga—Vijayanagar Emperor, 561, 682, 692
- Srī Ranga II or Sri Ranga Chikkaraya, 562-3
- Srīranga IV, 710
- Srī Rangarāya, 668, 672, 685-6, 730
- Srīvardhadēva or Tumbulūrāchārya, 230
- Srivijaya, 78, 193
- Srīvikrama—son of Mushkara, 120
- Srutakeerti, 165
- States' Reorganization Commission, 895, 903, 955, 957-8
- Stein, A. Sir, 151
- Stuart, General, 703
- Stuart Hartley General, 760
- Subāhu, 401
- Subandhu, 190, 468
- Subbanna, Veene, 873
- Subbannacharya Tupāki, 872
- Subbarasayya, 758
- Subba Rao, H., 855
- Subba Rao, T. R., 849
- Subbarao Nadkrani, 917
- Subhas Chandra Bose, 943
- 'Subhōdaya', Weekly, 835
- 'Subhōdhini', 744
- Subrahmanya Sarma, Y., 856
- Subramanya Sastry, Kukke, 858
- Subramanyam, Tekur, 915
- Subrāya Bāḷiga, 896
- 'Subuddhi Prakash'—First Kannada newspaper (1881) in Bombay Karnataka, 835
- SudhIndrateertha, 743
- Sūdraka, 151

- Suggalādēvi—wife of Jayasimha II,
disciple of Dēvara Dāsimaṃya, 272,
357, 372
- Sukumāra Bhārati (Chayana), 631
- Sumanōbāṇa, 466, 469
- Suranga (Poet), 622
- Suryanaryana, R. N., 857
- ‘Suryōdaya Prakāśika’—first Kannada
daily, 832-3
- ‘Suvāsini’, 837
- Svayambhu—the Apabhramsa poet,
478
- ‘Swadēśābhīmāni’, 837
- Swamikannu Pillai, L. D., Dr., 184
- Swaminathan, K. D., 672, 719
- ‘Swatantra Bhārat’ (Weekly and
Daily), 837
- Syāmakundācharya, 187, 476
- Syama Sastri, composer, 663, 873
- Tabard, Fr.—founder of the Mythic
Society, 844
- Taḍangāla Mādhava, Ganga King,
118, 165, 172
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 884
- Taila II, Tailapa II (Chālukya), 126,
200, 240, 270-1, 315, 363-4, 381-2
- Taila III—younger brother of Jaga-
dēkamalla II, 283, 291-2
- ‘Tai Nadu’, Kanada Daily, 834, 959
- Tālagunda Inscription, 111, 114, 130,
343, 348, 462
- Tānappāchārya, 663
- Tārā—Buddhist Deity, 110, 173-4
- Taranath—Tibetan historian, 99
- Tāranāth, Paṇḍit, 906, 908
- ‘Taruṇa Karnātaka’, 920
- Tata, J. N., 775
- Tātāchārya, 587
- Taylor, Meadows, 572, 574, 795
- Teekāchārya, 587, 646
- Tellapakkam Tiruvengalanatha, 587
- Tengse, 921
- Thippanāyaka of Niḍugal, 684
- Thimmagowḍa Menshinhal, 929
- Thimmarāja Woḍeyar, 689-90
- Thomas, St., 725
- Thomas Munro, Sir, 605, 754, 821,
888
- Thomas Stephens, S. J., Fr., 842
- Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 806, 874, 889,
891-2, 894, 900, 905, 908, 924,
930
- ‘Tilak Sandesh’, Editor: D. K. Bhara-
dvaj, 837
- Timma Bhūpāla, Immaḍi of Hoskote,
686
- Timmaṇṇa Kavi, 549, 631
- Timmamātya, 741
- Timmarāja—of Kaḷale, 685
- Timmarāja—a descendant of Chāvun-
ḍarāya, 721
- Timmarasa—Author, 639
- Timmanāyaka, Matti, 683
- Tipu, Tipu Sultan, 83, 685, 696-8,
700, 702-706, 708-9, 721, 741,
749-752, 758-60, 787, 799, 800, 811,
820-1, 831, 840, 867, 882, 888
- Tirukōḍikāval Krishna Iyer, 873
- Tirumala—Viceroy at Sriranga-
paṭṭana, 690
- Tirumala—brother of Rāmarāya, 558
- Tirumala—started the Āraṇḍu
Dynasty, 560-1
- Tirumalāmba, 639, 641
- Tirumalamma—a Sanskrit poetess of
Vijayanagar, 604
- Tirumalarāya, 681
- Tirumalārya, 685, 738
- Tirumalayya, 860
- Tirumale Vaidya, 734
- Tirumaliengar, 694
- Tirumakūḍlu Sundaramma (Dancer),
879
- Tiruttakka-dēvar, 164
- Tiruvalluvar, 740
- Tiruvannamalai—made a capital by
Ballāḷa III, 399
- Tiruvengalanath, Tellapākkam, 587

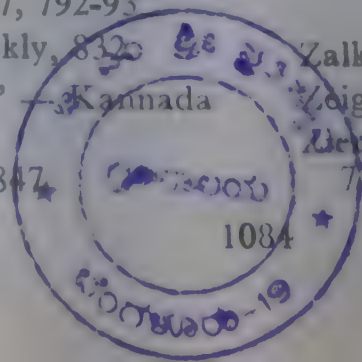
- Todapalle Daṇḍanāyaka, 522
 Todar Mal, Raja, 574, 673
 Tōṇṭada Siddalingayati, 626, 629
 Triambak Denge, 754
 Triambaka Hari, 711
 Tribhuvana Āchāri — architect of Lokēśvara Temple, 384
 Tribhuvana—Kartara dēva—the Saiva guru of Avaṇi, 141
 Tribhuvanamalla Permāḍi—successor of Sōmēśvara II, 176
 Tribhuvanamalla — son of Jayakēśi III, 301
 Tribhuvanamalla Kongāḷvadēva, 408
 Tribhuvana Tāta—Vaishnava controversialist, 628
 Trilōchana Kadamba, 296
 Trilōchana Pallava, 198
 Trinayana Pallava—founder of the Nolamba family, 140
 Tripurāntakadēva 413
 Trivikrama—author of *Naḷa-champu*, 257
 Trivikrama — author of a Prakrit Grammar, 134, 478
 Trivikramapandita. 473-4
 'Triveni', Novelist, 849
 'Triveni'—a Sanskrit poetess, 853
 Tukārām, 719, 867
 Tumbulūrāchārya, 187, 476
 Turugahi Ramanna, 371
 Tyagaraja,—Composer, 662, 873-4
 Uchchangi—an impregnable fort, 126, 395;—branch of Kadambas, 113, 137
 'Udanta Chintāmaṇi' — Kannada newspaper, 832
 'Udaya'—Newspaper, 920
 Udayāditya (Nolamba Pallava Permāṇḍi) 142
 Udayendrapuram Anantāchārya, 853
 Umādevi—Queen of Ballaḷa II took part in battles, 519
 Umāsvāti, 107, 230
 University of Mysore, 981-2
 Upadhye, A. N., Dr. 191
Upanishads, 118, 149, 153, 157, 159-61, 414-5, 417, 442, 631, 646, 793, 970, 979
 Uppina Betigeri Krishna Sastri, 861
 Ushā Khāḍilkar, 876
 Ustad Fiaz Khan of Baroda
 Vāchaspati, 579; Vāchaspati Misra, 646
 Vaḍavi Ramachandra, 929
Vaḍḍārādhane, 80, 254, 368, 478
 Vādēendra, 474
 Vādibhasimha (Sūri) *alias* Oḍeyadēva *alias* Srivijaya, 164, 193
 Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa—a teacher of the princes, 344
 Vādimadagajēndra—a Buddhist controversialist, 172
 Vādirāja—pupil of Vyāsateertha, 588, 641, 647, 648, 715, 737
 Vādirāja—Jaina poet, 374
 Vāgbhaṭa, 405
 Vaidumbas, 132, 140, 141
 Vaidyanātha — author of *Pratāpa Rudreya*, 134
 Vaikunṭa Kēśava, 872
 Vaj, Fr. Joseph, 839
 Vajjala — defeated by Mārasimha, 126
 Vākātaka Pravarasēna II, 152
 Vālmiki, 98, 632
 Vallabhāchārya, 588
 Vallabhendra, 200
 Vāmanabhaṭṭa, 637
 Vamanarao Bindu, 929
 Vāmaśaktidēva—Rājaguru of Veeraballāḷa II, 519
 Varadachar, A. V., Actor, 867
 Varadachar, Tiger, Musician, 874
 Varāhamihira — author of *Brihat-samhita*, 86
 Varāḷu of Bangalore (Dancer), 879-80
 Vardhamāna, 164

- Varthema—a foreign traveller, 649
 Vasantanāyaka III, 682
 Vasco-da-gama, 725
 Vasishṭhiputra Pulamāyi, 102
 Vāsudevāchārya, K., of Mysore, 856, 873-4
 Vāsudēvachar, Kerur, 867
 Vāsudēvaviṭhala, 872
 Vasupūjyavrati—Guru of Ballāḷa II, 452
 Vatsarāja — the Gurjara-Prathihāra ruler of Rajaputana, 235
 Vattakēra, 107-8
 Vēdānta Dēsika, 425, 585, 639, 643, 645-6
 Vēdavyāsāchārya Malagi, 859
 Veeraballāḷa I, 391
 Veeraballāḷa II, 248, 391, 666
 Veeraballāḷadēva, 457
 Veerabhadranāyaka of Ikkēri, 564, 671-2
 Veeraghante I of Bilagila, 687-8
 'Veera Kēsari' of Hubli, 835-6
 Veerammāji, 675-6
 Veeranandin, 193
 Veerangowda Patil, 902, 905, 918, 919, 925
 Veerana, G. H.—Producer, 867
 Veeranna Gowda, H. K., Editor, 834
 Veera Narasimha, 397, 545, 546, 549, 588, 646
 Veeranārayaṇa—Chōḷa King Parāntaka, 124, 129, 133
 Veerapāṇḍya, 410-11
 Veerapāṇḍya Irungoladēva, 412
 Veerapāṇḍya Sāntarasa — erected statue of Gommata at Karkaḷa, 323
 Veerappa—Zamindar of Koppal, 908
 Veerappagowda of Madhugiri, 686
 Veerappa Sastri, 867
 Veerappa Wali, 913
 Veera Pratāpa Rudra II, 647
 Veerarāja, 758-61,—at Haleri, 756
 Veerarājendra I, 316-17
 Veerasarman—teacher of Mayūrasarman, 112
 Veerasēna, 476
 Veeravarma—of Kotangadi, 756
 Veeravarmarāja—of Chirakkal, 756
 Veera Vijayarāya, 538
 Velugoli Yachama, 561-63
 Vēmana (Telugu poet), 719, 740
 Venkata, I, 557, 587
 Venkata, II, 656
 Venkata, III, 562
 Venkatachar, B, 846, 849
 Venkatachar, Jaggu, 857
 Venkatachar, Tirumala Bukkapatnam, 853
 Venkatādhvarin, 746
 Venkatādri—(brother of Rāmarāya), 558-60
 Venkatādrināyaka—of Belur, 731
 Venkatakrishnaiah, M., G. O. M. of Mysore, 774, 776, 780, 832-4, 896, 906
 Venkaṭamakhi, 662-3
 Venkatapatidēva III (Pedda Venkata), 564
 Venkatapatidēvarāya II, 561-2
 Venkatappa, K. (Artist), 884
 Venkatappanāyak, Rāja, 908
 Venkatappanāyaka—King of Keḷadi, 610, 616, 671, 743
 Venkatarai Ramdurg, 876
 Venkataramaiah, K.A., 918, 921-2
 Venkataramaiah, G. K., 851
 Venkataramaiah, D., 776, 780
 Venkataramanāchārya, Tupāki, 872
 Venkatarreddy, Hooli, 929
 Venkatrao Alur, 836, 896, 960
 Venkatrao, Burki, 698
 Venkatrao, Gulvadi, 849
 Venkatrao Gurthy, Prof., 105
 Venkatasubbaiah, A. Dr., 193
 Venkatasubbiah Veene, 873
 Venkata—Sundarasāni, 856
 Venkaṭaviṭhala, 872
 Venkatesa Sastri, M. S., 858

INDEX

- Venkatesiah, S., 780
 Venkobarao, N. S., Editor, 834
 'Vibhakar', by P. R. Chikodi, 836
 Vibudhavarya Teertha, 863
 Vibhūti Huchaiah, 835
 Vimalasūri, 466
 Vidyādhiśateertha, 743
 Vidyākānta, 872
 Vidyāmādhava Sūri, 645
 Vidyāmānya Teertha, 861, 665
 Vidyānanda, 599
 Vidyānātha—guru of Gangādēvi, 639
 Vidyāprasanna Teertha, 873
 Vidyāraṇya, 176, 389, 533, 567, 578-9, 582-3, 585, 587, 609, 636-639, 641, 643, 645, 646-7, 650, 659, 663
 Vidyāteertha, 471
 Vijayā, Vijayabhāṭṭarika—poetess queen of Chandraditya, son of Pulikēśi II, 192, Vijayabhāṭṭarika, 206, 208, 353
 'Vijaya' Newspaper 835-6
 Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III, 134
 Vijayadāsa, 661, 715-16, 871
 Vijayāditya—Chālukya King, 119, 131, 138, 140, 198, 215, 230;—son of Vijayamahādēvi, 122;—brother of Sivamāra, 124
 Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, 130;—son of Jayanandivarman, 132; The Eastern Chālukya King, 188;—grandson of Vikramāditya, 206, 208-9
 Vijayāditya II—Prabhumēru, 133
 Vijayāditya II—son of Vinayāditya, 139
 Vijayā II—of Vengi, 237
 Vijayāditya II—Kadamba of Gōa, 300-1
 Vijayāditya III, 134
 'Vijayadhvaṇa'—Newspaper, 836
 Vijayakeerti—Religious preceptor of Avineeta, 118
 Vijaya Mahādēvi—Queen of Sree-purusha, 122
 Vijaya Narasimha—son of Vishnuvardhana, 452
 Vijaya Paṇḍita—a great physician, 357
 Vijayapāṇḍya—(of Uchchangi), 411
 Vijayarāya, 609
 Vijayaraghavachariar, C., 942
 Vijayavarma—Chālukya ruled over Lāṭa country, 205
 Vijayeendra, 647, 715
 Vijayēndra—a pupil of Sri Vyāsa-teertha, 588
 Vijnānēśvara, 278, 374, 378
 Vikrama Chōḷa, 318
 Vikramāditya, 112, 516
 Vikramāditya, I—Chālukya King, 129, 138, 200, 206, 215
 Vikramāditya II, 133, 139, 209, 215
 Vikramāditya III, 134
 Vikramāditya V, 198, 271, 315
 Vikramāditya VI, brother of Sōmēśwara II, 274-80
 Vikramāditya VI—Tribhuvanamalla Permāḍi, 142, 176, 198, 298, 344, 374, 376, 377, 392-94, 402, 447
 Vikramāditya VII, 316-18
 Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, 130
 Vikramāditya Jayamēru, 133
 Vikramarāya—Daḷavoy, 322
 Vikrama Sāntara, 322
 Vimalōdaya, 186
 Vimarśaka Vaidya, 868
 Vināpōṭi—a courtesan, 222
 Vinayāditya—Chālukya Ruler, 120, 139, 200, 206, 208, 215, 649
 Vinayāditya (Hoysala), 273, 391-92
 Vinayāditya II, 321, 451
 Vinayānkadēva—ruler of Warangal, 536
 Vindhavarman,—of Malava, 402
 Vineet Ramachandra Rao, 949
 Vineyettin—Immaḍi a Queen of Sreeprusha, 122
 Virakta Tōṇḍārya, 628, 634
 Virūpaksha (King), 537, 540, 544, 640, 720
 Virūpaksha Ballāḷa IV, 529, 532

- Virūpakshaiah, 832
 Virūpaksha Paṇḍita, 733
 Virūpaksha Sastri, Hānagal, 861
 Visaji Krishna Binivale, 710
 'Viśāla Karnataka', Hubli, 838
 Viśalaksha Paṇḍita, 694
 Vishnubhaṭṭa Sōmayaji, 138, 198
 Vishnuchitta, 584
 Vishnudatta, 106
 Vishnugōpa, 118, 137, 162
 Vishnupant Bhawe, 869
 Vishnu Sūri, 645
 Vishnuvarman, 106
 Vishnuvardhana (Hoysala ruler), 195, 393-5, 420-21, 442, 451, 481-3, 521-4, 790, 970
 Vishnuvardhana (Chāḷukya King), 119, 191, 201; — Posthumous son of Vijayāditya, 137
 Vishnuvardhana I—younger brother of Pulikēśin II, founded eastern branch of the family, 203
 Vishnuvardhana IV — Vengi King, 234-5
 Vishnuvardhana Rājārāja, I (Eastern Chāḷukya), 198
 Vishnuvardhana — Vijayāditya—brother of Vikramāditya VI, 142
 Vishnuvardhana—a Kadamba King of Uchchangi, 113
 'Viśva Karnataka', Weekly, 833-4, 913
 Visvanātha (Hoysala), son of Ramanaṭha, 398
 'Viśvavāpi', Kannada daily, 839
 Visvesvaraya, M., Sir, 777-9, 781, 805, 813, 958-60
 Viṭhalbhai Patel, 898
 Viṭhalarāja, 559
 Viṭhalasvami Temple at Hampi, 649-52, 654
 Vivekananda, Swami, 787, 792-93
 'Vrittānta Patrike', Weekly, 832
 'Vrittanta Chintamani'—Kannada Weekly, 832
 V. Si (V. Sitaramaiah), 847
 Vyāsarāya (Vyāsateertha),—Emperor's guru, 549, 585, 587-8, 590-1, 640, 647, 658-9, 660, 714, 737
 Wadia, B. P., 792
 Waghmare, A. K., 909
 Wanchoo, K. N., 953
 'Wealth of Mysore', English, 832
 Weber, 145
 Wellesley, Arthur (Duke of Wellington), 751, 753
 Wellesley, Lord, 705, 762
 Wheeler, Mortimer, 100, 102, 194
 Wilkes, 788
 William Bentinck, Lord, 753, 762-4
 Xavier, St. Francis, 726, 840
 Yādavas, Yadu race, 95-6, 126-401
 Yādava Krishna of Yadu race, 96, 302
 Yadumahārāja, 849
 Yadurāya, 852
 Yadurāya, or Vijaya, 689
 Yajaman Veerabhaḍrappa, 832
 Yagnik, Dr., 869, 871
 Yakshagāna, 660, 732, 821, 867, 877
 Yāmunāchārya, 428
 Yativrishabha—wrote Prakrit glosses, 108, 476
 Yazdani, 657
 Yuan Chwang (Hieun Tsiang), 331, 332
 Yusuf Adil Khan, 546
 Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, 572, 573
 Zalkikar Bhimasena of Bijapur, 861
 Ziegler, 788, 844, 846
 Ziegenbalg, (German missionary), 726



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యం శ్రీవాస్తవము బాసరే పరశరే బ్రహ్మ
 పరాంతసిగ బాద్ధా బుద్ధ ఇరే బ్రహ్మనాశదహర్తరే రిన్ద్రయ్య ఇతాః । ర్మ
 శ్రీరేణా శ్రీనాథానామితి కంషే రేమిమాంసకాః నాయయా విరకా తువా
 ఎరక్షలం ఊరేత పేషువా ॥

yaṁ Śaivas samupāsate Śiva iti Brahmeti vedāntinō
 Bauddha Buddha iti pramāṇa-patavaḥ kartteti naiyayikāḥ
 Arhas cheti hā Jaina-sāsana-miti karmmeti mimāṃsakah
 so yaṁ vō vidadhātu vāṇchhita-phalam sri Kesavēśas sādā

He whom the Saivas worship as Siva, the Vedantins as
 Brahma, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyayikas skilled
 in proof as Kartta, the followers of the Jaina śāsana
 as Arha, the Mimamsakas as Karma, - that god Keśava ev
 grant your desires.



యం వైవాస్వము వాసరేచివ ఇతి బ్రహ్మే
 నీహంతి సో బాద్ధా ఋద్ధ ఇతి బ్రహ్మనాపదహర్తేరీస్సైయ్య ఇతాః । లోకం
 వ్యేరితా వ్యేనతా సదమితకం మేరేమి మాంసకాజ్ఞాయం యో విదదాతు వాం
 చితక్షలం తిరీతదేవస్య వా ॥

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